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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mrs. SÖDER (Sweden): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me to extend to you our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. Your election to this high office is a tribute to you personally, to your vast diplomatic experience, and to the leading and constructive role played by Yugoslavia within the non-aligned movement and in the work of the United Nations.

2. I should also like to express my delegation's deep appreciation to Ambassador Amerasinghe, who presided over last year's session with such great distinction.

3. Our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, continues to serve the world community with total dedication, and I should like to express to him our deep gratitude and to assure him of Sweden's full support for his tireless efforts.

4. As this session of the General Assembly opens, it is also a particular satisfaction for us to be able to welcome two new Members to our Organization: the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose admission we have so strongly and actively supported, both in this Assembly and during our years in the Security Council.

5. When I addressed the General Assembly for the first time last year,¹ I had special reasons to say a few words about the general guidelines of Swedish foreign policy. The foundation of that policy is neutrality. In our country we are united in the view that we should use our neutral position to pursue an active, independent and progressive foreign policy characterized by global solidarity and respect for the equal rights of all human beings. These are our guidelines as we face up to such problems as injustice in

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 29th meeting, paras. 81-113.*

southern Africa, the unequal relationship between rich and poor countries, or the plundering and misuse of the resources with which nature has provided us.

6. In Steven Biko the South African people has a new martyr whose death is yet another reminder that racism in southern Africa remains a festering sore in our international society. Developments in southern Africa are important—not only to those who live there. They are of crucial importance for the relations between free Africa and the rest of the world, as well as for international détente in general.

7. *Apartheid* is unique. It differs from other manifestations of evil and injustice in the world, for in South Africa oppression has been legalized; it is written into the country's constitution and permeates the entire fabric of society. A minority has created a system based on the idea of its own racial superiority serving to suppress the majority. Let us not forget that the United Nations was born in the struggle against a system which was obsessed by a similar idea. The undoing of *apartheid* must be a central obligation of the world community. To follow passively developments there is to become, in a sense, an accomplice of the present policy of an oppressive régime.

8. Every form of black African protest in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia has been brutally crushed. The majority of the people is denied every possibility of political expression and participation. It is understandable that the liberation movements of southern Africa, in their despair, finally have seen no alternative to armed struggle.

9. The United Nations was created to solve international conflicts by peaceful means. We must try to make it possible to achieve majority rule in southern Africa with a minimum of violence. Here the United Nations has a dual responsibility: one is to contribute to the abolishment of *apartheid* as soon as possible; the other is to try to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population which always follows a long liberation struggle.

10. We consider the present situation in South Africa to be a threat to international peace. The Security Council, therefore, should impose sanctions to eliminate that threat. We have, as a first step, proposed that the recommendation already adopted by the Security Council calling for the discontinuation of all arms shipments to South Africa be broadened and transformed into a binding decision.² Sweden has also proposed further steps, including measures against new foreign investments in South Africa and Namibia. Measures of this kind have already been uni-

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, 1996th meeting, para. 9.*

laterally taken by the Swedish Government, and plans are being considered for their reinforcement.

11. Another reason for the international tension in the area is South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its support of the rebel régime in Rhodesia. Negotiations are under way regarding both these Territories and we note with satisfaction the commitment made by a number of leading States in this matter.

12. The task in Namibia is to make possible the free elections under United Nations supervision and control envisaged in resolution 385 (1976) of the Security Council. Although the parties would seem to have come closer to an agreement as to how this process of liberation is to be carried out, South Africa is still utilizing its illegal rule in an attempt to retain influence. The Pretoria régime must realize that the only alternative to giving up control through a negotiated settlement is international sanctions and an escalation of the armed liberation struggle. The South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] is playing a leading part in the efforts to secure an independent and unified Namibia, and any agreement must be supported by that movement. *SWAPO* must also be given full opportunities of working freely in the country and of mobilizing its extensive popular following there. The United Nations will have an important and difficult task to perform during the transition to independence. We have declared our readiness to offer our services within the framework of the United Nations with a view to facilitating a peaceful transition.

13. The Anglo-American efforts to negotiate a settlement on Rhodesia encounter great difficulties, due above all to the vain hopes entertained by the leaders in Salisbury of perpetuating their minority rule by means of such tricks as a so-called "internal solution". The Smith régime's hard-headed resistance to real majority rule, backed up by South Africa, should be met with broadened international sanctions. At the same time it should be quite clear that a solution in Namibia and Zimbabwe will in no way lead to a relaxation of the world community's attitude towards *apartheid* in South Africa. International pressures on the *apartheid* régime must be maintained and intensified.

14. In the Middle East, efforts are again under way to achieve a peaceful and lasting settlement. As so often before, progress is frustratingly slow. The Swedish Government maintains the view that a solution must be based on resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council. Israel and all other States in the area are entitled to their existence and integrity within secure and recognized borders. The principle that acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible must be respected. Furthermore, provision has to be made for the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arabs, including the right to establish a State of their own which lives in peace side by side with Israel. It is essential that negotiations for a peaceful solution be opened as soon as possible. The Palestinians should be assured of participation in those negotiations.

15. Israel's policy in regard to settlements in occupied territories has added to the difficulties in the search for a solution. Sweden has consistently opposed that policy as being illegal and as complicating withdrawal from occupied

territories. I appeal to the Government of Israel to abandon these measures, which are contrary to the principles of the Security Council's resolutions and which place additional obstacles in the way of a negotiated peace. Another prerequisite for a solution is a clear recognition by the representatives of the Palestinians of Israel's right to exist. Unless agreement is reached we risk a new war with terrible suffering to the peoples concerned. A new war would also threaten to involve the great Powers and thus jeopardize international peace and security.

16. The nuclear arms race continues. The accelerating development of military technology causes the super-Powers to seek mutual security at a steadily rising and increasingly dangerous level of armaments. There is a risk that results achieved in the disarmament negotiations will be overtaken by the creation of new weapons systems. The super-Powers, themselves, have been among the first to claim that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [*SALT*] are a vital component of the process of détente. I wish to underline the importance which the Swedish Government attaches to rapid concrete progress towards an agreement at the second round of *SALT* talks and the subsequent opening of the third round with a view to reaching mutual security at a lower level of armaments.

17. In this context, I want to recall the present international debate on the neutron weapon, which is the latest example of the consequences of the development of technical weapons carried out by the super-Powers. The Swedish Government is deeply concerned by every development in the armaments field that could constitute a directly destabilizing factor. It is also obvious that a reversal of the present trend in the arms race of the super-Powers is a basic condition for progress in disarmament efforts. The neutron weapon is unacceptable to us. So are all other nuclear weapons.

18. International negotiating efforts in the field of disarmament have been intensified as a result of the decision to convene next spring a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. That session will present a unique opportunity to open a new and fruitful phase in the work of disarmament. It is an opportunity that we must not miss.

19. Questions concerning nuclear weapons should, of course, be given the highest priority at the session. The Swedish Government expects significant and concrete results concerning a comprehensive test ban treaty. It is important that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva should begin negotiations on this matter as soon as possible.

20. A comprehensive nuclear test ban would be a sign that the super-Powers had begun a process towards nuclear disarmament. A comprehensive test ban is at the same time an important element in the efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to new States. It affects the security of both nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States, of developing as well as industrialized countries. All have a common interest in co-operating in order to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons or nuclear devices, the consequences of which could be truly disastrous. The Swedish Government will continue to work hard to this end.

21. Nuclear power as a source of energy raises special problems. One of them is the risk that the dissemination of nuclear technology can facilitate nuclear-weapons development. This problem is receiving increasing international recognition. The Swedish Government therefore continues to work for broader support for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] and for the strengthening of the IAEA system of safeguards.
22. The rapid technological development in conventional armaments and the proliferation of increasingly sophisticated weapons is alarming. Sufficient attention must be given to this question during the special session to be held in 1978 on disarmament.
23. According to conservative estimates, military expenditures amounted to between \$350 billion and \$400 billion in 1976. This is a grotesque misuse of human and material resources. It can be compared with the \$15 billion that the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries provided for development assistance during that same year. The Nordic countries have proposed that the special session initiate an urgent and in-depth study of the possibility of transferring the resources released through disarmament measures to economic and social development programmes, primarily in the developing countries. Our objective is that this work should result in international as well as national action.
24. It is imperative that the special session achieve real progress towards disarmament. The results must be lasting and be followed by further steps. Sweden is in favour of a second special session being convened after a period of three to five years. The United Nations must be given sufficient means to enable it effectively to play its important role in the continued efforts towards disarmament.
25. The Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts was concluded in June this year after making important progress. It is now essential to redouble our efforts in this field. The aim must be a definite prohibition or restriction on the use of certain conventional weapons that are excessively injurious.
26. Our efforts to achieve peace and security must also comprise action against all kinds of internal oppression. We strongly condemn all forms of persecution of people on account of their political or religious convictions, race or ethnic identity, wherever this persecution may be practised. During the past year we have had occasion in the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, in government statements and in bilateral contacts, to denounce the policies of a number of Governments in this respect. Sweden will continue to give unrelenting support to the struggle for human rights.
27. We have all seen how terror can be used by individuals. Acts such as those that have recently taken place in the Federal Republic of Germany must be met with the condemnation of the world community. These outrageous manifestations of distorted minds demonstrate the importance of the work being carried out in the United Nations to prevent terrorism.
28. Several important tasks await the General Assembly this autumn. We must increase our efforts to strengthen safeguards against torture. The 1975 declaration on this subject³ was a step forward, although its practical consequences have as yet not been very significant. A legally binding convention must be our goal.
29. At the last session of the General Assembly, Sweden raised the question of the treatment of persons imprisoned for their political convictions.⁴ Our proposal, which has gained widespread support, will be considered at this session. We shall work to have a resolution adopted now.
30. Ever since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Sweden has worked to convert separate articles of the Declaration into binding international conventions. Thus, we find it encouraging that the two International Covenants on Human Rights—one on civil and political rights and its Optional Protocol, the other on economic, social and cultural rights [*see resolution 2200 A (XXI)*—have entered into force. However, to attain the objectives of the Covenants, efficient implementation machinery is necessary. So far, only a small number of countries have accepted the competence of the Human Rights Committee to consider allegations by an individual or a country that a State has violated his or her human rights. We strongly urge all countries that have not already done so to accept the competence of the Human Rights Committee in this field.
31. The right of all human beings to meaningful employment and the satisfaction of their basic material needs are other human rights. We are aware that these rights are also still denied to a large segment of the world population. The number of unemployed and underemployed is continuously increasing. More than 1 billion people now live in conditions below the subsistence level. The possibilities to secure reasonable material living conditions for all depend on the capacity of our earth to provide the resources needed, and on our own ability to distribute those resources equitably. The future supply of a large number of primary products which play a key role in our economic life is in question. We have become acutely aware that oil, one of our most important primary products, will already become increasingly scarce within only a decade or two. Nuclear power entails special problems and risks and is also based on a primary product of limited existence. The fertility of the earth cannot meet ever-growing demands. If we permit continued land erosion and continue polluting air, water and soil, the situation will rapidly become even more serious. It is therefore necessary that we—primarily the rich countries—learn to economize resources and to take into account the ecological consequences of our activities. We must learn to use without using up, to recycle raw materials instead of piling up growing mountains of waste products.
32. At the same time, the poor countries must be given scope for increased consumption.
33. One of the most important tasks of the United Nations in the period to come is, as I see it, to engage

³ Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (see resolution 3452 (XXX)).

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 12, document A/31/395, para. 24.

Member States in safeguarding the environment, in improving management of the earth's resources, in developing a resource-preserving technology based on renewable resources and in achieving their reasonable and equitable distribution. A part of this task must be the development of global co-operation on energy.

34. The problems which spring from the inequitable relations between North and South, between industrial and developing countries, have formed the subject of several important negotiations during the past years. Important international negotiations are now in progress or are pending in many vital sectors. These include the trade sector, with major multilateral trade talks under the aegis of GATT. As to raw materials, the main focus of attention is on negotiations concerning UNCTAD's Integrated Programme for Commodities. The United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities will be reconvened in November. Negotiations are being held in New York on an international code of conduct for transnational corporations.

35. We want to see practical results from those negotiations. A means must be found of stabilizing the commodity markets. We must join in assuming responsibility for developments in the energy sector, with due regard to the interests of all concerned. The United Nations target for official assistance—0.7 per cent of gross national product—must be achieved before the close of this decade. Here those industrial countries which are now lagging far behind have a special responsibility. The trade of the developing countries must be boosted. Means must urgently be found to ease the debt burden of developing countries, particularly the public debts of the least developed countries.

36. The outcome of the Conference on International Economic Cooperation can by no means be termed satisfactory as measured against development needs. No agreement was reached regarding several important problems, nor was it possible to bring about important structural changes aiming at a new international economic order. Still, it is our view that the Conference did achieve some positive results.

37. Our task will now be to consolidate those results and search for new ways to solve the remaining problems. Sweden will press for vigorous initiatives from the United Nations in this respect. This becomes even more urgent against the depressing background of the impending failure of the most important parts of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. So far, the 1970s have brought no substantial improvements in the living standards of the poorest groups. Inequality within many countries has also increased. It is therefore of particular importance to bring about concrete measures to satisfy the basic needs as regards food, housing, work, education and health. The Nordic Foreign Ministers at their recent meeting emphasized how important it was that the work for the new development strategy now be started. The present session of the General Assembly must seize the opportunity to set about these tasks.

38. In all of these sectors, decisions will have to be taken which bring substantial benefits to the developing countries.

39. An essential aspect of the new international economic order concerns the utilization of the tremendous potential for development that exists in the developing countries themselves. Collective and individual self-reliance are concepts that have emerged during our discussions. Sweden supports these ideas and stands ready to contribute to their implementation. Building up domestic technological and production capability adapted to the particular requirements in each country is an important element of self-reliance. This process should also create the necessary conditions and facilities to meet the needs of the great majority of the population.

40. The ultimate aim of the new international economic order is to create a just and equitable world. This is also the ultimate aim of our struggle for human rights. In planning for change we must be mindful of the needs of all people, irrespective of colour, sex and age. When old traditions are abandoned, when established structures are broken up, there is a risk that vulnerable groups become even more underprivileged. Women constitute one such group. The statements from the United Nations women's Conference⁵ must therefore be translated into practical action as we now press on towards the realization of the new international economic order. When planning for change we must also pay greater attention to children in our development efforts. The International Year of the Child in 1979 should, among other things, help to make us realize this.

41. It is easy to lapse into pessimism when we survey the problems that beset our world. I believe, however, that it would be wrong to concentrate on the gloomy side of the picture. It is, after all, not violence and poverty which distinguish our own age from other periods of history. Both these phenomena are as old as humanity itself. What is new in today's world is that, in spite of everything, efforts are being made across national boundaries to tackle these problems on a common international basis.

42. True, the progress that has so far been made may seem small compared to the vast dimensions of the problems. We would do well to bear in mind that global co-operation has only existed for a brief moment in the many thousand years of human history. It is my firm belief that this co-operation will steadily grow in importance and scope, if only for the simple reason that our problems will sooner or later force us to find global solutions. The world we live in has become too small for national egoism. Global solidarity is the only possible base for a future solution of world problems. The existence of the United Nations and the open debate which we are able to conduct here testify to a growing awareness of this fact. Our task at this Assembly session is now to do our utmost to live up to this challenge.

43. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):⁶ Permit me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to your high office. To do so gives me particular pleasure

⁵ World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975.

⁶ Mr. Fischer spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

and satisfaction since you are from a country with which the German Democratic Republic has close and friendly ties. Your election reflects the significant role played by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the struggle for peace, security and equitable co-operation among States and peoples.

44. To the Secretary-General of this Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, we wish to express anew our appreciation of his constant endeavours to achieve the aims of the United Nations and to assure him of our co-operation.

45. The German Democratic Republic expects this thirty-second session of the General Assembly to yield results that will strengthen world peace and promote fruitful co-operation among States. Favourable conditions for that have been created. Political détente remains the prevailing tendency in international relations; it coincides with the vital interests of all peoples and is supported by their effort. There is no other way to make peace enduring and guarantee international security.

46. Practical experience in the last few years has confirmed that the improvement of the international situation is of benefit to all. It is something new and significant in this century that the peoples can live in greater tranquillity, that confrontation is being reduced and that a substantive political dialogue becomes possible between States having different social systems. Surely it is useful to all sides when a closer network of equitable international agreements can be established and confidence thus strengthened. Is it not in the interest of all mankind when conditions for far-reaching measures of arms limitation and disarmament are emerging and the risk of a world war is prevented? Do not all the parties profit from the improvement in political relations if this is conducive to intense economic exchanges and facilitates communication? And do not all the peoples and States stand to gain when vital questions like environmental protection, transport and energy can now be attacked jointly?

47. Everywhere in the world détente militates against the forces of aggression and war and encourages the peoples struggling for national and social liberation. Not accidentally but precisely under these conditions it was possible to adopt the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] and to start eliminating the imperialist and neo-colonialist division of labour.

48. To secure and expand these accomplishments is the common purpose of the socialist countries and consequently of the German Democratic Republic, too.

49. By contrast, what can the opponents of détente offer? Overtly or covertly they are working for a return to the cold war. The most extreme ones, in the interest of profit, even calculate the risk of an atomic war. If they had their way there would be no end to the arms race, interference in the internal affairs of other States would continue, international relations would be ruled by an atmosphere of distrust and enmity, and constructive international co-operation would be obstructed or even prevented. Their designs also are directed towards preserving the last few strongholds of colonialism and racism as well as neo-colonialist exploitation.

50. Hence there is reason enough to be vigilant and to redouble all efforts so that political détente will be reinforced and extended further. In this effort the socialist States feel united with the movement of non-aligned countries, which is playing an important role in the struggle for the vital interests of the peoples, and indeed with all social forces committing themselves to peace regardless of differences in world outlook. How powerful their ranks are is evident in the swelling protest against plans to develop and produce new weapons of mass destruction such as the neutron bomb and the cruise missile. The movement for peace, disarmament and social progress is going from strength to strength. The United Nations can and should rely on that. It ought to assist resolutely in translating initiatives and present proposals for the strengthening of international security and for disarmament into practical moves.

51. Deepening and consolidating the relaxation of international tensions and preventing the risk of nuclear war is as important as it is urgent. The proposal made here by the Soviet Union and the relevant documents submitted [see A/32/242], when adopted, are such as to strengthen international security and save humanity from a nuclear holocaust. Moreover, they are calculated to promote the work of the United Nations in fulfilling the very task assigned to it. For this reason we plead fervently and insistently in their favour.

52. There is no doubt that we live in an epoch of profound revolutionary change. By their sacrifice in their struggle for peace and self-determination the peoples are gaining more and more successes. What better proof of that is there than the victory of the heroic peoples of Viet Nam and Laos, which is indeed of historic importance?

53. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations has come as a tribute visible to all the world paid to a struggle waged over decades against imperialist aggression and oppression and for national and social liberation. It is fully in accordance with the wishes and demands of all peace-loving peoples and States. Together with its socialist sister countries, the German Democratic Republic has always espoused the cause of Viet Nam. We congratulate the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on its membership in the world Organization, as we are firmly convinced that it will make an important contribution to the fulfilment of the tasks of the United Nations.

54. On the African continent, the people of Djibouti acceded to independence this year. We greet the Republic of Djibouti as a new Member of the United Nations and whole-heartedly wish it success.

55. The admission of those two States to the world Organization provides further evidence of the tremendous changes that mould the features of our globe. The starting point was the Great October Socialist Revolution, the sixtieth anniversary of which coincides with our current session. The ideas and aims the Revolution proclaimed have become material force. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the living example of the consistent realization of national and social self-determination, which are prerequisites for fundamental human rights. Time and again the Soviet Union has proven to be a dependable ally for the

peoples in the struggle against imperialist aggression and oppression. We shall never forget its decisive role in the victory over fascism. The German Democratic Republic is closely linked with the country of Lenin, and on the occasion of their great anniversary we wish the Soviet people further successes in the construction of communism.

56. The principles of peaceful coexistence, conceived by Lenin, are today becoming generally recognized norms of international law. This is also evident in endeavours to strengthen security in Europe as demonstrated by the set of European treaties and in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.⁷ As a long-term programme for European security and co-operation the Final Act provides a fresh impetus to détente. To turn it to account without restriction and to the benefit of all peoples, all parties should be willing to implement the document as a whole. Attempts to be selective and to ignore its basic principles are inconsistent with its binding aims. We repeat here what the German Democratic Republic emphasized at Helsinki, namely that security is and remains a prerequisite to co-operation. The German Democratic Republic considers that the main purpose of the forthcoming Belgrade meeting of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is to promote the implementation of the Helsinki accords.

57. To breathe life into the Final Act requires further bilateral and regional agreements. But equally important is the strict observance of the international treaties already concluded. Never before has the principle of *pacta sunt servanda* been so firmly established in international realities and been of so great practical importance for the maintenance of peace.

58. Regrettably, increasing attempts are being made to disregard obligations entered into, but treaties have to be honoured. This applies to the Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany⁸ as well as to the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin.⁹ Contrary to the clearly formulated provisions of those treaties, inappropriate attempts have been made time and again, and in this forum too, to construe unrealistic concepts that are detrimental to peace. Therefore, it appears necessary to repeat the following.

59. One of the irrefutable realities in Europe for three decades now has been the existence of two sovereign German States which are independent of each other—the socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany. One of the realities confirmed by a treaty is that West Berlin is not a constituent part of the Federal Republic of Germany and must not be governed by it. Pursuant to the set of European treaties and to the Final Act of Helsinki, international legal and political consequences will have to be drawn everywhere.

60. Freely exercising their right to self-determination, the people of the German Democratic Republic have irrevocably opted for socialism. Our State is a firm constituent

part of the socialist community. Attempts to disregard this fact endanger peace and security in Europe. The peoples will not tolerate that. The relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany can serve—indeed must serve—the peace and security of the peoples. For this reason, they are only feasible on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. As everybody will be aware, this requires, in particular, strict respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as non-interference in internal affairs. The broadening of the relations therefore requires implementation of the existing international treaties in letter and in spirit.

61. The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its view that, for détente to become lasting and stable, it must be extended to all regions of the world. We feel that this basic purpose is served, above all, by the initiative the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics took at the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly for the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.¹⁰

62. It is noteworthy that this project covers two fundamental requirements of political détente in their interrelationship. It links non-use of force with a general prohibition of the use of all types of weapons, and it obligates all States to bring about disarmament. That would add substance to the principle of non-use of force as laid down earlier in the Charter of the United Nations. The argument that such a treaty would hollow out or question this principle turns things upside down. The continuing affirmative response to that proposal reinforces our view that the text of the treaty should now be negotiated.

63. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty reaffirmed in their Declaration of 26 November 1976¹¹ that the most important and pressing task of our time is to stop the arms race and carry out disarmament, first and foremost in the nuclear field, and to eliminate the danger of a world war. Political reason and legal commitments as well as humanity call for vigorous action to check the accumulation of means designed to destroy man.

64. How justified these demands are is borne out by alarming news on the gathering momentum in the development and production of new weapons of mass destruction. The socialist States are striving unswervingly for general and complete disarmament. They have presented a comprehensive programme outlining realistic steps to that end. Of course other constructive proposals will also be examined. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, stated the following when he signed the new Stockholm Peace Appeal:

“We stand for effective measures which bring about arms limitation and disarmament based on the principle of undiminished security. We strongly advocate that political détente be complemented with military détente.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 124, document A/31/243.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1976*, document S/12255, annex I.

⁷ Signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

⁸ Signed at Berlin on 21 December 1972.

⁹ Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

Many of the problems facing mankind today and tomorrow could be solved more easily and quickly if the gigantic resources which are today invested in armaments were used for peaceful purposes.”

65. The year 1979 has been declared the International Year of the Child, and the following comparison suggests itself. Every two minutes almost \$1.4 million is being spent in today's world on military purposes. That sum, WHO has calculated, would suffice to immunize about 700,000 children against various infectious diseases; and that would be instrumental in reducing the alarming level of infant mortality in many parts of the globe. But the arms race continues to absorb immense material and intellectual resources which are needed to solve that and other social and economic problems. The development and stockpiling of means of warfare by far outrun the talks on their restriction and prohibition. A quicker pace in those negotiations is therefore imperative.
66. The special session on disarmament, to be held by the General Assembly in a few months' time, ought to lead to agreement on a joint disarmament programme. That would be an encouraging contribution for all with regard to preparations for the World Disarmament Conference.
67. Of paramount importance for nuclear disarmament are the Soviet-United States negotiations on the limitation of strategic armaments. The German Democratic Republic commends the persistent efforts made by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to reach agreement to that effect.
68. The destruction of nuclear weapons is a difficult but nevertheless urgent task. It would become even more complicated if the number of nuclear-weapon States were to increase. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to strengthen the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.
69. The German Democratic Republic feels that preventive steps against the development and manufacture of new kinds and systems of weapons of mass destruction are urgent and pressing. Likewise, greater efforts are necessary to attain at long last a complete ban on nuclear-weapon tests and on chemical weapons.
70. We welcome and appreciate the endeavours of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom to suspend underground nuclear weapon tests for a certain period of time. It is highly significant that the Soviet Union, together with the partners mentioned, is willing to do so—even before the other nuclear Powers accede to the future treaty.
71. We also expect progress in the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The socialist States submitted realizable proposals right at the beginning. There can be no doubt that the proposal that the Warsaw Treaty States addressed to the other States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to conclude a treaty prohibiting the first use of nuclear weapons against each other merits maximum attention. The acceptance of this proposal would strengthen confidence among the States.
72. The situation in the Middle East is as explosive as ever, yet Security Council resolutions on the matter are disregarded. The implementation of these resolutions is, however, a prerequisite for a comprehensive political settlement of the problems of that region. We hold that the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East is the competent body for that purpose. Participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization on an equal footing is, indeed, a matter of course. The rights of the Arab peoples must not be disregarded. To put it frankly: a settlement of the Middle East conflict requires Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967. The inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and to establish a State of their own, must be guaranteed. And, finally, the rights of all States of the region to an independent existence, security and development must be recognized.
73. Efforts to settle the Cyprus conflict on the basis of sovereignty, independence, non-alignment and territorial integrity should be stepped up. The convening of a conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations is more topical than ever.
74. The German Democratic Republic expresses its solidarity with the just demands of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful solution of the Korean question, for which the resolution adopted at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly provides the basis [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*]. All foreign troops, along with their arms, must be withdrawn from South Korea.
75. The United Nations Charter expresses the aspiration of the peoples for peace, security and independence. That instrument has proved its worth, and every day it is proving its viability anew. It must not be questioned. The effectiveness of the world Organization can be heightened only if all States comply with their obligations under the United Nations Charter.
76. We are worried about the situation in southern Africa. The racists are resorting to ever more brutal methods to break the will of the oppressed peoples to win their freedom. With external assistance they are increasing their arms drive, and they even threaten to produce atomic bombs. They hire mercenaries and attack free African States. That is extremely dangerous and provocative.
77. The *apartheid* régime in South Africa persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia and is conspiring with Southern Rhodesia. There are some who want to save that régime in order to maintain their influence there. By calling for a peaceful solution they try to delude the peoples. But is it possible to come to a peaceful solution when the racists are being supplied with weapons that enable them to carry on terrorism and aggression? And what should one think of those who enable them to get armed with nuclear weapons, while they dispute the right of the national liberation movements to defend the interests of their peoples?
78. The peoples in southern Africa, just like others, have a right to take their destiny into their own hands and freely to choose their social system. Any peaceful solution can only begin by forcing the aggressors and terrorists to lay down arms and by isolating the racists.

79. Effective steps by the United Nations for a mandatory arms embargo and for halting all co-operation with South Africa and for an expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are therefore necessary.

80. The upsurge of the national liberation struggle, assisted by the strength of steadily mounting international solidarity, makes us confident that the cause of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa will be victorious. The German Democratic Republic pledges to continue to support that struggle to the best of its ability.

81. The German Democratic Republic advocates international economic relations based on equal rights and mutual benefit. For this reason we wish again to call attention to the programme the socialist States presented at the fourth session of UNCTAD.^{1 2}

82. By government agreements and by commercial, scientific and technological relations with developing countries and other measures which it scrupulously implements in letter and spirit, the German Democratic Republic supports the economic and social progress of these States. Strains on the world economy in the wake of the capitalist crisis could not affect these relations. Thus, the new type of co-operation between States has proved its viability. It is free from neo-colonialist exploitation and discrimination. Those who used to squeeze immense profits out of the colonially subjugated countries and are today shifting the burden of their crisis onto the nationally liberated States are alone responsible for the difficult economic situation of many of the developing countries. No honest person can countenance attempts to undermine the decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

83. The German Democratic Republic sides with the developing countries and is against any kind of neo-colonialist exploitation.

84. The outcome of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation demonstrates that international economic problems involving the interests of all peoples should be negotiated in the United Nations. The co-operation of all States in the democratic restructuring of economic relations is a requirement which is in conformity with the Charter of the world Organization. The same applies to technological co-operation.

85. The striving of peoples for peace, security and liberation from all kinds of oppression means struggle for the exercise of human rights. These rights are severely and brutally violated by wars of aggression and by Fascist, racist and colonialist terrorism.

86. The United Nations has addressed itself to eliminating flagrant and massive violations of human rights. That is consistent both with its main task and its competence. Accordingly, this session of the General Assembly must not allow a mantle of silence to be spread over Fascist terrorism

in Chile. It should rather assist in halting those practices in that country. With the same determination we speak out against the violation of human rights in southern Africa and in the territories occupied by Israel.

87. The two International Covenants on Human Rights which became effective last year provide an important foundation for co-operation by States on what are called individual human rights. In this context it may well be noted that all attempts to misuse this question in order to interfere in the internal affairs of States are not only contradictory to the Charter of the United Nations but also place a strain on relations between States. Those who are engaging in a campaign of slander against other States under the flag of human rights would be well advised to concern themselves with the realization of human rights in their own countries.

88. A few days ago Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party and the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, said:

“If in today’s world a political force is entitled to speak out on human rights, then it is first and foremost the revolutionary working-class movement. And if in today’s world a political system can claim to have given effect to human rights, then it is the world socialist system.”

89. Socialism, having abolished the exploitation of man by man, assures the right to live in human dignity; it ensures the exercise of the right to work, and hence to education and recreation, as well as to most generous medical services and care for the aged; it enables women to enjoy equal rights with men and treats all human beings alike, irrespective of race or colour. It is the system which assures a future in peace and social security, where everybody can develop his abilities for the benefit of society and contribute on an equal footing to his community’s international affairs. This is highly evident in everyday life.

90. The socialist States grant their citizens all rights and opportunities for individual development which, for instance, for millions of unemployed, women without equal rights or youths without training in countries that like to pose as models, can only remain a dream.

91. Statistics provide ample information as to exactly where millions of people are being deprived of such fundamental rights.

92. This General Assembly is faced with great tasks indeed. It can only cope with them if co-operation and understanding prevail. The German Democratic Republic will contribute its efforts to ensure that the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will chart a successful course in the interests of strengthening world peace and mutually beneficial co-operation among the peoples.

93. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Mr. President, I would like to begin my speech by congratulating you, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, on your election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. I would also like to take this opportunity to extend warm

^{1 2} See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex VIII, sect: F.

congratulations to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has made a major contribution to the anti-imperialist cause of the people of the world, and to the Republic of Djibouti, which has won independence after waging a protracted struggle, on their admission to membership in the United Nations, and sincerely to wish them new successes along their road of advance.

94. The delegation of the People's Republic of China has come to attend this session of the General Assembly shortly after the successful Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China. Our country is now at an important juncture in history, when we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. Here I would like first of all to speak on developments in China.

95. The year 1976 was no ordinary one for China. We lost our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and his long-tested, close comrades-in-arms, our respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Their passing away was a loss beyond measure to our Party and country, and our entire people was plunged in immense grief. In the same year, our country was hit by earthquakes and other severe natural calamities. Just when our people were faced with these grave difficulties, the counter-revolutionary "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan frenziedly stepped up their conspiratorial activities in a vain attempt to usurp supreme leadership in our Party and State. For a time dark clouds hung heavily over China. The Chinese people were worried about the fate of our Party and country, about whether we could continue to advance along the course charted by Chairman Mao. Our friends abroad also felt anxiety for us. A handful of enemies at home and abroad, however, gloated over our difficulties and hoped that our country would henceforth be thrown into a state of chaos and division and that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies would no longer be followed. When Chairman Mao was still with us, he had been aware of the "gang of four" problem. He waged repeated struggles against those persons and personally chose Chairman Hua Kuo-feng to be his successor so as to forestall their usurpation of Party and state power. After he passed away and at the critical moment when the "gang of four" attempted to seize the chance to take action, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua followed Chairman Mao's behest, acted on his directives and decisions and smashed this cabal at one blow, thus saving our country from a blood-bath and a major retrogression. The long-steeled Communist Party and people of China stood the rigorous test and won a great victory. The Chinese people rejoiced, and our foreign friends were happy for our sake.

96. At present, the situation in China is excellent. We again have a wise leader in Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. Our Party is more united, more unified and stronger than ever. People's democracy in China is being given full play. Our people's enthusiasm for socialism has never been so high. The dictatorship of the proletariat is more firmly consolidated. The mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has speeded up the rehabilitation and expansion of industrial and agricultural production. A new leap forward is taking shape in the national economy.

97. The Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China was a great milestone in the history of our Party, and it was a congress of great, historic significance and far-reaching influence. The Congress stressed that the banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory of the Chinese people's revolution. The Chinese people are determined to rally closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, for ever hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and steadfastly implement his revolutionary line in domestic and external work. We are determined to work hard for the realization of the strategic decision of grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, turn China into a powerful modern socialist country by the end of the century and make a greater contribution to humanity. We are confident of surmounting all difficulties and obstacles on our road of advance. Our cause is just. Our line is correct. Our goal must be attained. Our goal can unquestionably be attained.

98. We are happy to see that the international situation is also excellent. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening, and the factors for revolution continue to grow. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this has become the irresistible historical trend. The international united front against hegemonism, against the super-Power policies of aggression and war, is broadening.

99. Over the past year, the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, the liberation struggles of the oppressed people and nations and the revolutionary mass movements in many countries have continued to surge forward. The Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country has won more popular support. The people of Democratic Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, after winning great victories in their war against United States aggression and for national salvation, are actively consolidating their victorious gains and working hard for their countries' reconstruction. The people of the South-East Asian and South Asian countries, upholding independence and sovereignty, have repeatedly frustrated super-Power schemes of interference, control and expansion. The "Asian collective security system" so energetically hawked by a super-Power has been rejected or opposed by virtually all Asian countries. The Arab and Palestinian people's struggle against Israeli zionism and super-Power hegemonism is deepening. The people in southern Africa have risen in a new upsurge of the struggle against colonialism and racism. The people of Panama, with the support of the people in other Latin American countries, have achieved important results in their struggle for the recovery of the Panama canal. The people of the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania have won a number of new victories in their struggle to win or safeguard national independence and defend state sovereignty. The numerous developing countries have carried on an unremitting struggle against the super-Powers in order to establish a new international economic order and defend their national economic rights and interests and their maritime rights. The third-world countries and people, who support and encourage one another and fight in unity and co-operation, have played an increasingly remarkable role as

the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. Faced with the growing super-Power menace, the countries of the second world in Western Europe and other regions have shown a stronger tendency towards unity against hegemonism. The mass movement of the Japanese people for the recovery of the four northern islands is sweeping across the land. The two super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, which stand opposed to the people of the world, are beset with difficulties and crises at home and abroad. They find the going tougher and tougher. Social-imperialism, in particular, has suffered heavy blows one after another as its aggressive and expansionist features are further revealed. The international situation as a whole continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to the super-Powers.

100. The situation in the Middle East is a question of concern to the entire world. During the past year, the Arab and Palestinian people have more closely combined their struggle against zionism with the struggle against super-Power hegemonism. Social-imperialism's despicable practice of betrayal and control, under the camouflage of support and aid has been opposed by a growing number of Arab countries and peoples.

101. The Egyptian Government and people have resolutely resisted social-imperialism's political blackmail and economic pressure and safeguarded their state sovereignty and national dignity. The eighth meeting of the Kings and Presidents of the Arab League, held at Cairo on 25 and 26 October 1976, reached agreement on ending the civil war in Lebanon and strengthening Arab unity, thus frustrating another attempt of the super-Powers to sow discord and split the Arab ranks. While each super-Power tries to out-clamour the other for an over-all settlement of the Middle East question, both of them are in fact still attempting to maintain the unsettled state of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East. They are afraid of the emergence of a strong and united Arab world, of a stable and prosperous Middle East. Driven by the needs of their respective global strategies, they both seek to control the Middle East. Using different ways and tactics, both of them are supporting and abetting the Israeli Zionists and bringing all kinds of pressure to bear on the Arab countries and the Palestinian people. That is why the Israeli Zionists are so obdurate and so insolent. The situation in the Middle East will remain tense and complicated, pregnant with the danger of new military conflicts. But no one can shake the resolve of the Arab and Palestinian people to recover their sacred territories and regain their national rights. Supported by the people of the whole world, the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people will be crowned with final victory.

102. The developments in Africa are particularly encouraging. New victories have been won steadily by the great African people in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism. The Government and people of the Sudan foiled the subversive plots engineered by social-imperialism and expelled its military experts, dealing a heavy blow to its ambition of aggression and expansion. The people of Zaire, who are united as one against the common enemy and are supported by fraternal African peoples, crushed the invasion of mercenary troops

instigated by social-imperialism and safeguarded the independence and territorial integrity of their country. This victory, which greatly raised the morale of the African people and deflated the arrogance of the aggressors, sets an example of mutual support and joint resistance of African peoples against super-Power aggression. In southern Africa, the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia have persisted in armed struggle against racism and for national liberation under arduous and complex conditions. The people of Azania have fought resolutely against *apartheid* despite brutal repression, and the mass movement there keeps surging forward. People across the African continent voice strong solidarity for their brothers in southern Africa, whose heroic struggle also enjoys support from the people the world over. The reactionary Vorster and Smith régimes are besieged on all sides and completely isolated.

103. In their protracted struggle, the African countries and people have come to appreciate more and more the importance of unity against the enemy. Although there exist differences of one kind or another between African countries, yet confronted with the enemy they have sought common ground on major issues, while putting aside their minor differences, and have directed the main thrust of their attack against imperialism, colonialism and racism, and super-Power hegemonism in particular. This has been and will continue to be an important guarantee for the victories of the African people. The first Afro-Arab summit conference¹³ and the fourteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity¹⁴ stressed mutual aid and co-operation and the need to oppose foreign interference. These Conferences were a significant testimony to the strength and unity of the 61 African and Arab countries with their more than 400 million people in fighting the common enemy. They were a positive contribution to the struggle of the African and Arab people and of the entire third world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

104. The struggle of the African people will yet be protracted and arduous. Colonialism and racism are still putting up a last-ditch struggle. What is more serious is that both super-Powers have intensified their interference in African affairs. Owing to the importance of Africa's strategic location and its rich natural resources, each of them regards the control of this continent as an important part of its global strategy of gaining sway in Europe and dominating the world. Super-Power rivalry in Africa is becoming fiercer. One super-Power seeks to preserve and expand its vested interests and influence in Africa. It obdurately supports the forces of colonialism and racism in southern Africa and tries to undermine the liberation struggles of the people there. The other super-Power, flaunting the banner of opposing imperialism and colonialism and supporting the national liberation movement to fool people, has stepped up its infiltration and expansion in Africa. It is exploiting some differences between African countries and between liberation organizations and utilizing some problems left over from the days of colonial rule to sow discord, incite trouble and fish in troubled waters. Against those African

¹³ First Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, held at Cairo from 7 to 9 March 1977. See document A/32/61.

¹⁴ Held in Libreville from 23 June to 3 July 1977. See document A/32/310, annex II.

countries which dare to resist and oppose its hegemonic behaviour, this super-Power has resorted to brazen and unscrupulous subversion and interference and gone so far as to organize and send mercenary troops for outright military invasion, which poses a grave threat to the security and independence of these countries. Many African countries are worried lest what happened in Angola and Zaire yesterday may befall themselves tomorrow. Facts eloquently show that the rivalry between the super-Powers is the main source of unrest and turbulence in Africa, and that the super-Power which styles itself a "natural ally" of the African people has become their most sinister and ferocious enemy. The African countries and people are indeed faced with the trying task of "rebuffing the tiger at the back door while repelling the wolf at the front gate". However, a great change has taken place in Africa. The great African people have stood up; they will never tolerate any foreign force of aggression lord it over them again. It is our conviction that the African people, persisting in unity and struggle against the common enemy, will frustrate all super-Power schemes and demolish the last bastions of colonialism and racism in Africa, thereby winning complete independence and liberation for the whole of Africa.

105. A question the people of the world are interested in and think about today is whether the world situation is more tense or more relaxed, whether the danger of war is greater or less. A super-Power claims that the danger of war has been "considerably reduced". This is sheer deceptive talk. The stark reality is that the situation in the world has not relaxed, and that the factors for war are visibly growing. In their scramble for hegemony, both super-Powers are intensifying their arms expansion and war preparations. Their rivalry extends to every corner of the world. They are carrying out aggression and expansion far and wide, each cutting the ground from under the other's feet and striving to weaken and gain advantage over the other. Because of its political, economic and strategic importance, Europe is strategically the focus of rivalry between the two hegemonic Powers and the arena where they are locked in acute military confrontation. The two antagonistic military blocs keep increasing their troops and armaments and redeploing their forces and frequently conducting large-scale military exercises. The war machine of each super-Power has expanded to unprecedented proportions. The super-Powers are the source of a new world war. This is an ironclad fact which no one can cover up.

106. It must be pointed out in particular that social-imperialism presents the greater danger. Judging from the current over-all picture of the rivalry between the two hegemonic Powers, the United States is on the defensive, while the Soviet Union is on the offensive. Social-imperialism is exerting its utmost to carry out all-round arms expansion. It surpassed the United States in conventional armed forces long ago and is striving for over-all supremacy in nuclear weapons as well. It has expanded its navy on a massive scale, and its fleets are active on all seas. It wants to grab the whole of Europe, Asia and Africa. It not only maintains a posture of readiness to break through at the centre in Europe, but strives to create a situation in which it can outflank Europe from the north and the south. It is accelerating its plunder of strategic resources and control of strategic areas in Africa and the Middle East and

seeks to seize the Persian Gulf in the east, block the strategic routes of the Atlantic Ocean in the west and thrust round the Cape of Good Hope in the south. The ambitions of the new tsars far exceed those of the old tsars.

107. There are profound political and economic reasons why social-imperialism has become the most dangerous source of war. Being a latecomer among the imperialist Powers, it is more aggressive and adventurous. Owing to its relatively inadequate economic strength, it cannot but rely to a greater extent on military strength and threats of war in pursuing expansion. Its highly concentrated State-monopoly capitalist economy and its political régime of Fascist dictatorship make it easier to militarize its national economy and state apparatus. Besides, it flaunts the banner of "socialism", which can deceive people to a certain extent, and this also makes it more dangerous.

108. Lenin said: "An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great Powers in the striving for hegemony."

109. Chairman Mao said:

"The United States wants to protect its interests in the world and the Soviet Union wants to expand; this can in no way be changed. In the era in which classes exist, war is an interval between one peace and another. War is a continuation of politics, that is to say, a continuation of peace. Peace itself is politics."

The continuation of fierce contention between the two super-Powers is bound to lead to a world war some day. This is independent of man's will.

110. More and more people have recognized that the factors for war are visibly growing and that social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of war. They advocate the strengthening of unity, of defence capabilities and of preparedness against war. But it must not be overlooked that there is still a strong trend towards appeasement in the West. Some people hope that temporary ease can be gained by making compromises and concessions. They imagine that they can restrain social-imperialism by signing agreements and expanding economic exchanges with it and by giving it loans. Some even seek to divert this peril towards the east in order to preserve themselves at the expense of others. Historical experience tells us that all aggressors bully the soft and fear the tough and always reach out for a yard after taking an inch. Like rearing a tiger to one's ultimate detriment, a policy of appeasement will simply encourage aggression and hasten the outbreak of war. To follow in Neville Chamberlain's footsteps means courting self-destruction. We must not forget the tragic lesson of Munich.

111. It is understandable that people are interested in the question of disarmament when the super-Powers are stepping up their rivalry and their arms expansion and war preparations and when the danger of a world war is growing. But the super-Powers are playing up disarmament as something miraculous. In particular, the super-Power that most vociferously preaches "peace" dishes up some sort of disarmament proposal every year and describes disarmament virtually as a panacea which will dispel the

danger of war, ensure a lasting peace and rid the world of poverty. This is sheer deception. Since the super-Powers are bent on aggression and expansion and are scrambling for world hegemony, they are bound to expand their armaments and go to war. They will never lay down their knives, nor beat their swords into ploughshares. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva has been going on for 16 years, yet neither super-Power has reduced its armaments by a single gun. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have been going on for 8 years, yet strategic arms have kept growing in number. The negotiations on mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Central Europe has entered its fourth year, yet the armaments deployed by the super-Powers in central Europe have continued to increase, and there are endless wrangling and differences even over the exact number of troops maintained by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty in this region. It is very clear that the super-Powers are prating about disarmament and peace only to cover up their arms expansion and war preparations. They are just using people's desire for peace to lull the people with false hopes so that it may be easier for them to launch a war some day and realize their wild ambition of conquering the world.

112. Our attitude with regard to a world war is, "First, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it". The people of the world want peace, and the Chinese people also want a peaceful international environment in which they may better build up their country. It is the super-Powers and not the Chinese people and the people of the world who want war. Some people say that in repeatedly stressing the danger of a world war, China is raising a false alarm and that it is warlike and wants to provoke a world war. This is vile slander. All we have done is to call a spade a spade so that the people will be on the alert and oppose the unleashing of a new world war by the super-Powers. And when we say we are not afraid of war, it means still less that we like it, but because to be afraid gets us nowhere. The super-Powers are bent on fighting a war. What is the use of being afraid? Actually, the super-Powers are not so terrifying. They look strong like real tigers. But, as Chairman Mao pointed out:

"... imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers."¹⁵

Social-imperialism has wild ambitions. But it finds little political support, and its economy is lop-sided. There is a sharpening contradiction between its ruling clique and the broad masses as well as mounting discontent among the oppressed minority nationalities at home. Its "community", which is a colonial set-up, is very unstable and shows a growing centrifugal tendency. Pursuing aggression and expansion everywhere, social-imperialism has set itself against the people of all countries, and this in itself dooms it to defeat. So long as the people of all countries unite and form themselves into a mighty army against hegemonism, heighten their vigilance, get prepared and persevere in struggle, they may be able to put off the war; and in case it does break out, they will find themselves in a favourable

position to abolish unjust war by means of a just war against aggression and win genuine peace. We are revolutionary optimists. We are convinced that the human race will abolish war and not be destroyed by it.

113. Developments on the international scene have proved that Chairman Mao's thesis differentiating the three worlds, which he set forth in 1974, conforms to the political realities of the contemporary world and is in the fundamental interests of the people the world over. Back in 1926 he stressed,

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution."¹⁶

Chairman Mao advanced his thesis differentiating the three worlds after he had observed and studied for years the development and changes of the basic contradictions and the division and realignment of the political forces in the world since the 1960s, as well as the political and economic position of each country internationally. The great significance of this thesis lies in the fact that it provides the people of the world with a powerful ideological instrument with which to identify the main revolutionary forces, the chief enemies, and the middle forces that can be won over and united with in the international struggle of today. It thus enables the people of all countries to mobilize better all positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united and isolate the main common enemy to the maximum and deal it the heaviest blows. At present, the steady reinforcement of the unity and co-operation of the third world, the growing tendency in the second world to unity against hegemonism and the broadening of the international united front against super-Power hegemonism, in which the third world is the main force—all this testifies to the validity of Chairman Mao's thesis. Obviously, the broader the international united front against hegemonism and the more isolated the super-Powers, the more that situation will favour the struggle of the oppressed people and nations for liberation and of the people of all countries, particularly the third-world countries, to win or safeguard national independence, defend State sovereignty and develop their national economy. On the other hand, every victory in the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries helps to weaken the super-Powers, thwart their aggressive and expansionist ambitions, upset their war plans and deployments, and put off the outbreak of a new world war.

114. Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds is diametrically opposed to the super-Powers' views on international relations. One super-Power spreads the view that there is only one world, a so-called "interdependent" world. But in fact the different parts of the world are mutually contradictory as well as interrelated. The "interdependence" this super-Power emphasizes has nothing in common with the international co-operation on an equal footing demanded by the many small and medium-sized countries. This super-Power wants to obliterate the actual contradiction between exploiter and exploited, between oppressor and oppressed and between aggressor and victim of aggression. It attempts thereby to preserve the outdated world order and wants all countries to be "dependent" on it. The other

¹⁵ See *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1966), p. 74.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

super-Power ignores the fact that the socialist camp ceased to exist and the imperialist camp disintegrated long ago, and asserts that the two camps still exist. Evidently, it wants even more to obliterate its acute contradiction with the people of the world, and with the people of the third-world countries, in particular. By continuing to use the signboard "the socialist camp", it attempts to disguise its true nature of social-imperialism, enforce the doctrines of "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship" in its "community" so as to preserve its neo-colonial set-up, and at the same time to hoodwink the people and to push its policies of aggression and expansion in the whole world. There is an essential similarity between the two views advanced by the two super-Powers. Both want to prevent us the people of the world from distinguishing between our enemies, our friends and ourselves, so as to strengthen their positions in the rivalry for world hegemony and to undermine the struggle of the world people against hegemonism.

115. Chairman Mao's strategic concept differentiating the three worlds explodes the fallacies spread by the super-Powers and gives a correct orientation to the contemporary international struggle. This brilliant concept will demonstrate greater vitality with the passage of time.

116. The revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs which were formulated by the Chinese people's great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and creatively implemented by our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai have been and will continue to be the guideline for China's external work. At the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng solemnly declared that we will hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to proletarian internationalism and continue to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. We will strengthen our unity with the other socialist countries and with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, strengthen our unity with the other third-world countries and ally with all countries subjected to the aggression, interference or threats of super-Power hegemonism so as to form the broadest possible united front against the hegemonism of the two super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We will establish and develop relations with other countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We will strengthen our unity with all other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations and carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre.

117. We have always held that all countries, big and small, should be equal. We are resolutely against big nations bullying small ones and strong nations oppressing weak ones. The affairs of a country should be managed by its own people; the affairs of a region should be managed by the countries in that region; the affairs of the whole world should be managed jointly by all countries.

118. China is a socialist country. China and the other third-world countries share a common experience and face common fighting tasks. China belongs to the third world. We stand firmly together with the other developing countries and people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and

other regions. We firmly support these countries in their struggle to combat imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and to win or safeguard national independence, defend State sovereignty and develop their national economy. The non-aligned movement, an important force, has developed steadily and become stronger, and together with the other third-world countries, it is playing a role of growing importance in international affairs. We firmly support the non-aligned countries in pursuing their non-aligned policy of independence, peace and neutrality and support them in opposing all foreign aggression and interference.

119. We firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country. The United Nations Command must be dissolved. The armed forces of the United States and their equipment must be withdrawn immediately and totally from South Korea. The Chung Hee Park clique in South Korea must stop all its provocations which create tensions. The Korean question should be resolved by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference. Any act to delay and obstruct the reunification of Korea in the hope of perpetuating the division of Korea and creating "two Koreas" runs counter to the aspirations of the entire Korean people and will not be tolerated. The resolution for promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirtieth session [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*] should be implemented in earnest.

120. We firmly support the Arab and Palestinian people in their just struggle to recover their lost territories and regain their national rights. We are firmly opposed to the rivalry for hegemony between the two super-Powers in the Middle East and to Israel's policy of aggression. The provocative action of the present administration of Israel in establishing settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan River with a view to permanently occupying Arab territories must be strongly condemned. We reaffirm that we will have no dealings whatsoever with the Israeli Zionists.

121. We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against white racism and for national independence and liberation. We reaffirm that we will have no dealings whatsoever with the South African and Rhodesian racist régimes.

122. We firmly support the Latin American countries in their struggle to strengthen unity and co-operation and combat super-Power hegemonism. We firmly support the Panamanian people in their valiant and protracted struggle for the recovery of the Panama Canal.

123. We firmly support the third-world countries and people in their struggle against imperialist or social-imperialist exploitation and plunder, for the establishment of a new international economic order and in defence of their national economic rights and interests. The correct principles in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the Programme of Action [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] adopted at the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly must be carried out. We support the series of reasonable proposals advanced by the developing

countries, such as the establishment of an integrated programme for commodities and its common fund, the demand for a moratorium on and the reduction or cancellation of debt burdens, etc.

124. We support the second-world countries and people in their struggle to oppose super-Power control, intimidation and bullying and to defend their security and national independence. We support their efforts to improve relations with third-world countries on the basis of equality. We appreciate the efforts of the Western European countries for unity against hegemonism. We firmly support the Japanese people in their struggle for the recovery of the four northern islands.

125. We are for genuine disarmament and against sham disarmament. We have consistently stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. As the first step, 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 they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time or in any circumstances, and in particular will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, and that they must dismantle all their nuclear bases on the territories of other countries and withdraw from abroad all their nuclear armed forces and nuclear weapons. We support the demands of the countries and people in the regions of the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and in South-East Asia, South Asia and Latin America for the establishment of peace zones, security zones and nuclear-free zones. We are strongly opposed to the super-Powers' policies of nuclear blackmail and nuclear monopoly and to their disarmament fraud.

126. The Shanghai communiqué of 27 February 1972 is the basis for the relations between China and the United States at present. According to the spirit of the communiqué, if relations between the two countries are to be normalized, the United States must sever its so-called diplomatic relations with the Chiang clique, withdraw all its armed forces and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait area and abrogate its so-called "mutual defence treaty" with the Chiang clique. Taiwan is China's sacred territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great undertaking of unifying our motherland. When and how to liberate Taiwan is entirely China's internal affair, which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever. The above is the unalterable stand of the Chinese Government.

127. Our controversy with the Soviet leading clique on matters of principle will go on for a long time. We will persevere in our tit-for-tat struggle against its hegemonism. At the same time, we have always held that China and the Soviet Union should maintain normal State relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. It is none other than the Soviet leading clique that has worsened the State relations between China and the Soviet Union. If the Soviet leaders really want to improve the State relations between the two countries, they should prove this by deeds.

128. We will always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching, "Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never

seek hegemony", and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to invade China. Our policy is: "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack."

129. We will always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that in our external work we should "get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely".¹⁷ We will never seek hegemony or be a super-Power. We will always stand by the oppressed people and nations throughout the world. On behalf of the Chinese Government, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping solemnly declared from this rostrum in April 1974:

"If one day China should change its [political] colour and turn into a super-Power, if it too, should play the tyrant in the world, and everywhere subject others to its bullying, aggression and exploitation, then the people of the world should identify it as social imperialism, expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it."¹⁸

Here, we the Chinese delegation, would like to reaffirm this stand.

130. The world is advancing amidst turmoil; the people are awakening in the course of struggle. We are now in a new historical period—a period of struggle against super-Power hegemonism. The struggle will be hard and the road tortuous, but the future is bright. "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."¹⁹ The people of the world have been tempered in great storms of struggle. They have gained experience, strengthened their unity and grown stronger. It is not the one or two super-Powers but the people of the world that decide the destiny of mankind. Victory unquestionably belongs to the people of the world.

131. Mr. DE LA PUENTE RADBILL (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is a special pleasure for me, as Foreign Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Peru, to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly since it has brought to that distinguished post a representative of Yugoslavia, a non-aligned country and a friend of Peru, and ensures that our discussions will take place under the most impartial leadership and in a manner commensurate with the international responsibility of the present time.

132. The sure progress of our world Organization under the direction of Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim is an indication that the international community, despite undeniable difficulties, is approaching a consensus among the States which will make it possible for the principles of the Charter to be fully implemented in the foreseeable future. For that reason it is a great pleasure for me to welcome the Governments of Viet Nam and Djibouti, which now join the United Nations as new Members and which by their

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2209th meeting, para. 219.

¹⁹ See *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1966), p. 118.

presence and efforts will contribute to the strengthening of peace.

133. On this occasion afforded to me by the General Assembly I shall limit my statement to the minimum, taking into account the importance of stating the concerns, interests and position of my Government as regards present-day problems but at the same time recognizing the urgency of leading this debate to subjects which in my view may demand special priority and attention.

134. It is with this idea and procedure in mind that I have distributed the complete text of my statement in which I have dealt appropriately with the items of interest and which I hope will be analysed thoroughly in the Foreign Ministries.

135. Naturally, among the complex international topics my country must emphasize those which relate most directly to our international action by giving a detailed picture of our regional concerns and at the same time explaining the situation which obtains in Peru at the moment. This should not be construed as meaning that we are placing in another perspective problems of global import since we are also concerned about them.

136. First of all, I believe it essential to face objectively the meagre results of the North-South dialogue because the conclusion of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation seems to make an over-all solution impossible in a world which persists in its fragmentation despite its interdependent nature. It is inevitable that in evaluating that forum for negotiation, to which Peru contributed its best efforts, the end result appears to be clearly negative. The responsibility for this rests with the industrialized countries which disregarded our substantive positions without proposing alternative structural formulas. Temporary proposals for financial relief do not constitute a significant factor in a process of negotiation which really extends to another level.

137. On the other hand, we have before us an opportunity to follow new North-South co-ordinates, together with the continuous efforts in the economic debate, at the appropriate levels and in the forums in which decisions can be made, by implementing a comprehensive programme of disarmament under international supervision. This cannot be postponed further if we wish to remove the burden on the world economy represented by the arms race and to free new resources for use in international economic co-operation.

138. As regards the law of the sea, I wish to say that when the United Nations Conference on this subject approaches its goal there will be pitfalls which may lead to a resounding failure. On the one hand there are attempts to change the jurisdiction of coastal States over the maritime areas adjacent to their coasts which are affected by the essentially codifying nature of work in this field. On the other hand there are the difficult negotiations on the sea-bed, which are politically explosive and methodologically bogged down and have been further hampered by threats of unilateral action or simply of abandonment, which jeopardizes what is a common heritage of mankind.

139. From our vantage point and bearing in mind the most pressing objectives which the non-aligned developing

countries agree in presenting as inescapable immediate responsibilities, we are concerned by the fact that, far from noting a promising climate in the most critical areas of international security, we see rather that there is little to give rise to optimism in southern Africa, Cyprus or the Middle East. My country has adopted clear and definite positions on these problems and continues to believe that the progress of negotiations must encompass the rights and interests of populations which have been oppressed and cast aside so as to obtain in each of the situations of conflict real changes which will make it possible not only to eliminate the risks for the maintenance of peace but also to develop the just and equitable formulas which are the essential condition of permanent solutions.

140. The consistent objectives of Peruvian foreign policy have led my Government to take more effective action in terms of strengthening its close ties with the brother nations of Latin America, and at the level of Heads of State we have reaffirmed our permanent support for the just cause of Panama in claiming its national rights in the Canal Zone, and have reiterated the political commitment to strengthen the integration of the Andean Group. At the same time, at the highest level and in the same spirit of brotherhood, we have been able to continue dealing with bilateral questions which are part of the constructive relations we have with neighbouring countries with a view to strengthening permanent bonds of peace and solidarity.

141. The interest of Peru in promoting and strengthening regional unity is aimed at ensuring that Latin America will have increasing representation in future discussions for the purpose of establishing juster and sounder bases for a democratically established order among nations which will guarantee human rights and man's fulfilment.

142. The idea supported by the Heads of State of the Andean Group at their meeting in Washington on 8 September last of holding a world conference on inflation is eloquent proof of the continuous concern of my country about the most pressing problems facing the international community.

143. Peru has constantly expanded its integrationist interests because it believes that it is right and necessary to create bonds of unity in the continent and appropriate institutional forms as additional steps towards eradicating the disputes which still exist in the subcontinent. This action in favour of unity, especially in the context of the Bolivarian countries of the Andean Group, has just received, at the meeting of Presidents in Washington, decisive support, which augurs well for its success.

144. In the same spirit of understanding which expresses our sincere desire for peace, the meeting recently held in Washington by the Presidents of Peru and Ecuador was particularly heartening. In that cordial encounter both Heads of State examined bilateral matters, especially the more delicate and important ones, without excluding any questions affecting relations between the two countries. The consideration of those questions is to proceed through friendly dialogue and direct contacts between Peru and Ecuador.

145. In that same spirit, I should like to refer to the support repeatedly expressed by Peru of Bolivia's desire for

an outlet to the sea. Peru responded to the initial approaches made to it by presenting a proposal which ensured Bolivia's access to the sea and at the same time included additional elements that, in its view, could lead to conditions guaranteeing peace, co-operation and development in the area where that access is to be provided. Peru does not pretend to view its proposal as a final and definitive formula, but rather as a basis for negotiations which my country believes should be inspired by a determination to achieve an over-all solution of the problems.

146. At this session of the Assembly [7th meeting] the Foreign Minister of Bolivia referred to Peru's consent to a possible solution. Our position is that, to be logical, Peru cannot consider giving its consent before it is provided with the basis of an agreement between Bolivia and Chile, which so far has not been arrived at. Once that is done contacts between Peru and Chile will be established in order to reach the prior agreement between the parties, as provided for in the Additional Protocol of 1929.²⁰

147. This order of events, however, does not prevent the three countries from holding constructive talks with a view to facilitating a solution of the problem, bearing in mind their respective interests.

148. Proof of that is the fact that the Foreign Ministers of Bolivia and Chile and myself held talks today in compliance with the solemn mandate given to us by our Presidents on 8 September in Washington, which will allow for continuing dialogue not only through the Foreign Ministers but also through special representatives who will smooth the way, constructively and dynamically for future meetings of Foreign Ministers. The press release resulting from that important meeting will be distributed to the Assembly tomorrow.

149. I should like now to refer to the positive situation with respect to the Revolutionary Government today with its decision to accelerate the process which will in a short period of time lead to the establishment of complete democracy in Peru. Next year a constituent assembly will be held and a new constitution will be adopted which, with the transfer of power in 1980, will lead to a genuinely democratic political system and the enactment of rules which will ensure the permanent nature of the reforms carried out in my country.

150. Those steps, which will include greater party involvement and greater participation of the masses in the national dialogue, indicate that the Government of Peru knows how to build a political system which guarantees essential economic and social rights together with full political freedom. Compliance with that will confirm and reaffirms the humanitarian designs of my Government because, as the President of Peru, General Francisco Morales Bermúdez, has stated:

“If it is not to struggle for the majority, if it is not to reduce the number of those who are cast aside and exploited, if it is not to increase the participation and

distribution of wealth and power, if in short it is not to create a more humane and just society, then politics and democracy have no meaning and simply become a squalid struggle to satisfy personal ambitions.”

151. In the meantime, in the economic sector, my country has had to face adverse financial results which obstruct and jeopardize progress towards the advanced objectives of our development process now in full swing.

152. The situation I have described is the result not only of the public expenditure undertaken by the State in assuming primary responsibility for the development process but more importantly of the negative effects of the unfair structure of the world's economy, which has become worse as a result of the recession and the inflationary crisis. Another fact that is decisive in this negative picture is the sudden drastic drop in the prices of our raw materials and our exported commodities, which has had an adverse effect on our balance of payments.

153. Faced with these developments, my Government has decided to reduce public expenditure drastically, to promote domestic savings and to seek more realistic domestic price levels, without compromising the basic needs of the major sectors of the population, to whose improvement the process of change which the Revolutionary Government has initiated and is promoting is precisely directed. At the same time, my Government has decided to honour its external debt obligations, a practice which has constantly followed and one concerning which it hopes to find the necessary response in the financial community.

154. In briefly describing the present situation in Peru I have not wished to perform an obligatory right but rather to show the interrelationship which exists between our domestic objectives and our international position. This is due to the full observance of a course of conduct which stems from a fundamental philosophy, that is to say, from adherence to principles of consultation and dialogue at the domestic level and to negotiation, understanding and co-operation at the international level. Peru believes that in both spheres a review of conditions of inequality and their restructuring are necessary in order to achieve the domestic and international norms of conduct which correspond to the fundamental requirements of man.

155. Mr. ROVIRA (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to offer you my congratulations on your election to preside over this session of the General Assembly. Your election not only represents a tribute to you personally but also does honour to your country, Yugoslavia, with which Uruguay has maintained cordial relations for many years.

Mr. Ayala Lasso (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

156. On behalf of my delegation, I should also like to hail the accomplishments of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and in that connexion to lay particular emphasis on his enduring concern for the political and economic problems of the developing countries.

²⁰ Treaty for the Settlement of the Dispute regarding Tacna and Arica, with Additional Protocol, signed at Lima on 3 June 1929. See League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (No. 2157), p. 401.

157. Thirty-two years ago, we, the peoples of the United Nations, resolved

“... to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights... in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, to establish conditions under which justice and respect for... treaties... can be maintained, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and... to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours...”.

Since that time, those high aspirations have represented the focal-point of our endeavours and the hope of our peoples. The balance-sheet of achievements to date would show important gains on the credit side, but on the debit side it would draw attention to much that remains to be done.

158. Notwithstanding the lapse of time and the work accomplished, the world is at present living in the midst of a crisis which is both moral and material; it is sick not only in spirit but also in the state of its economy. As was the case 32 years ago, the anxious eyes of the whole world are once again focused on those same high goals and objectives for national and international well-being and on the practical results flowing from our deliberations and our work—because there is no other reality or dream of which they can take hold.

159. As on other occasions, the present session will permit us to measure the throb of the political realities faced by countries, as set forth by their heads of delegation. This shows clearly that this United Nations forum continues to be universally recognized as representing the best hope for the resolution of conflicts and antagonisms, for encouraging closer and more productive relations among nations, and for promoting mutually beneficial international co-operation in the economic and social fields. That was the hope of our predecessors when they signed the historic Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco.

160. Therefore let us not be diverted from that hope or that struggle because we will vitiate what has been achieved to date and compromise everything that remains to be done. Let us rather dedicate ourselves anew to all that yet remains to be done. That is surely our first and heaviest present responsibility, and it can be neither diluted nor dodged. We are starting this new session in the belief that acute problems are looming which place in jeopardy the long and arduous work of our Organization for the achievement of peace and justice in the international community and that solutions to those problems must be found if the Organization's goals and objectives are to be attained.

161. I should like to refer briefly to the most important of those problems which can be solved only through the participation of all in collective and concerted action.

162. Until a more healthy and just economy can be guaranteed, it will not be possible for the world to achieve lasting stability and peace. It was therefore encouraging to learn from the declaration of the Heads of State of the principal developed countries at the Downing Street

Summit Conference in London last May²¹ that the world economy could only achieve sustained and even growth provided the less industrialized countries participated therein, in so far as the well-being of the developing and the developed is interlinked as world prosperity is a single and indivisible whole. Even a superficial analysis shows, however, that the practical progress achieved during the past year is not consistent with the proposals for reform implicit in those declarations.

163. In reality, North-South relations continue to be of marginal interest to the advanced countries, except as regards the supply of certain important raw materials, such as petroleum. As Uruguay has pointed out in the past, substantial differences of approach remain, and they prevent effective progress towards satisfactory solutions.

164. In the opinion of Uruguay, the North-South dialogue cannot neglect the grave problems of the middle-income developing countries, whose efforts to achieve more satisfactory growth rates and living standards for their populations have been thwarted by recent changes in the world economy, by the reality of international trade bristling with useless barriers, and by the inexcusable lack of financial assistance.

165. The developing countries—as much as or, indeed, more than any others—stand in need of a properly functioning international system organized on just foundations which will not prejudice their sustained economic growth but will assist them to exploit their own material and human resources.

166. Uruguay has launched a vigorous effort to open up its economy with a view to overcoming the rigid limitations within the domestic market. It has accordingly lowered substantially the protective barriers against imports and is at the same time trying to promote exports of manufactured and semi-manufactured products in which it enjoys a competitive advantage; it has achieved conspicuous success with a number of those product lines.

167. Unfortunately, it is becoming increasingly evident that that effort is running into the strongest opposition, in the form of proliferating and constantly increasing protectionist measures in the principal world markets.

168. There is much talk about the advantages of free trade. Such proclamations become a mockery when the structure of production and trade in a sector of such importance to humanity as agriculture—in which the natural advantages of the developing countries offer the possibility of optimum efficiency levels—is constantly distorted and shackled by the developed countries through a multiplicity of practices, which in effect negates free trade.

169. Today more than ever the world food problem cannot be solved by stimulating expensive agricultural production in certain developed countries behind tariff and non-tariff barriers, subsidies and support prices, as the need will arise at a later stage to dispose of the agricultural surpluses thus encouraged, through the use of “dumping” prices and even, on occasion, by unilaterally labelling them as development assistance. Instead of alleviating the world food problem, such actions aggravate it by disorganizing

²¹ See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. LXXVI, No. 1960 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 583-586.

markets and by interfering with the growth of the productive capacity of the developing countries in an area in which they have a clear comparative advantage.

170. While the developing countries are faced with the daily threat of protectionist barriers, the dialectics unleashed within the framework of the North-South dialogue are of little relevance.

171. The developing countries are seriously handicapped by the present lack of rules which would take proper account of their situation and which would be respected by the industrialized nations. The developed countries are protected by their economic weight against the protectionist designs of their trading partners. Their capacity for retaliation represents an effective deterrent. But this factor is of no help to the great majority of the developing countries which can do little or nothing to defend themselves but nevertheless risk becoming proving-grounds for the protectionist experiments of the developed countries.

172. Uruguay supports the international organization of production and trade in raw materials in accordance with an integrated programme which would take account of development targets, and also the establishment of a common fund which would serve as a fundamental instrument for achieving those goals.

173. The restructuring of the world financial system should also be designed to assist development and in particular should make it free from all political considerations, bearing in mind that by their very nature the latter should be kept separate from financial programmes.

174. The events of recent years have had a serious impact on the developing countries, which have been damaged by the loss of stability in exchange rates and by the abandonment in practice of the prohibition on competitive devaluations, without gaining offsetting advantages from the creation of international liquidity.

175. The creation of international reserves should correspond to the needs of real, potential and non-inflationary growth of production and world trade; but above all it should serve the overriding objective of stimulating development.

176. At this point it is relevant to mention that one of the major defects of the North-South dialogue is rooted in the apparently intentional lack of co-operation shown by a substantial group of countries in this particular area.

177. The problem of development concerns not only the Western world, and attempts to make it appear so must be firmly rejected. The economic structure of the socialist countries does not represent a real obstacle to their participation in efforts to assist development, in the same way as a state monopoly of trade cannot reasonably hinder support to such efforts.

178. The international community should not accept with passive indifference that one group of nations should adhere to commercial practices in their dealings with the developing countries while, at the same time, justifying

severe condemnation of the same practices when applied by market-economy countries.

179. To the extent that their present commercial practices force the developing countries to remain suppliers of natural raw materials from whom no products containing any added value are purchased, the developed socialist countries are placing obstacles in the way of the development of the industrially less advanced countries and are hurting the living standards of their inhabitants.

180. There is no question but that drastic action must be taken on such questions as the burden of debt of the developing countries, the maintenance of the purchasing power of their export earnings, as well as in matters of trade, industrialization, agriculture, food, the transfer of technology, the restructuring of raw material markets, the negotiation of the Integrated Programme and the common fund, development assistance and the fight against inflation.

181. The list of economic questions to which I have just referred makes it imperative that efforts should be continued which will test the efficacy of the present economic system of the United Nations as the principal forum for negotiations in the North-South dialogue.

182. International terrorism continues to present a grave threat. A few months ago Uruguay took part in the most recent meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism, and it is a matter of regret that no common political will could be found to face up to this modern scourge of humanity.

183. As the representative of a country which endured more than its share of terrorist violence and which saw the traditional values of an open, united and democratic society threatened by it, I believe that our Organization should express its collective and most energetic repudiation of such hate-inspired forms of aggression and should encourage universal respect for law and order.

184. If all nations do not co-operate in the observance of those principles, then disintegration and chaos will rule society with all their terrible consequences, and the United Nations will suffer a severe blow to its prestige, already weakened by the vacillations of many Members, and even by the covert or open support given by others to those who commit terrorist acts.

185. Even the most noble cause of the liberation of peoples is tainted when recourse is had to certain repugnant forms of violence which, in the main, strike down innocent people, and represent a flagrant violation of human rights and of those other goals and objectives of our Organization which I mentioned earlier.

186. Uruguay has always been a strong supporter of human rights and, from the early days of the United Nations, has striven to find the most effective means of implementing the provisions of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Uruguay accordingly proposed the establishment of a truly international legal body which would advise on all cases of violations of human rights and would set up a consultative mechanism to prevent unlawful interference or intervention. That proposal, submitted more

than 20 years ago,²² was later taken up by Costa Rica which, using the same principles as a basis, gave it the new form of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Uruguay, together with Costa Rica—known for its clear humanist principles—has continued work on this idea which, although it could not be implemented, nevertheless remains alive, and we give it our renewed support.

187. Notwithstanding this background, we have in recent years been the object of an international campaign of slander which sought to pervert the meaning of the crisis which beset our country in such a way as to give the impression that the framework of one of the exemplary societies in matters of social justice and respect for human rights had been fundamentally changed.

188. On that point, I would like to state that Uruguay was forced to carry out a hard struggle against subversion and foreign intervention without the slightest support from even the traditional allies of the free world.

189. Today the skies are clearing and our Republic is on the road back to full institutional normality following a period when overriding reasons of necessity and emergency forced us to take certain temporary measures as an unavoidable duty of national survival.

190. We were, and continue to be, the only actors in a drama involving the defence of our national character in which we are not prepared to admit either foreign admonitions or ideas. In the field of human rights we have, with a great effort, maintained a normal dialogue in which we have always played the role of inspirer and active participant.

191. In maintaining and increasing the degree of protection for human rights—which never lost their force in Uruguay—and in correcting unavoidable short-comings, the members of my Government have the moral support of their own consciences and their incorruptible sense of responsibility.

192. At the same time Uruguay takes a firm stand of principle against the politicization of the issue of human rights and is opposed to any attempt—no matter from what quarter—to employ it as an excuse for interference in the internal affairs of States and, in particular, in their political process or as a form of aggression against their sovereignty, independence or integrity.

193. Full respect for fundamental human rights and liberties must be completely independent of the internal procedures of States and of systems they may have found it necessary to adopt within the limits of their respective sovereignty.

194. Protection for those rights and liberties represents an international obligation of binding character and therefore, under international law, it is the responsibility of every State, within the area of its exclusive authority, to adopt such measures as it may find appropriate to implement its international obligations in this as in any other matter.

195. Uruguay also categorically confirms its traditional principles in so far as it does not accept discrimination—whether racial or otherwise—no matter what reasons are used in justification or in what regions they may be practised.

196. The difficult situation in the Middle East is a matter of special concern to my Government as its excessive prolongation threatens peace and international security.

197. My delegation has taken the opportunity of expressing Uruguay's views on this problem during other sessions of the General Assembly, and I would like to repeat these today.

198. From a purely legal point of view, it is clear that military victory confers no rights and, still less, territorial rights. Accordingly, the community of nations accepts the principle that each has the right to live in peace, within secure and recognized borders, enjoying respect for its existence, sovereignty, integrity and independence.

199. In any examination of the over-all problem of the Middle East, account must be taken, both on political and human grounds, of the fate of the Palestinian people, and formulas must be found within the framework of the peace negotiations which will secure their legitimate aspirations.

200. We believe that those directly interested should, as soon as possible, negotiate appropriate and just understandings based on the principles of international law with a view to finding a comprehensive solution to this question, so that finally a fully adequate peace agreement can be achieved in this area.

201. The agenda of the present session contains more than 20 items on disarmament, on which the General Assembly has in the past expressed its views.

202. It seems to us that the peoples of the world are under the impression that disarmament is exclusively a subject for rhetoric which they support as a matter of course as a worthy cause, whereas the reality is that, with the passage of time and contrary to what might be hoped, armaments of an increasingly sophisticated and deadly nature are escalating in all regions of the globe.

203. For a variety of reasons, vast amounts of the incomes of States and the resources of mankind are poured into the stockpiling of means of destruction, while millions of human beings are dying in the streets for lack of food and while others exist in subhuman conditions for lack of proper integral development.

204. It is urgently necessary in this field as in others to achieve solid results which will not only serve to maintain international peace and security but will permit us to continue to speak with moral authority and to rely upon the confidence of our peoples on an item so perverted by reality.

205. If within the framework of known strategic concepts the maintenance of international peace and security has hitherto depended on an equilibrium of force or power of an assumed permanence dictated by the technical and

²² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 527th meeting, paras. 117-118.*

scientific advances of our era, it is surely time to buttress this equilibrium with more solid support, while renouncing—in a sincere and tangible form—all designs aimed at domination, conquest and political expansion. Such a course of action would not only have favourable repercussions on the different items which together represent the field of disarmament but it would also free vast potential resources in every country of the world, for the creation of entire societies—more just and happier in character—to the benefit of peoples and the whole of humanity.

206. Our Organization is at present making preparations for the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to which we, as a small nation, give special importance.

207. In this regard I wish to reaffirm the function of law as a fundamental factor in the agreements which are to be studied and adopted next year. I speak not only of law as an abstract, technical formula but also of its essential corollary: the implementation of international justice through its highest tribunal, the International Court of Justice.

208. Uruguay has repeatedly confirmed its international role, which has always been based on those principles and, more than 50 years ago, it was the first country to accept without reservations the jurisdiction of the then Permanent Court of International Justice. Faithful to those principles, my country will strive to ensure that the Court is given the primary function of resolving the problems which will flow from future agreements in the field of disarmament.

209. I have already referred to many important matters which, in our opinion, still require to be faced or resolved if we are to achieve a just and peaceful international community, but I would be ignoring the realities of the international situation if I failed to mention the positive steps which have been taken by Member States in the pursuit of the known and well-defined purposes of our Organization in the field of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the revision of treaties sanctifying unjust situations. I am referring in particular to the Treaties on the Panama Canal, recently agreed upon between a brother country of Latin America and the United States of America.

210. My Government takes particular pleasure in the agreement reached between the parties in so far as—with the blessing of the whole international community—it has brought to an end one of the historical disputes of this hemisphere, as was also the case with the Treaty on the River Plate between my country and the Argentine Republic.²³ Faith in dialogue between States, in peaceful solutions and in justice has thus been reconfirmed.

211. We hope that other pending questions will soon be resolved, such as the granting of access to the sea to Bolivia, the situation in the Malvinas and the question of Belize.

212. My Government attaches special importance to the forthcoming seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and believes that it

represents a decisive step in the process of building the new juridical order which will regulate the activities of States.

213. My Government also attaches particular importance to the establishment of the exclusive economic zone and the new institution to be established under the law of the sea. This will not follow the classic pattern, as the area in question is neither territorial sea nor high sea and is therefore to be placed under a special legal system.

214. I should like to emphasize that any text which hopes to be successful must be based on the *sui generis* nature of the exclusive economic zone. This special juridical character represents the fair balance between all the legitimate rights and interests involved.

215. The coexistence of sovereign rights and exclusive jurisdiction, on the one hand, and of liberties and related rights, on the other, calls for a special system in which both groups of interest must be given clear guarantees, with a precise distribution of the related residuary rights; this system must completely clarify this new formulation of the sovereignty-liberty equation, always within the framework of basic institutions of the law of the sea.

216. The integrated text for purposes of negotiation which was put together during the sixth session of the Conference,²⁴ without prejudice to the reservations called for by certain of its provisions, represents an acceptable basis for continuing negotiations towards the conclusion of a draft convention.

217. Having said that, I would like to repeat that it is the decision of my Government to encourage the building of peaceful order on the oceans.

218. I hope that the concrete examples I have cited will serve as a stimulus and as a source of inspiration in the future as we face the serious problems menacing the international community. Some of them call for speedy clarification. I am referring in particular to such problems as international subversion and terrorism, racial discrimination, the international economic order and the situations which have developed in the Middle East and in southern Africa.

219. If, as I believe, we continue to have sufficient will to maintain international peace and security, we must confront those problems immediately, in all sincerity and understanding, remembering that mankind, notwithstanding differences, is, in our era, increasingly reluctant to tolerate injustice in any form.

220. Before leaving this rostrum, allow me to express the sentiments of the Uruguayan people by paraphrasing the words of our illustrious Rodó: I leave here my ardent prayer that the symbol of the United Nations will rise in ever more serene skies; that its splendour will illuminate ever purer glories, ever wiser laws, ever more abundant crops, more freedom and greater happiness; and that, shedding its light on the permanent harmony which flows

²³ Tratado de la Cuenca del Plata, signed at Brasília on 23 April 1969.

²⁴ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VIII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.V.4), documents A/CONF.62/WP.10 and Add.1.

from love and justice, it will maintain for current and future generations of humanity a better, more beautiful and a greater order than any that the world has hitherto seen form and dissolve as the centuries roll on.

221. Mr. ARYAL (Nepal): Mr. President, first of all, I feel honoured to convey to you, and, through you, to this distinguished gathering, the greetings and best wishes of my Sovereign His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev for the success of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. I should like to join with those who have preceded me in felicitating you on your election to the high office of the presidency of this session.

222. I take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation for the most efficient and effective manner in which Ambassador Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka presided over the last session of the General Assembly.

223. My delegation welcomes in our midst the Republic of Djibouti as an independent and sovereign nation. We are pleased to note that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has gained its rightful place in this Organization, and on this happy occasion we extend our most sincere congratulations to the Government and people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

224. The admission of Viet Nam and Djibouti to membership in the United Nations is a positive step towards the universal membership of this Organization. We sincerely hope that the new Members will be able to make substantial contributions, through their active participation in various activities of the United Nations, to the promotion of peace and international understanding.

225. The world community has suffered a great loss in the untimely death of Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus. I wish to convey the heartfelt sympathy of my delegation to the delegation of Cyprus. I should also like to reiterate our full support to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem of Cyprus. A just and lasting settlement of the problem of Cyprus, in our opinion, should be based on the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

226. In the Middle East the situation is as explosive as ever. Our views on the problem of the Middle East and its solution are clearly established. Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied by it since 1967 and the creation of a homeland for the Palestinians are essential to a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. At the same time, we recognize the right of all States in the area, including Israel, to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

227. There is a growing realization that the early resumption of a Middle East peace conference has become urgent. However, no peace conference can be successful without the active involvement of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people. So long as mutual distrust, fear and suspicion persist among the parties concerned, peace in the Middle East will remain elusive. We share the increasing consciousness in the area that an opportunity now exists to resume negotiations in a

meaningful way and that, if this opportunity is not seized, there are grave dangers that the situation will further deteriorate. At this critical time, statesmanship on the part of directly concerned parties consists in acts of moderation and respect for all relevant United Nations resolutions. We have therefore viewed with serious concern the recent measures taken by the Government of Israel to change the demographic composition of some of the areas in the occupied Arab territories.

228. Another area where peace and security are in danger is southern Africa. The minority régimes of South Africa and Zimbabwe have been strongly denounced and isolated. The national liberation movements have received wide international support for their legitimate struggle. But the racist régimes have refused to see the writing on the wall and are pushing the world towards a racial conflagration, as demonstrated by the brutal massacres of the African peoples, the rightful owners of the land.

229. The black people of South Africa have exhibited tremendous unity and courage in their heroic struggle against *apartheid*, the scourge of mankind. The United Nations has condemned in the strongest terms the measures taken by the racist régime of South Africa to exclude the black population from the political life of the country and to deprive the vast majority of the people of the benefits of their country's wealth. There can be no peace in South Africa unless the policies and practices of *apartheid* are brought to an end and the equality of rights and opportunities for all its citizens guaranteed.

230. I am pleased to inform the Assembly that His Majesty's Government has recently acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII)]. As one of the supporters of the comprehensive Programme of Action against *Apartheid* recommended by the General Assembly last year [resolution 31/6 J, annex], we believe that the *apartheid* régime can be completely isolated through mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa and an effective arms embargo. We believe that the Declaration adopted by the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* recently held in Lagos, Nigeria,²⁵ is a landmark in the concerted international campaign against *apartheid*.

231. The illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa in defiance of repeated demands for its withdrawal by the Security Council and the General Assembly exemplifies the sinister design of the racist régime to perpetuate its occupation of this territory. We extend, as we have done in the past, our full support for the struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

232. In Zimbabwe the acts of aggression recently perpetrated by the illegal régime against its neighbours—Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia—have endangered the security and stability of the region. We are deeply concerned at the deteriorating situation in Zimbabwe brought

²⁵ See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

about by the continued existence of the illegal régime. The urgency of establishing majority rule in that country has been widely felt. My delegation reaffirms our support for the inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly. We sincerely hope that the mediatory efforts aimed at a peaceful transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe will bear fruit. We have noted with satisfaction that the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo in May of this year,²⁶ reinforced the solidarity of the world community with the freedom struggle of the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and gave further impetus to the liberation struggle in those two countries.

233. One of the most urgent problems confronting the international community today is disarmament. Yet it is disheartening to note that there is little evidence of any real progress in this field. The United Nations has been seized of this question ever since its inception. However, after more than three decades of negotiations, bilateral and multilateral agreements, the world today finds itself armed with the most lethal of weapons as never before. The current estimate of world military expenditures almost totals \$US 350 billion. This colossal amount could have been diverted and utilized for humanitarian services. Even a fraction of this huge expenditure on armaments would mean a great deal in overcoming the problems of hunger, disease and illiteracy in many parts of the world.

234. It is this factor that has motivated Nepal to support consistently the proposal to reduce military budgets and to divert some amounts available therefrom for assistance to developing countries. It is, however, unfortunate that the proposal for reduction of military budgets has been lost in the technical imbroglio of how to assess military expenditures.

235. Nepal is totally committed to the cause of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. We were among the first countries to sign the partial test-ban Treaty²⁷ and the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty. We have always raised our voice in support of various resolutions and agreements relating to disarmament. A bold and sincere initiative in disarmament is needed if tangible progress is to be achieved. Such initiative, if it is to have any practical significance, should come from the nuclear Powers and, more specifically, from the major nuclear Powers.

236. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly last year to hold a special session of the Assembly devoted to disarmament [*resolution 31/189 B*] is a welcome development. This special session, which is a result of the initiative of the non-aligned countries, could contribute to genuine disarmament. In our opinion, this special session should concentrate on the most urgent of the problems of disarmament, such as the comprehensive test-ban treaty and

nuclear non-proliferation. Reports based on latest studies indicating that some hitherto non-nuclear States could go nuclear are indeed most alarming.

237. The establishment of peace zones will contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security. Nepal has consistently supported the General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) regarding the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Similarly, we have supported the proposal of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality of the member States of the Association of South East Asian Nations.

238. In this connexion, it may be recalled that my own country offered itself as a zone of peace, the proposal for which was first made by His Majesty King Birendra on the auspicious occasion of his coronation in February 1975. The support given to this proposal by many of our friends has been highly appreciated in my country. We take this opportunity to reaffirm clearly our position that our proposal in regard to a zone of peace is motivated by our sincere desire to promote national development in an atmosphere of uninterrupted peace. As such, it is directed against no one, and we reiterate our preparedness to carry out the necessary commitments arising from the implementation of the proposal. It is our firm conviction that this proposal, if accepted by the international community, will not only institutionalize peace in our country but will also contribute positively to the furtherance of peace in the region and the world at large. Peace is indeed the basic tenet of our foreign policy. In a recent address to the twenty-eighth session of the Rashtriya Panchayat [*National Legislature*], His Majesty King Birendra observed:

“Nepal has always contributed her efforts for peace in the world. It is a well known fact that we want to maintain friendly relations with all countries of the world. We are confident in our belief that cordial relations among neighbours contribute to strengthening the base of regional as well as world peace.”

239. As a developing country, Nepal has every reason to be concerned about the unsatisfactory state of the world economy. Lack of substantial progress in the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade and of the decisions and resolutions of the special sessions of the General Assembly has only helped to accentuate the disparities between the rich and the poor countries of the world. Most of the agreed targets of the International Development Strategy have remained unfulfilled. The rate of growth in the total output of many developing countries, including the least developed and most seriously affected among them, has been less than 4 per cent per annum. Despite the vigorous efforts made by these countries to improve their economies and strengthen their economic infrastructure against tremendous odds and obstacles, their *per capita* income has remained stagnant. Inflation, the deteriorating terms of trade and the increasing indebtedness of many developing countries are most disconcerting.

240. It is also a matter of deep concern that the Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund, held in March 1977, could not yield positive results. Similarly, there has been little progress in the multilateral trade negotiations in

²⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

²⁷ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

GATT on the reduction of trade barriers of developed countries, which restrict the exports of primary and processed commodities from developing countries. The failure of the developed countries to implement the measures set forth in the Strategy with regard to trade and the flow of technical and financial resources is largely responsible for the short-falls in many developing countries.

241. While the attainment of \$1 billion in pledges to the International Fund for Agricultural Development is a welcome development and we look forward to the early operation of this fund, the proposed target of not less than 500,000 tons for an emergency food reserve has not been attained. Similarly, no firm decision has been taken so far in the area of food security. If the agricultural production of the developing countries is to be increased to at least the level recommended in the International Development Strategy, international assistance should be enhanced and trade in agricultural products liberalized.

242. The expansion since 1970 in external aid to the least developed countries has been offset by a decline in the purchasing power of their exports. A further substantial increase in the financial flows to these countries is, therefore, essential with emphasis on grants and concessional loans. In my previous statements to the General Assembly I made the proposal that the assistance for international development should be conceived of as "international taxation" of the rich developed countries. I reiterate my proposal, the relevance of which has by no means been lost in the present context.

243. It is deeply regrettable that the United Nations Special Fund set up in 1974 to aid developing countries most seriously affected by economic crisis has not been able to get off the ground for lack of voluntary contributions from industrialized countries. The establishment of a Special Fund designed to compensate for high costs of transportation incurred by land-locked developing countries was approved by the General Assembly last year [*resolution 31/177*]. We appeal to the rich developed countries and other potential donors to contribute generously to the Fund so that it may become operational without delay. We believe that the international community is fully aware of the grim predicament which the least developed as well as land-locked developing countries are facing today. Conditions in these countries will get worse unless urgent concrete measures are taken to boost their economies and improve the living standards of their peoples.

244. My delegation attaches great importance to economic co-operation among developing countries as a means of strengthening the solidarity of the peoples of these countries. It should, however, be borne in mind that there are different levels of development even among the developing countries, and for effective economic co-operation it is essential that special attention should be paid to the problems, needs and aspirations of those countries which are less developed among them.

245. The new international economic order symbolizes the aspirations of developing countries for economic justice. Within this framework, the goals and objectives of the International Development Strategy should be critically

examined and reformulated, so as to build a new structure of international economic relations based on justice and equity. It is regrettable that the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly²⁸ could not reach agreement on a unanimous assessment of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation. We believe in intensified negotiations and hope that renewed efforts will be made, by the developed countries in particular, during the present session to secure positive and concrete results on all issues relating to the establishment of the new international economic order. Energy being one of the critical factors affecting the economies of many countries, my delegation welcomes the recent proposal of the Secretary-General for an international institution, within the framework of the United Nations, to co-ordinate development of the world's energy resources [*see A/32/1, sect. VII*].

246. The sixth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea also ended on an inconclusive note. While the continuing deadlock in the informal negotiations tends to be disappointing, we have emphasized in the past, and we do so again, that the new international convention on the law of the sea cannot be considered in isolation from the global perspective of a new order based on equity and justice. The convention on the law of the sea, if it is to be commonly acceptable, must take into account the legitimate aspirations and interests of all the parties concerned. However, the refusal of the group of coastal States to respond to the fundamental demands of land-locked countries, such as their right to participate on an equitable basis in the exploitation of the living resources of the economic zone of adjoining coastal States and States of the same region or subregion, threatens to nullify the concept of the common heritage of mankind.

247. As a land-locked developing country, Nepal is acutely aware of the hardships facing other countries in a similar geographically disadvantageous situation. We have all along been drawing the attention of the international community to the fact that the condition of our development is closely linked to our land-locked position. Therefore, the right of free access to and from the sea and the right of unrestricted transit in terms of the free flow of goods and people are of paramount concern to land-locked countries. We hope that these fundamental legitimate concerns of the land-locked countries will be incorporated in the new international convention on the law of the sea.

248. In conclusion, we reiterate on this occasion our unflinching commitment to the ideals and objectives of the United Nations. The United Nations is decidedly the best instrument for promoting greater understanding, co-operation, peace and harmony among nations. The world Organization has proved in its lifetime to be an effective forum for nations with different social and political systems to reach agreement or consensus on major issues of political and economic significance through peaceful negotiations. The failures and drawbacks of the United Nations are outweighed by its positive achievements. Several conferences on wide-ranging issues like food, environment, population, water, science and technology, and technical co-operation

²⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 108th and 109th meetings.

among developing countries that have been held and are being held under the auspices of this Organization are a glowing testimony to the fact that all countries, big and small, rich or poor, developed and developing, are convinced of the continuing importance and relevance of the United Nations. We should, therefore, continue to emphasize the need for further strengthening the role of the United Nations in the fulfilment of its objectives and ideals. In doing so, we should always keep uppermost in our minds the vision of a new world order based on peace, progress and justice for all mankind.

249. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. One representative has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. Members will recall that at its 5th plenary meeting the present session of the General Assem-

bly decided that statements made in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

250. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation does not intend to engage in polemics with the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. However, it feels that it is necessary to recall that the long association of France and Cambodia in the past safeguarded the identity, the interests and even the population of that country, which was exposed to murderous wars.

251. What was said by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France [*10th meeting*] was intended only to underline the friendship that the French people feel for the people of Democratic Kampuchea.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.