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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MUDENDA (Zambia): Mr. President, my delegation warmly congratulates you upon your election to the high office of President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Not only are you eminently qualified for the task, but also you are a representative of a great country which has made valuable contributions towards international peace and security, particularly in the field of human freedom and justice. I wish to assure you of my delegation's full co-operation in the discharge of your heavy responsibility.

2. Permit me also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, who presided over the proceedings of the twenty-sixth session with distinction.

3. Although I had occasion elsewhere to extend our sincere congratulations and best wishes to our new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, I should like to renew those sentiments. In this connexion, I wish to reassure him of the support and co-operation of the Government of Zambia in the performance of his very important and difficult duties.

4. Significant developments have taken place since the twenty-sixth session. Recently, foreign ministers of non-aligned countries met in Georgetown, Guyana, and it was clear from the number and level of participants that the non-aligned movement has not only grown through new membership but has also increased its commitment.

5. As I pay a tribute to the Government and people of Guyana for the Excellent organization of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Georgetown from 8 to 12 August 1972, and the warm hospitality extended to participants, it is important to stress the fact that for the first time the non-aligned nations

paid special attention to areas of economic co-operation. The outcome was a programme of action for economic co-operation¹ whose implementation should, *inter alia*, increase self-reliance.

6. Furthermore, it was evident that the non-aligned movement was becoming increasingly determined to stamp out oppression and foreign domination in all its forms and manifestations. The movement has also shown in practical terms its resolve to support those who are fighting for human freedom. Zambia, like other Member States, is proud to belong to a movement which is committed to peace, justice and progress in the world.

7. The restoration last year of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization was both a welcome and a significant development. China has consistently supported and assisted peoples struggling for their freedom. It is committed to the cause of peace. The recent normalization of relations between China and Japan, which we warmly welcome, is but one example of the genuine efforts of China in this regard. Since its emergence in 1949, after devastating and protracted wars, the People's Republic of China has developed on the basis of self-reliance. Its experience in this respect is relevant to many developing countries.

8. The contacts of Washington with Peking and Moscow have brought some change in their relations. We welcome this trend because it brings relief to many nations of the world which, for the past quarter of a century, have been very concerned about the East-West confrontation. Indeed, we welcome also the efforts towards détente in Europe and hope that these will contribute to international peace and security in our time.

9. However, while this change on the part of big Powers is indeed welcome, it appears to create difficulties for the United Nations in its endeavour to discover its place in this limited détente, which carries some very negative elements of military superiority and big Power monopoly in the decision-making process affecting the entire human race. It is well known that monopolistic tendencies are not only contrary to the democratization of international relations and the realization of peace, justice and progress, but also to the principles of independence and sovereignty.

10. In Georgetown, Guyana, the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries "expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the heroic people of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos for their self-determination. These people had been

¹ See *The Georgetown Declaration, the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation and Related Documents* issued by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries.

subjected to the ravages of war for decades, and had suffered incalculable losses, both human and material. But the brutal war which was being waged against the people of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos had only strengthened their will. It was heartening to note that they were continuing their struggle with renewed vigour and perseverance.”²

11. The escalation of the United States war in Viet-Nam, which now includes the use of F-11 jet bombers, is aggravating the already serious situation in terms of untold suffering, loss of life and property in Indo-China. This is an act of United States terrorism against the Viet-Nam people and must be condemned in the strongest terms. It must be emphasized that in South-East Asia vast areas are being laid waste by the most inhuman and unparalleled use of devastating chemical weapons and defoliants contrary to the Geneva Protocol of 1925³ and to the spirit of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June of this year.

12. The United States forces must immediately stop all bombing of the innocent people of Viet-Nam. We still believe that the only basis for a just and lasting peace in South-East Asia is for the United States of America to respond to the seven-point peace plan as enunciated by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

13. Turning now to the Indian subcontinent, we commend President Bhutto and Prime Minister Gandhi for their efforts which led to the relaxation of tension, culminating on 3 July in the Simla Agreement.

14. Zambia has always supported the reunification of Korea. In this connexion we welcome the bilateral contacts and discussions which are aimed at creating favourable conditions for the peaceful reunification of that country without outside interference.

15. The Zambia delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the 10 Members of the Committee of African Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] for their efforts to help the United Nations find a solution to the problem of the Middle East.

16. It is a fact that very many Palestinians have been displaced and are without shelter. Under these circumstances, frustration, despair and bitterness are inevitable. We should try to solve the underlying cause of the problem. Often we tend to spend much time discussing the effect instead of addressing ourselves to the cause. We want peace, security and justice for all the people in the region.

17. We believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) provides a basis for the settlement of the problem, but the self-interest of the big Powers seems to complicate further efforts aimed at reaching a just and lasting settlement.

18. The grave situation in southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) continues to constitute a threat to international

peace and security. Both the spirit and the decisions⁴ of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Rabat, Morocco, from 12 to 15 June 1972, demonstrate that the people of Africa are resolved to free every inch of their continent from foreign domination. The oppressed people fighting for their freedom are entitled to support from the international community to enable them to achieve their total liberation. In the non-aligned movement this support is already assured, as was once again demonstrated at the Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries.

19. Since my address to this Assembly last year [1945th meeting] the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have continued to gain ground in their struggle for freedom. The liberated areas have been visited by groups of people and individuals and given support from different parts of the world. We are also aware of the experiences of the three-man Special Mission of the United Nations which visited Guinea (Bissau) last April, spending a total of 130 hours inside the liberated areas of that Territory without finding any evidence of Portuguese administration or control. Portugal must accept its defeat in these areas.

20. It is disquieting to note that some Western countries continue to make available to Portugal chemical means of warfare which are used against the African people in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Besides committing acts of genocide, fascist Portugal continues to use defoliants on cassava, sweet potatoes and other crops in many of the inhabited areas, resulting in total destruction of food crops. This has brought about serious famine in the areas affected. This kind of savagery and irresponsibility by Portugal should be condemned. Appropriate measures should be taken by the countries which supply Portugal with these weapons to ensure that it does not acquire and use them.

21. I therefore wish to appeal to all peace-loving nations to increase their moral and material assistance to the liberation movements in these Territories. I am aware that a number of countries have given, and continue to give, considerable material assistance to these movements. To them I express Zambia's sincere appreciation. However, there are other countries which have thrown overboard all the principles and ethics upon which they moulded their own nationhood. They have instead clung to policies of self-interest and inhumanity by aiding the forces of colonialism and racism in Africa.

22. I now wish to draw the attention of this Assembly to another aspect of the liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). I mentioned earlier that large areas of these Territories have been liberated and are under the complete control of the liberation movements. In those areas the life of the people must continue to be sustained. These people need, and must have, adequate food, health and educational services. They also require transport facilities to ensure the effective distribution of supplies in those areas.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10741.

23. I am convinced that in this field the specialized agencies of the United Nations not only have the capacity to provide these services to the liberated areas but they have an urgent and moral obligation to provide the required assistance in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2874 (XXVI) and other relevant resolutions. These areas are administered as autonomous units and accordingly ought to be offered multilateral assistance by specialized agencies. For the purposes of assistance, these areas should be considered to be least developed among the developing countries, as defined by the Committee for Development Planning of the Economic and Social Council⁵ and should, therefore, be eligible for the special measures envisaged in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)].

24. The problem of rule by the racist illegal minority in Zimbabwe remains one which preoccupies the United Nations and the international community as a whole. I expressed the views of my delegation on this pressing question in my statement to the Security Council on Wednesday, 27 September 1972.⁶ I should like, however, to repeat my call to the British Government to convene without delay a constitutional conference at which all sections of the people of Zimbabwe would freely express their views on the kind of government they would desire for their country. My Government will continue to support the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle to achieve self-determination and independence on the basis of majority rule.

25. The question of Namibia continues to pose a serious challenge to the authority of the United Nations, which is directly responsible for the administration of that Territory. The grave situation created by South Africa's continued illegal occupation of that Territory demands that urgent and effective measures be taken by the Organization, and in particular by the Security Council, to end the illegal occupation forthwith.

26. We strongly condemn the Fascist and racist régime in Pretoria for its extension of the obnoxious policy of *apartheid* to Namibia and for the balkanization of that Territory. We are aware that South Africa's continued defiance of the Organization's decisions and resolutions has been sustained by the support of certain Western countries which have vested economic and other interests in Namibia. We condemn all these countries which continue to support and protect the South African racists. Zambia will continue to render assistance to the people of Namibia in the struggle for their self determination and independence as a unitary State.

27. A great deal of literature and information on the evils of *apartheid* has been made available through various news media to the world community. At the twenty-sixth session, the General Assembly adopted a very comprehensive resolution—resolution 2775 (XXVI)—on *apartheid*, which not only is a crime against humanity but also cuts

across the very fabric of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Therefore I wish to echo the appeal that has been made from time to time to implement the various Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the elimination of *apartheid*. In this connexion my delegation welcomes the draft programme for a decade for action to combat racism and racial discrimination presented by the Secretary-General under resolutions 2784 (XXVI) and 2785 (XXVI) [A/8805, annex].

28. Zambia supports fully the proposed programme for the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on 10 December 1948 by this Assembly [A/8820]. In marking this anniversary, the United Nations should consider taking effective measures against the minority racist and oppressive régime in Africa and other parts of the world which continue to violate the articles of this important document.

29. I should now like to address myself to another disturbing matter which is perhaps the main factor delaying the attainment of complete self-determination and independence in Africa. I refer to the economic and military involvement of certain Western countries in areas of Africa where the indigenous people are still striving for their independence. The United States importation of chrome from Rhodesia is one of the most flagrant violations by a Member of this Organization. The action is not based on the needs of the United States for chrome, as was pointed out by my colleagues the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Sudan and the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Kenya during the Security Council debate on Rhodesia on 28 September.⁷ The decision has undoubtedly frustrated and considerably weakened efforts to combat racism and illegal minority rule in Southern Rhodesia.

30. There are other Western countries, particularly the United Kingdom and France, which continue to sell arms to South Africa. We deplore this contravention of Security Council resolutions on the arms embargo. In this connexion, my Government has on previous occasions also spoken out against similar activities by a number of other Western countries. All these retrogressive acts must stand condemned in the strongest terms by this Organization.

31. In this respect I want to pay a tribute to individuals and organizations in some Western countries that have recognized the justification and the legitimacy of the struggle taking place in Africa and are doing everything possible to influence their Governments to cease these callous acts. To them I offer my appreciation and every encouragement.

32. It is particularly disquieting to note that the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held in Santiago, Chile, in April and May of this year, did not bring about any significant openings in the field of trade. Resolutions were passed in the hope that they would contribute to the economic development of the developing countries. Time and again resolutions presented by the Group of 77 developing countries were either watered down beyond recognition or

⁵ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-first Session, Supplement No. 7*, para. 60.

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, 1663rd meeting*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1664th meeting.

rejected outright by the developed countries. That kind of attitude should not be allowed to persist. In the presence of political goodwill, no obstacle is insurmountable.

33. It must be pointed out, however, that the non-aligned countries and other developing countries are aware that the prime responsibility for their economic development rests with them. Accordingly, at the Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, an action programme for economic co-operation among non-aligned countries was drawn up. The measures included in the programme are many and cover fields such as trade, finance, investment, research, the transfer of technology and institutional arrangements for economic co-operation and co-ordination. The purpose of the action plan is to strengthen the non-aligned movement economically and raise the standard of living of its members.

34. General and complete disarmament under effective international control remains the most imperative and urgent need of our time. The disheartening arms race is still far from being controlled. It is a major contribution to mounting tension in various parts of the world and it certainly is inimical to international peace and security. Needless to say, the development and the production of nuclear weapons threaten the existence of man and his environment.

35. It is in the light of this grave situation that we must act quickly, not only to halt the senseless and wasteful arms race but also to carry out measures for the complete destruction of the weapons of war already in the arsenals of States. If we genuinely want peace for ourselves and for future generations, we have no excuse for not providing its only true guarantee: general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

36. The position of Zambia and other non-aligned countries is reflected in clear terms in the Lusaka Declaration⁸ and more recently in the Statement on International Security and Disarmament adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries and issued in Georgetown, Guyana, in August 1972. We take note of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*]. However, Zambia would like to see concluded as soon as possible a convention on the total prohibition of chemical weapons and their elimination from the arsenals of States. While we welcome the recent partial agreement reached between the United States and the USSR on the limitation of strategic arms,⁹ we note with regret that the agreement does not include any limitation of qualitative improvements in the nuclear weapons of the two Powers. We would like to see the early elimination of all nuclear stockpiles in the world.

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

⁹ Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed in Moscow on 26 May 1972.

37. Since matters of international security affect all of us, we strongly believe that all nations of the world should participate fully in the discussion of such matters. We therefore welcome the proposal to convene a World Disarmament Conference, at which we hope all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, will participate as equals. In our view, the basic aim of that conference should be to make a positive effort to achieve progress toward general and complete disarmament, and primarily towards the banning and destruction of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction.

38. I should like to refer to the lack of effective international law governing the seas, which cover approximately three-quarters of this planet. At present, technologically advanced countries are engaged in eroding the freedom of the seas by making dangerous incursions into ocean space and thereby threatening freedom of navigation, depleting marine life and causing pollution. Land-locked countries have a particular and special interest in sharing in the exploitation of the riches of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, considering that they are excluded from participation in the exploitation of the living resources of the sea, not only in territorial waters but also in adjacent waters and fishing zones, and have no access to the wealth of the continental shelf.

39. On the vitally important question of transit and free access to the sea, we believe that this right should be embodied in the international instrument which may result from the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea.

40. Specialized agencies, such as the ILO, FAO, UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO and UNIDO, have greatly assisted the developing countries in their particular fields of operations. The adoption in 1970 of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade made the role of the regional economic commissions and the specialized agencies even more important; and as their funds depend mainly on voluntary contributions, the international community should give generously to enable them to fulfil their duties efficiently.

41. We are, however, aware of the growing crisis of confidence in the ability and authority of the United Nations to deal effectively with pressing international problems such as the achievement of human freedom and independence. That crisis of confidence arises out of the frustration and despair of the international community.

42. The Government of the Republic of Zambia shares the concern and the view that there is a great and urgent need for change in the attitude of the super-Powers and for restructuring the Organization in order to meet the demands of the changed situation. In this connexion, we are convinced that the tendency on the part of the super-Powers to by-pass the United Nations in dealing with some problems of vital importance and interest to the whole of the international community has the continued effect of eroding the prestige and the authority of the Organization.

43. It is imperative that the principle of equality of membership and of equitable geographical representation be applied. In this regard, the Security Council, as the main organ charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace

and security, needs to be changed. It must cease to be a preserve of the big Powers where they can use their power of veto at will in order to protect their interests and those of their allies. Only last week the representative of the United Kingdom cast a negative vote in the Security Council in defence of the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. The Security Council must be transformed into a body that will truly reflect the changed circumstances. To that end, one wonders whether the criteria for eligibility for new permanent membership in the future should not be reviewed so as to ensure that they are based, not on military or economic power, but rather on the principle of equitable geographical representation. In any case, the developing countries make a significant contribution towards the economic well-being of some permanent members of the Security Council. Also we do not agree that economic might necessarily reflects sound political morality. We submit that there is a great need to increase the present number of permanent members to enable other geographical regions to be represented on the Council.

44. In the meantime, we are convinced of the urgent need for taking appropriate measures aimed at eliminating the veto or at least its misuse. It is disturbing that the Organization, comprising 132 Member States, can allow itself to be rendered impotent in the discharge of its solemn duty by the use of the veto in the Security Council by one permanent Member State, regardless of the gravity of the situation involved.

45. In conclusion I wish to reaffirm Zambia's support for the United Nations and our commitment to support any efforts designed to strengthen it. I earnestly hope that this Organization will continue to foster co-operation in the international community and to further the cause of human freedom, peace and justice.

46. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): Mr. President, I offer you on behalf of India our most cordial congratulations on your election as the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. By electing you, the Member States have recognized your own skill and wisdom and have also honoured the struggles and achievements of the Polish people. India has had close and friendly relations with Poland, and I wish to assure you of our fullest co-operation as you discharge your responsibilities.

47. I should also like to pay a tribute to our outgoing President, Adam Malik, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, for the patience and devotion with which he guided our work during the last session.

48. We recall the long years of dedicated service which U Thant gave to the United Nations and for which he will always be remembered with affection and admiration. At the same time, we greet our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim. His dynamism and his high sense of purpose had been recognized even before his election at the end of our last session. Since then his tireless efforts in the exercise of his duties have earned him high respect. We wish him continued success.

49. In India, we are celebrating this year the twenty-fifth anniversary of our independence. As a result of the long struggle of our people, we became independent in the year

1947. In the years that followed, the freedom of most countries from colonial domination was achieved and a community of interest in justice and progress began to grow among the newly independent countries. In the quarter of a century that has since passed, we have had our share of difficulties and successes. Today we are more united and determined than we have ever been before in the last 25 years. Our faith in our democracy has become deeper, our goals for the betterment of our people are clearer, and our resolution to achieve them has become firmer. We realize that basically we must rely on our own values and resources in order to strengthen our economy and to accelerate the pace of our development. The bulk of the burden must fall on us—as indeed it has fallen on us in the past. At the same time we believe that international co-operation is vitally necessary if humanity as a whole is to be freed from poverty and want. Our unfinished revolution in India will not be completed until full economic and social justice is assured for all our people. In this spirit, we seek nothing but co-operation and friendship with all, on a basis of equality.

50. India adheres firmly to the policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. This does not, and cannot, mean an exact middle position between any two extreme views on matters of international concern. India's policy of non-alignment is based on the need in the modern world to maximize the area of peace, reduce tension and ensure stability with justice. We believe in the sovereign parity of all nations; we accept the supremacy of none. Our friendship is open to all countries on the same terms. We trust in co-operation among equals, not in co-operation on the basis of domination by one country over another. This policy determines our attitude to all countries, and will continue to govern our relationship with our neighbours.

51. The last year has been marked by significant détente among nations, big and small. The meetings of leaders in Moscow and Peking, the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, especially on the limitation of strategic arms, are helpful changes from the earlier and sterile, and at times dangerous, confrontations. In Europe many prospects for the reduction of tensions have opened up. Some of the recent events in Asia encourage the hope that our part of the world might also soon be moving towards greater understanding and co-operation. Our purpose in this improving situation will be to ensure that the momentum towards an ever-expanding area of understanding and accommodation is maintained.

52. The world at large is rejecting more and more the concepts of spheres of influence, under the guise of balance of power and of domination of smaller Powers by the mightier ones. In this context the Secretary-General has noted in his thoughtful introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8701/Add.1], that the idea of keeping peace and security through a concert of great Powers is outdated, if not outmoded. The current processes of détente can produce healthy and abiding results only when they do not ignore the interests of countries that are yet to participate in them. Non-aligned countries have long striven for such contacts and consultations as are now in fact taking place. At the same time they have repeatedly emphasized the risks to true independence if agreements are not concluded by broad-based consultations.

53. A recent encouraging development has been the greater and more determined pursuit of bilateralism in the search for solutions to many international problems. In the past there were many instances when the interests of outside Powers prevented the settlement of problems which could have been achieved by mutual consultations among the parties directly concerned. Examples of this kind are not altogether absent in our time. Nevertheless, in areas as widely separated as Central Europe, North Africa, West Africa and Asia, agreements have been reached for solving a number of problems through the efforts of the countries directly concerned. The settlement of problems mutually and bilaterally can, we think, strengthen peace, security and independence.

54. Looked at from this point of view, the recent developments in the relations between India and Pakistan mark a significant departure from past years, when hostility and suspicion were unfortunately the dominant features. Direct negotiations have provided a more dependable means by which we can settle and solve our problems to the benefit of the vast population of the region. In a sincere search for a durable peace and good-neighbourly relations, we opened negotiations with Pakistan last February which culminated in the Simla Agreement of 3 July 1972. The two Governments have agreed that all problems between them should be settled by peaceful means through mutual consultations.

55. The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have pledged full support and expressed their complete determination for the faithful implementation of the Simla Agreement. For this purpose, further accords are to be arrived at by mutual consultation and discussion. The use of force has been totally abjured. They have also agreed that in Jammu and Kashmir the entire line of control as it existed at the time of cease-fire on 17 December 1971 will be respected by both sides. The two Governments have been taking steps to carry out this agreement and when some doubts and difficulties arose a few weeks ago, these too were resolved by direct negotiations. The military commanders have been meeting from time to time to work out the delineation of the line of control. Agreement on delineation has been arrived at practically everywhere except for a few small pockets where the total area involved is only a few square miles. We have offered to the Pakistan side to have joint inspection and survey, wherever necessary, in order to complete the delineation. We hope that the military commanders of the two sides will meet without any further delay to finalize delineation in the remaining small pockets by holding joint meetings, joint inspections and surveys whenever necessary. We hope that very shortly the entire line will be delineated. The completion of this task will, as already agreed, be followed by mutual withdrawal of troops. In the meantime, exchanges have been taking place of sick and wounded prisoners of war and of those civilians who came to be under the custody of India or Pakistan at the outbreak of hostilities on the western sector.

56. There are naturally several problems arising out of the armed conflict, and the two Governments have agreed that these problems, as also other basic unresolved matters between the two countries, would be settled by mutual agreement. A series of meetings at various levels is envisaged

to achieve this objective. The welcome accorded to the Simla Agreement by the international community will sustain the efforts of the two Governments and their leaders to work patiently towards a durable peace.

57. The Simla Agreement is the first major fruitful step in the search for mutual understanding and co-operation between India and Pakistan. Its full and effective application should bring about conditions in both countries which will enable their peoples to utilize their resources and energies for the pressing task of advancing their welfare. The peoples of India and Pakistan have many common interests and aspirations and they would wish to live as good neighbours. The Simla Agreement has therefore been widely supported by the people of both the countries.

58. The emergence of Bangladesh as a sovereign country is destined to be of vital importance in strengthening peace, stability, security and progress in the subcontinent. We welcome Bangladesh as an equal partner in this common task of the countries of the region. The heroism and fortitude of the people of Bangladesh will be an invaluable asset in the reconstruction of their country.

59. We deeply regret that Bangladesh was not enabled to take its place at the opening of this session of the General Assembly. A country with 75 million people, it has been recognized by over 90 other sovereign States and has already found its rightful place in many international forums. The earliest admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations will further strengthen the United Nations system, will reinforce the principle of universality of our Organization, and will contribute to the more expeditious normalization of relations among the countries of the subcontinent and the achievement of peace and harmony in the area. We are convinced that this General Assembly can do much to bring this about, through reconsideration of Bangladesh's application by the Security Council.

60. We sincerely hope that, in the shortest possible time, Pakistan and Bangladesh will be able to solve all the problems between them with understanding and as equal sovereign States.

61. We view with deep satisfaction the fact that India's relations with other neighbouring countries continue to grow in depth and so serve to help strengthen the forces of peace and progress in South Asia. The relations between China and India have not shown the necessary and expected improvement. On our part, we continue to be ready, as indeed we have indicated in the past, to resume normal relations with China and to improve them in our mutual interest and with mutual respect. Against the background of the normalization and détente that have taken place in Asia and in other parts of the world such an improvement in Sino-Indian relations is, in our opinion, all the more desirable.

62. Naturally, I have taken a few minutes to explain at some length the significant developments on the Indian subcontinent, the state of our relations with some of our immediate neighbours, and the hopes for peace and progress they inspire. These issues are nearest to us. I must now deal briefly with some other vital international problems.

63. The presence in this hall of 132 States should make us doubly conscious of the absence of representatives of many large areas of the world which are still under colonial rule. Nor can we ignore the fact that in several countries rampant racism is being preached and practised. The solution of these problems will require a degree of awareness and co-operation which are unfortunately still lacking. The Indian delegation will do its utmost to work out, together with the others, all such practical means as the United Nations can pursue. We shall continue to support the struggle for independence being carried out by the people of all colonial Territories, including Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). We will not relax our efforts to eliminate racial discrimination, whenever and wherever it appears. The meetings of the Security Council last winter at Addis Ababa provided an opportunity for focusing attention on these problems. We look forward with interest to the outcome of the Secretary-General's efforts with regard to Namibia and to the more effective use of the Commissioner and the Council for Namibia.

64. The situation that has now arisen in Uganda cannot but cause concern to all of us. The problems facing the Asians affected by the expulsion order are essentially humanitarian in character and can be solved only in a spirit of compassion and understanding. The people facing deportation should be afforded reasonable time to be able to wind up their affairs in an orderly manner and depart in safety. A vast majority of them have lived there for generations and they should be allowed to take with them their personal belongings and a reasonable amount of assets to enable them to restart their lives in other lands with some measure of hope and confidence. We hope that the Government of Uganda will respect these human considerations and do everything possible to discharge its responsibility towards the person and property of these unfortunate people and so lessen their hardship. Any help other countries can give in overcoming this problem will, of course, be most welcome; India, for its part, is doing all it can.

65. We must ensure that our solidarity in the common struggle against racial discrimination and colonial domination is not undermined. Since we all agree that racial discrimination is an evil to be fought, we, all of us, cannot but oppose it, whatever form it may take.

66. Tensions and frustrations continue to mount in the Middle East and indeed, as recent incidents have shown, are rising to unprecedented heights of senseless and savage reprisals and terror. The efforts of Ambassador Jarring and of our Secretary-General have not yet borne fruit and meanwhile Israel is persistently consolidating its position to the total detriment of Arab and Palestinian rights and interests. Israel has consistently obstructed all attempts at progress towards a peaceful solution of this problem as laid down in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and has created the situation, where threats to international peace and security are increasing daily and at times ominously. We would also ask why the permanent members of the Security Council have for months failed to meet in the face of this deteriorating situation and this grave problem.

67. India stands firmly against interference by outside Powers aimed at preventing any people from determining

its destiny or choosing its form of government in accordance with its own wishes. The tragedy in Viet-Nam is the prolonged denial, in the most brutal manner, of this basic right of the people. We cannot but strongly deplore and express dismay at the continued and ever-increasing bombardment and aerial bombing of innocent men, women and children, their cities, villages and homes, and the indiscriminate destruction of ports, industries, crops, forests and all other means of existence. We have consistently held and expressed the view for a long time that force and foreign military intervention cannot bring this problem to an end. This view is shared by a large and ever-increasing number of countries. Recent indications are that the United States of America has also come to accept this view. We believe that the seven-point proposal put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam provides a reasonable basis for peaceful negotiations. The continuance of bombing with savage intensity in Indo-China in these circumstances must command our utmost opposition.

68. We regret the attitude of non-cooperation by Saigon, which holds out little hope of progress towards a peaceful settlement of this problem. The independence, integrity and non-alignment of the three States of Indo-China are vital to the peace and progress of Asia. The Geneva accords¹⁰ provided the framework within which these objectives could be achieved. The decision of the Saigon Government to refuse a visa to the Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam is in clear violation of its obligations.

69. We are disappointed that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has not been able to finalize even limited measures during the past year's deliberations. Bearing in mind the link between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and economic development, we expect that the objectives of cessation and reversal of the arms race, especially in nuclear armaments, the elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control will be vigorously pursued. Our general views supporting the convening of a world disarmament conference, after adequate preparation and with the participation of all States, have been made known and we look forward to a constructive debate during this session.

70. On the question of the strengthening of international security and related subjects, we are confident that our discussions will enable us to give effect, in a more practical and fruitful manner, to the ideas embodied in the Declaration itself [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], with such further elaboration as may be necessary.

71. The adoption of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, is a welcome follow-up of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The creation of zones of peace and co-operation, free from great-Power military rivalries and interventions, and the removal of bases conceived in that context, must be seen as part of legitimate regional efforts towards strengthening international security. My

¹⁰ Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indochina, signed at Geneva on 20 July 1954.

delegation would support the taking of further steps to give fuller meaning and substance to the Declaration and would co-operate with other delegations for this purpose.

72. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm last June, has awakened hopes and fears at the same time. The prevention of pollution is a matter of common concern to the entire human race. But the developing countries cannot accept any line of reasoning which makes the prevention of pollution an excuse for slowing down growth in the poorer countries.

73. Addressing the Conference, the Prime Minister of India pointed out that "Environment cannot be improved in conditions of poverty. Nor can poverty be eradicated without use of science and technology."

74. To the bulk of the human population poverty continues to be a much bigger menace than pollution. The true lesson of the Stockholm Conference is that we must start the quest for a world without poverty and without pollution. We consider that the programme should be formulated on a world-wide basis in order to assist countries to meet effectively the requirements of the growth of human settlements and to improve the quality of life in existing settlements by creating a human settlement development fund.

75. The peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the utilization of the vast and as yet untapped resources of the sea-bed in the interests of mankind remain a matter of importance to us. We cautiously hope that the preparatory work entrusted to the United Nations Committee on the sea-bed¹¹ will result in the early convening of a conference on the law of the sea.

76. Recent developments in the world economy and in the monetary field have caused grave concern to us all and have pointed to the need for the establishing of a more durable and equitable world monetary system. Let us not forget that the world economy will not be restored to health by focusing only on the payments problems of the prosperous countries. Monetary, trade and development problems are all closely interrelated and the developing countries have a vital stake in all of them. The developing countries must therefore participate fully in any decision-making process affecting the future of the international monetary system, so that their legitimate interests may be fully safeguarded.

77. Last week the International Monetary Fund at its annual meeting¹² showed some awareness of the problem by setting up a committee of Governors in which the developing countries have increased representation. We consider that the link between the special drawing rights and additional development finance, which we have always advocated and the need for which has now been widely realized, should be established soon.

78. India participated, with great expectations, in the third session of UNCTAD, held in Santiago earlier this year.

¹¹ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

¹² Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund, held in Washington from 25 to 29 September 1972.

The need for taking speedy follow-up action on the decisions taken at that conference cannot be over-emphasized. It may be too early to attempt a final evaluation of the results of the conference, but clearly many trade and allied issues of great concern to the developing countries have remained unresolved. Continued efforts from all sides are therefore necessary if the high hopes that were entertained in respect of that conference are to be realized.

79. Two years ago my delegation had occasion to emphasize the great importance of the adoption by the General Assembly of an International Development Strategy for the 1970s. It cannot, however, be said with any degree of confidence that the commitments voluntarily assumed by the international community only a short time ago are being implemented with any vigour and vitality. If anything, there has been a slide-back in the fulfilment of the goals and objectives of the Decade, and the interests of the developing countries have been given only residual consideration. During the remaining years of this decade, therefore, it will be necessary for all of us to catch up with the time loss and to evolve effective and concrete programmes of international co-operation in the economic field.

80. At the same time, the continuous and well-coordinated review and appraisal of the implementation of the Development Strategy will need to be equally emphasized. We hope that the two newly established committees of the Economic and Social Council, the Committee on Review and Appraisal and the Committee on Science and Technology for Development, will be able to make an effective contribution in this field, in close co-ordination with the useful work already being done by UNCTAD and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization [UNIDO].

81. Our agenda has nearly a hundred items on it, and I have commented on only a limited number of issues. However, we are conscious that many other problems, whether or not they are included in our agenda, create anxieties and difficulties in many parts of the world. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8701/Add.1], has given his views on salient aspects of the international scene as it is today, and on the perspective for the future.

82. In order to complete my presentation I should like to touch upon the Indian experience over the last year or so.

83. As I said here 12 months ago [1940th meeting], the year 1971 opened for us with great hopes and yet throughout the year we faced endless, and at times nearly insurmountable, difficulties. Confronted with the most appalling difficulties and human tragedies, the Indian people showed remarkable unity and determination. Within three months of the cease-fire nearly all of the 10 million refugees had gone back to their homes in newly independent Bangladesh. Despite our limited resources we have co-operated fully with Bangladesh in the Herculean task of relief and reconstruction.

84. The Indian people are now engaged in increasing their agricultural and industrial production. The Government of India has introduced programmes in order to achieve

greater social justice and more satisfying human values for the Indian people as a whole. In that great experiment the Government and people of India look to the United Nations as a continuous source of inspiration and a vast field of co-operation.

85. Yet our Organization is constantly being enfeebled, if not undermined, in a number of ways. Some seek in it partisan support; others make an issue of money and finance; still others try to use it to underwrite their domestic policies. All of these may appear to some to be legitimate, but developing countries such as India look upon this Organization as a bastion where international peace and justice can be protected and where progress can be assured. For that purpose the great principles of the Charter cannot be pursued selectively: they should be taken in their totality, and applied realistically in a given situation. U Thant has already drawn attention to this problem, and we are anxious that in the coming years it should be possible to work out a viable system in which the seeming contradiction in Charter principles would no longer prove to be a hindrance to solving several international problems of our time.

86. Such a step, taken together with the more massive and co-operative utilization of modern science and technology, may well fulfil the dream for which this Organization was established. There is a need for vigilance and study to decide how we can make our Organization more representative, more effective and more responsive to the multitude of needs of people all over the world.

87. Finally, I would simply say that in spite of many setbacks and disappointments the millions and millions of people of India look to this Organization with faith and hope, and wish that this session of the Assembly may take yet another step, however modest, towards achieving the goal of peace, justice and progress.

88. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia): It is for me a great pleasure to take my place for the first time on this rostrum, in the company of the brilliant galaxy of representatives who have already spoken and who are yet to speak, to address this august Assembly under the presidency of so astute a scholar and statesman as Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński. My first duty, therefore, is to extend to you, Mr. President, my heartiest congratulations and those of my delegation on the unanimity and confidence with which members singled you out from among your eminent colleagues to preside over the proceedings of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

89. Our deep admiration for you as a public figure and a statesman assures us that this session under your guidance will move nations from narrow national conceptions towards planetary conceptions of freedom and justice for all mankind and of sovereign equality for all States. We assure you that your success and the achievements of this session of the General Assembly are anticipated with a maximum of pride and faith.

90. Permit me now, Mr. President, to pay a well-deserved tribute to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, who presided over the work of the twenty-sixth session of this Assembly with political and erudite diplomatic leader-

ship. His voice and effective gavel will long be remembered by all who sat here.

91. All of us entertain an abiding appreciation of the dedication and sacrifices which U Thant as Secretary-General gave this Organization. He was an international civil servant of great stature and an effective spokesman who concentrated on measures that added significant dimensions of experience to the social welfare and the development aspirations of the developing nations. It is therefore not his fault that so many of the hopes and dreams of our generation remain unfulfilled.

92. But we are indeed happy that U Thant has been succeeded by a man whose bold initiatives, strength of character, depth of dedication and breadth of understanding give hope for the future of our Organization. Mr. Kurt Waldheim, as Secretary-General, has addressed himself to the problems and the weaknesses of our Organization with a frankness rare in politics. We fervently pray that he will command the co-operation and the support of all Members, in particular the great Powers, to the end that the conditions of the peoples of the world may be improved, peace and security may be realized and maintained, and faith in the United Nations may be restored.

93. The mission of this Organization is to serve a troubled world in the pursuit of peace and social justice. It is to provide a focal point for efforts to settle the disputes, moderate the attitudes, solve the problems and eliminate the injustices which engender war and promote fear and insecurity. As we enter upon the deliberations of this session of the Assembly, there are encouraging signs that international relations are moving towards conciliation and co-operation, notwithstanding the erstwhile stubborn confrontations and conflicts of the cold war. My delegation is convinced that if this trend is continued mankind can expect the attainment of a world in which real peace can be secured and maintained, social justice can be established, better living standards can be assured and fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person can be reaffirmed.

94. Yet the optimism inspired by recent developments is dampened by the increasing complexity of problems that have proven elusive of solution. Some of these problems are perennial agenda items of this Assembly; some the Assembly dare not place on the agenda, but their pertinence and a discussion of them cannot escape us.

95. If we look back, it can be said that this Organization has a number of accomplishments to its credit in an imperfect world.

96. Firstly, the process of decolonization was accelerated under the auspices of the United Nations. The existence of the United Nations gave anti-colonial forces a formidable institution through which world public opinion was brought to bear. No longer could the colonial Powers rule other peoples with virtually unlimited latitude as they did before the inception of the Organization. Sacred cows and hallowed pastures ceased to exist; no colonial Power could escape the scrutiny and criticism of the world community in respect of its colonial Territory; the level of brashness

and condescension with which most colonial peoples were ruled was reduced, and virtually all the colonial Powers became more responsive to the demands of colonial peoples under their rule.

97. Secondly, the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, though far from perfect, have reduced considerably the danger of confrontation between the super-Powers. The Middle East conflict, the Congo crisis, the war over Kashmir and the problems in Cyprus readily come to mind as examples of the effectiveness of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations.

98. Thirdly, the United Nations and its specialized agencies have contributed and continue to contribute to the development efforts of the developing countries in various spheres of endeavour, with a view to making the society of man much more wholesome and functional.

99. Fourthly, the United Nations has served as a very useful forum for the discussion of international differences, giving the opposing sides an opportunity to retreat from previously held positions without loss of face.

100. Fifthly, and particularly within recent months, a few of the divisive gaps have been bridged and there seems to be a conscientious effort on the part of the big Powers to dismantle some of the ideological, ethnic and other barriers which have divided them. An era of negotiation, dialogue and contact has emerged, and the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly has been convened at a time of great significance in the world outlook.

101. The Soviet Union and the United States have achieved some form of understanding toward trade and cultural agreement; the United States and the People's Republic of China, after 25 years of isolation, are razing the barriers of division; the membership of the European Economic Community is expanding; a Convention on biological weapons control¹³ has been signed; a Treaty banning weapons of mass destruction from the sea-bed and the ocean floor¹⁴ has been promulgated; a Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] has been signed; the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks continue; and co-operation in many other areas is being developed.

102. We can say, then, that the accomplishments of the United Nations, limited though they may be, attest to the fact that man has the potential to attain a wholesome functioning world community. Because of those accomplishments and developments, and because my country believes that man possesses great potential for good, the Liberian delegation calls upon this session of the General Assembly to take a new look at the world situation, to seize the opportunity for achieving a more viable and cohesive world order and to take concrete and meaningful measures

towards the realization of the objectives of the United Nations Charter.

103. The world is at present faced with a number of pressing issues that require urgent attention.

104. The developing countries are continuing to experience a deterioration in the terms of trade, with world prices for their primary commodities falling steadily while those of the manufactured goods they import, including essential capital and consumer goods, are constantly rising. By paying more and more for imports from the developed countries and obtaining less and less for their primary exports, the developing countries are placed in a position where they are unable to cope adequately with such essential problems as malnutrition, poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance, family planning and pollution, which inescapably and adversely affect the wholesome functioning of the society of man.

105. This is an international problem, and like all other international problems it requires an international solution. While it is agreed that self-help is the key to progress, the developing countries cannot "go it alone". They need substantial and meaningful assistance from the developed countries which would serve further to stimulate sustained growth and development.

106. If we are to avoid a confrontation between the rich and the poor countries, a confrontation that might even dwarf the erstwhile confrontation between the super-Powers, then the international community will have to make every effort to narrow the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots", for hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance provide fertile soil for the seeds of violent revolution, challenging and possibly destroying the very foundations of organized society

107. It is clear that this august body must act with urgency to improve the economic condition of the developing countries. This requires nothing less than a complete re-examination of the existing economic policies of the developed countries as regards trade, foreign aid and development. Empty pronouncements and token gestures will no longer suffice.

108. The international community must come to grips with the problems of racism in Africa. Of all the social ills in the world today, this is the most pernicious to the society of man. An individual who finds himself at the bottom of a social ladder can with some assistance work his way up. If he is experiencing difficulties because of his political views he can change those views, or pretend to change them, and return to the fold. But when a man is discriminated against because of his race—and blacks are proud of their race and make no apologies here for it—he is being victimized for something he is not in a position to change. This victimization, when combined with racial pride, generates hatred, frustration, and, in some instances, aggression. It might be useful to add, in this context, that racial antagonism and actual warfare have a similar effect on the world community: they destroy the basis for co-operation and mutual understanding among members of the human race.

¹³ Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction (resolution 2826 (XXVI)).

¹⁴ Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof (resolution 2660 (XXV)).

109. For our part, we believe racial discrimination should be condemned wherever it is practised, be it on the continent of Africa, in North America, in Australia or anywhere else on the globe. Certainly, such a die-hard attitude has no place in twentieth-century thinking.

110. In this connexion, the principal trading partners of South Africa have a special responsibility to the world community because it is they who give support and succour to the racist régime of that country. If Vorster and his henchmen did not rely on the support of certain Powers which seem to place a higher premium on short-term profits than on human dignity, South Africa would never have defied the United Nations for so long with such impunity.

111. It matters not whether the level of trade which a particular country carries on with the racist régime is small in comparison with total international trade. It is immaterial what circumstances gave rise to the country's trade with, and investment in, South Africa. Nor is it relevant that trade is limited to a particular scarce commodity such as chrome, or that the countries involved are loud and persistent in their protestations of interest in Africa and friendship for the nations and peoples of the continent. The fact of the matter is that the United Nations has called on all its Members to exercise effective economic and related sanctions against the illegal régime. The peoples and countries of Africa also have called upon their good friends and well-wishers everywhere to support the cause for which they are striving and, accordingly, the decisions and resolutions of this Organization. We have no alternative, then, but to decry and to condemn all those who trade with the racist régime, even though they may be our professed friends.

112. Connected with the problem of racism in Africa is that of colonialism and minority domination on the continent. Here again, those countries that place a higher premium on trade with Portugal, South Africa and the rebel régime of Rhodesia than on freedom and justice cannot escape responsibility for the continued existence of this problem in Africa.

113. Liberia has contributed and will continue to contribute to the limits of its capability towards the total liberation of Africa from the shackles of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. We are determined to support our oppressed brothers in southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) until total victory is achieved. There can be no compromise in this area.

114. We are committed to majority rule in Rhodesia, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and we believe that the future realization of freedom in those areas depends upon the preparedness of the United Nations to take those measures that will ensure the exercise of the right of self-determination and the right to independence of the peoples living under colonial oppression and discrimination. However, should the United Nations renege in its obligation and commitment, then no choice is left to people who are denied equal rights and are suffering under the yoke of colonialism but to liberate themselves from that blight by resort to force. We therefore call upon all freedom-loving peoples to lend their moral and material assistance to the freedom-fighters in Africa in an effort to

rid their respective fatherlands of the shackles of colonial domination and oppression.

115. The problems of pollution must be solved if man is to succeed in preventing this planet from becoming uninhabitable.

116. Current trends suggest that it may well take the collective menaces and mass consequences arising from the world's scientific and technological strides to bind together all nations, enhance peaceful co-operation and surmount, in the face of physical danger, the political obstacles to mankind's unity. In the face of this pending reality man must accept that the earth he inhabits is his home, and consequently its surroundings must be made clear and kept wholesome.

117. Current efforts by the international community to encourage and assist action by governments and international organizations designed to protect and improve the human environment and to remedy and prevent its impairment, continue to have full endorsement and full support.

118. The international campaign of action to protect and improve the human environment must include, as a matter of necessity and priority, particularly in developing countries, specific national programmes designed to enable the developing countries to forestall the occurrence of such problems of unfavourable and, at times, dangerous conditions of the environment as those experienced in developed countries because of their programmes of mass scientific and technological explosions.

119. The plan of work for international action to protect man's habitat on earth approved by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm last June,¹⁵ in which my country fully participated, has taken into account some of our own fears on how to combat this new chapter of a major human problem, caused by the application by man of his knowledge of science and technology in disregard for his environment.

120. Population control, clean air and water, the conservation of natural and other resources, regulated growth rate, restrained technological ingenuity and disarmament are some of the means whereby man might be able to undo his worst handiwork not only for the sake of survival, but also to optimize the quality of life throughout the entire human environment. The one object of all of this must be to raise the level of human existence from mere survival to fulfilment.

121. We share also the sentiment of those who say that the timing of establishing an international plan and machinery to safeguard the human environment constitutes an achievement by itself. In the implementation of the plan, much is expected from those States that have achieved vast results in the application of science and technology. The assistance and guidance they will give to this endeavour will define in the future the limit of progress to be achieved.

¹⁵ Action Plan for the Human Environment. See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chap. II.

122. However, if we should hold the developed countries to a higher degree of responsibility and, at the same time, require of them guidance and assistance, it should be equally binding on the developing countries to submit to the appropriate authority of the United Nations a full description of their national programmes of action, including legislation, to protect the human environment and to submit annual reports on the implementation of those programmes. And incidentally, as was just said by the illustrious speaker from India who preceded me, let us not use the excuse of the human environment and the avoidance of pollution in order not to give support to developing countries.

123. The kidnapping of diplomatic representatives and foreign nationals and the threat posed to international civil aviation by hijacking, sabotage and other criminal acts are of concern to the Government and people of Liberia. Of equal concern are the acts of terrorism perpetrated against innocent civilians, far removed from, and in no way involved with, the problems which allegedly gave rise to such acts.

124. No one can deny that those who are engaged in the struggle for freedom and justice are striving for a noble cause. However, there is a difference between those against whom a war of liberation is being waged and those who are not involved.

125. The Liberian delegation, accordingly, calls upon all nations to ratify existing conventions designed to prevent crimes against civil aviation, to take appropriate steps to ensure that those found guilty of such offences are severely punished, to take measures for effective sanctions against countries which harbour or make martyrs of such persons, and to give due consideration to the objectives and purposes of the draft convention submitted at this session of the United Nations General Assembly to deal with and control acts of terrorism [A/C.6/L.850].

126. The Middle East problem must be solved so that the peoples in that troubled area of the world can live in peace and harmony, and not in conflict and discord. As a peace-loving State, maintaining friendly ties with the parties to the conflict, Liberia is deeply concerned that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) has not yet been implemented. We therefore call on all parties to implement that resolution and to give their full support and co-operation to the Jarring mission so that negotiations may be undertaken at an early date by the parties directly concerned.

127. In harmony with a basic objective of the United Nations, we must find new approaches to save mankind from the scourge of war. Apart from the points which I have already enumerated and which are, in the view of my delegation, constructive approaches to a meaningful world peace, Liberia supports the call for a world disarmament conference. The objective of the conference should be to adopt realistic and effective measures aimed at eliminating all types of nuclear weapons and achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control. It is in the interest of mankind that the spiralling arms race should be brought to an immediate halt. A number of achievements in the field of disarmament were witnessed in the decade of the 1960s, thus providing proof that progress

in the elimination of nuclear weapons and towards general and complete disarmament is within the grasp of the international community.

128. It is the view of the Government of Liberia that, in pursuance of this effort to update procedures and the machinery dealing with the question of disarmament, a world disarmament conference should be established as an important body of the United Nations.

129. Wars are caused by men, but more particularly they are caused by men who are national leaders. If, then, wars are to be prevented and if mankind is to be freed for all time from that scourge, then men must be stopped from starting wars of aggression. My delegation is convinced that unless and until the international community can study the human factors which precipitate wars, and can find an effective means—whether by sanctions, ostracism or otherwise—to prevent men and leaders from starting wars, the problem will persist. After all, wars solve no problems; they only create new ones.

130. The Declaration of the Rights of the Child was unanimously adopted by the United Nations in 1959 [resolution 1386 (XIV)]. The Liberian Government must lay stress on principles 2 and 7, regarding the best interest of the child, and principle 6, which stipulates that the child “shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and, in any case, in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security”. In the world today, the cruel act of war has deprived millions of children of these basic principles. Further, at the fifty-second session of the Economic and Social Council, the Council considered, among other things, within the framework of the Commission on the Status of Women and the Commission on Human Rights, questions concerning the protection of women and children in times of emergency and armed conflict and the status of the unmarried mother, particularly with regard to children born out of wedlock. Adoption represents one of the most satisfactory answers to the type of problems just indicated.

131. Socio-economic conditions throughout the world are changing rapidly, and all governments should be aware of the effects of these socio-economic conditions on population trends. The Liberian Government has a special interest in the population problems of the world, especially the developing world, and sees a clear link with some of its own demographic problems; furthermore, it has always supported efforts aimed at the settlement of problems that affect mankind as a whole. Liberia thus took the initiative to request the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly of the new item entitled “United Nations conference for a world convention on adoption law” [A/8751]. We crave the due and timely consideration and support of Members of this new item during this session and full participation at the conference if and when it is convened.

132. Finally, the Charter of the United Nations opens with the stirring words: “We the peoples”. These words, in my opinion, indicate the intention of the founders of the United Nations that all the peoples of the world should be deeply and totally involved in the achievement of its basic objectives. It is my delegation’s firm opinion, and I am

convinced, that unless and until we strive to have all the people of the world involved in the activities and programmes and in the realization of the objectives for which the United Nations was founded this basic hope and objective will never be achieved. But how can this involvement be realized? I suggest that there are, among other means, at least two ways to achieve this objective. The first is to ensure that at the earliest possible moment all the nations and all the peoples of the world are represented in the United Nations. It is true that the Charter has laid down basic requirements for membership in the Organization, but it seems that political and diplomatic machinations have for many years kept a large segment of the world's population out of the Organization. Even today, although a nation has met all the basic requirements spelled out in the Charter for admission to this world Organization, its admission can be effectively prevented. If the words "We the peoples" are to be given substance in reality, then the political machinations by which nations and peoples are excluded from the Organization must be brought to a dramatic halt. We believe that the effectiveness of the Organization can be assured only when all the people of the world and all the nations of the world are effectively within the fold of this international, planetary organization.

133. However, there is another context in which I believe the peoples of the world should become totally involved in the Organization; and that is through their personal, financial support of its existence and effectiveness.

134. One of the most serious problems that threaten the very survival of the Organization is a financial one. All of us know that the arrears reflected in the Organization's books have continued to mount steadily for a number of years. All of us are aware that in times of crisis the Secretary-General is hamstrung. He cannot take immediate and effective measures to cope with such problems and crises, because funds are not available to him for such purposes. We are also painfully aware that this great world Organization is suffering from a fiscal and budgetary deficit of a few million dollars, with no clear indication of how this embarrassing deficit will be met. The situation has reached proportions where we believe strenuous and immediate measures are needed to rescue the Organization from this financial crisis and to strengthen the hands of the Secretary-General in cases of emergency.

135. In the light of the foregoing, my Government believes that positive action should be taken immediately to improve the worsening financial condition of the Organization. My delegation, accordingly, proposes that the United Nations should undertake a world-wide appeal to all the people of the world: to every boy and girl, every man and woman, every foundation, every business and every organization, to make financial contributions, in any amount, to a special United Nations fund, which might be known and referred to as "The Secretary-General's Special Fund" or by any other appropriate nomenclature. Such an appeal would involve all the people of the world in the Organization. It would be truly "We the peoples". The fund itself would provide liquidity to the Organization; it would enable prompt and effective action to be taken by the Secretary-General in cases of emergency wherever they may occur; it would contribute to the establishment of additional disaster preparedness centres at strategic points

throughout the world; and it would enable the Secretary-General of the United Nations to act speedily and effectively when the need arises, to take such initiatives as particular circumstances may warrant, and to lose no opportunity that may present itself to him, for achieving the aims and objectives of the Organization.

136. There are three particular thrusts to this proposal: firstly, the involvement of all the peoples of the world in the Organization; secondly, the achievement and maintenance of the liquidity of the Organization; and, thirdly, the strengthening of the hand of the Secretary-General for effective action at all times. It is my understanding that the people of the world number about 4 billion. If that is correct and if the Members of the United Nations and the whole world give such an appeal their full moral support and an average contribution of, say, 10 cents from each person in the world were achieved, as it might be if the appeal were well planned and a campaign for it properly organized, I daresay that within a few years the Secretary-General's hand would be strengthened by an amount of about \$400 million.

137. My delegation urges that due consideration should be given this proposal and, if it seems appropriate, that the Secretary-General should be called upon to study the proposal in greater detail and to make recommendations for its early implementation.

138. As I come to the end of this statement, I should like to take cognizance of the fact that this Assembly represents the might and power of the world as well as its weaknesses and deficiencies. It embraces units of varying strengths and levels of development, of divergent views and interests, and of diverse problems and conditions. However, in spite of these varied conditions and notwithstanding these impediments, this Organization provides the most practical framework for all of us to work together to achieve peace, the paramount objective for which this Organization was founded. It is our view that, if our civilization is to survive, and if man is not to be reduced from his proud status as cultural man to that of a mere biological animal, we must, in the words of the Charter, endeavour "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

139. Let us, therefore, subordinate our differences to the higher values of peace; let us emphasize our strengths as an Organization; and let us learn to work and live together. We have no other choice.

140. Mr. CHIAO (China) (*translation from Chinese*): A number of important changes have taken place in the world situation since the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly. A series of new victories has been achieved by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence. Countries of the third world are getting united on a wider scale to oppose the super-Power policies of aggression, expansion and war; they are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. Meanwhile, some important events have taken place in international relations. In the East, the leaders of China and the United States have held talks after more than 20 years' suspension of relations between the two countries. They have made clear the

differences of principle between the two sides and agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should handle their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-aggression against other States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and that international disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. Recently, Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan paid a visit to China, and the two sides have reached an important agreement on the normalization of the relations between China and Japan, thus realizing the long-standing aspirations of the two peoples and opening up a new chapter in the relations between the two countries. In the West, the Soviet Union and the United States held summit talks and signed a number of bilateral agreements on co-operation in the fields of science and technology, culture, education and health. The European Economic Community has grown and expanded. In the Middle East, far-reaching progress has been made in the Arab nation's struggle to free itself from super-Power control. The struggle of the people of various countries and the changes in international relations have helped in varying degrees to promote the relaxation of international tension.

141. However, it cannot but be noted that there is no essential change in the situation in which a super-Power is pushing expansionism by all means in contending for world hegemony. The acute and complicated contradictions and struggles between imperialism on the one hand and the oppressed nations and peoples on the other have not abated.

142. To this day, the United States war of aggression against Indo-China is still going on. Because of the meddling by the Soviet Union, the turmoil on the South Asian subcontinent has failed to subside. The stalemate of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East remains. In Europe, with the two military blocs confronting each other, there is no genuine security and cannot be any. Colonialism of different forms persists in many parts of the world. The sovereignty and independence of many small and medium-sized countries are still being infringed and their national resources plundered. Twenty-seven years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War. There are still foreign military bases of various kinds and large numbers of foreign troops on the territories of many countries. The arms race between the two super-Powers is being stepped up unceasingly, seriously menacing the independence and security of the peoples of the world. The whole Western world is in the grip of financial and monetary crises, which have aggravated its various contradictions. In these circumstances, how can the world not be in turmoil? The world is still in the process of great turbulence, great division and great realignment. The struggle between aggression and anti-aggression, interference and anti-interference, subversion and anti-subversion, control and anti-control is bound to continue for a long time.

143. The Chinese delegation holds that the people of all countries must not be deluded by certain temporary and superficial phenomena of détente at the present time and develop a false sense of security. While striving for world peace and the progress of mankind, we must maintain sufficient vigilance and make necessary preparations against

the danger of new wars of aggression any imperialism may launch.

144. To end the war in Indo-China as soon as possible is the most urgent matter for easing the tension in the Far East. At present, the people of the whole world, including the American people, strongly condemn the United States Government for its wanton bombing, mining and blockading of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and resolutely demand that it immediately stop all its acts of aggression against Viet-Nam and the whole of Indo-China and withdraw all the armed forces of the United States and its followers, so that the peoples of the three Indo-Chinese countries may solve their own problems independently, free from any foreign interference. Fair and reasonable ways for the peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam and Indo-China question have been put forward in the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the elaboration on its two key points and in the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese peoples in April 1970. Of late, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam issued a statement on 11 September demanding that the United States cease its policy of "Viet-Namizing" the war and supporting the Saigon puppet régime, and pointing out that a solution to the problem of South Viet-Nam must proceed from the actual situation in South Viet-Nam, in which there exist two administrations and two armies as well as other political forces, and stating that a provisional government of national concord composed of three equal segments must be formed to take charge of affairs in the period of transition. This proposal is fair and reasonable. It shows that the Viet-Nameese side has no intention of imposing a Communist régime on South Viet-Nam. Rejection of this proposal precisely bespeaks the attempt to continue to impose the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet régime on the South Viet-Nameese people. The Chinese Government fully supports the just stand of the Viet-Nameese people and of the three Indo-Chinese peoples.

145. The three Indo-Chinese countries are close neighbours of China, and the three Indo-Chinese peoples are the Chinese people's brothers. We are duty bound to support them in their just struggle against foreign aggression, and we will never interfere in their internal affairs. On behalf of the Chinese Government, I once again solemnly declare from this rostrum: so long as the war in Indo-China goes on in whatever form, the Chinese Government and people, not flinching from the greatest national sacrifice, will firmly support the three Indo-Chinese peoples in fighting to the end.

146. It is necessary to point out here that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, is the sole legal representative of the Khmer people and effectively controls nearly 90 per cent of Cambodian territory. The Lon Nol régime is imposed on the Khmer people by foreign forces, and it is illegal from the very beginning. The representatives of the Lon Nol clique have no right to occupy Cambodia's seat in the United Nations. More and more countries in the world have recognized this reality and truth. The Chinese delegation holds that the United Nations should rectify the present

unreasonable and illegal state of affairs and restore to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia its lawful rights.

147. On 4 July this year, initiated and promoted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, North and South Korea reached agreement on the principles and steps for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, thus strengthening the confidence of the 40 million and more Korean people, who have been divided for 27 years, in the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The Chinese Government and people warmly welcome this agreement. Nineteen years have elapsed since the armistice in Korea. The Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew from Korea as early as 1958. But in South Korea there still remain a so-called "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and a so-called "United Nations Command". This is an anachronism. The combination of the two implies a threat to North Korea. This is an underlying factor making for the continuation of tension on the Korean peninsula. Now, North and South Korea have agreed to achieve gradually the reunification of Korea independently and by peaceful means without reliance upon foreign forces or interference by them. Why should the United Nations keep these two stumbling blocks in front of the Korean people? The General Assembly should discuss the proposed item "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" [A/8752 and Add.1-10] and adopt a pertinent resolution to remove these two stumbling blocks. It is regrettable, however, that the discussion of this fair and reasonable proposal has been deferred to next year. To dodge a problem is no solution. It is argued that the discussion should be postponed to next year because North and South Korea are now in contact. This argument is untenable. One may ask, will there be no more contacts between North and South Korea next year? This is obviously a pretext. A postponement is neither in the interests of the Korean people nor conducive to relaxation of tension on the Korean peninsula. We hope that the countries concerned will reconsider their stand.

148. Now I wish to speak on the question of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. We all remember that last December, in this very hall, the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session [2003rd meeting] adopted by the overwhelming majority of 104 votes a resolution calling for cease-fire and troop withdrawal by India and Pakistan [resolution 2793 (XXVI)]. Subsequently, the Security Council also adopted, by 13 votes in favour and 2 abstentions, resolution 307 (1971) which demands a cease-fire, troop withdrawal and release of prisoners of war by all those concerned. However, while the relevant resolutions of the United Nations were not yet implemented, the Soviet Government and its followers raised at the Security Council last August the question of the admission of "Bangladesh" into the United Nations.¹⁶ In disregard of the reasonable demand of many countries to postpone the consideration of the question, they insisted on a vote to compel China to use the veto. China's stand for postponing the consideration of this question does not mean that we

are fundamentally opposed to the admission of "Bangladesh" into the United Nations. China cherishes friendly sentiments for the people of East Bengal and has no prejudice against Mr. Mujibur Rahman. We stand for postponing the consideration of this question, in order to promote a reconciliation among the parties concerned and the implementation of the United Nations resolutions, which are the very immediate concern. However, the Soviet Government has hurriedly pressed for the admission of "Bangladesh" to the United Nations. This is definitely not aimed at helping "Bangladesh", but at forcing China to use the veto, maintaining and aggravating the tensions among the parties concerned on the subcontinent and white-washing its foul act of supporting the Indian Government in dismembering Pakistan last year. But its attempt will not succeed. If it had been national self-determination, it should have been the people of East Bengal solving their problems by themselves. Why should Indian troops have invaded East Pakistan? And why should the 90,000 and more Pakistani war prisoners and civilians have been taken to India?

149. After the admission of "Bangladesh" has been vetoed, certain people are trying to bypass the Security Council and refer the question to the General Assembly for discussion. This is clearly done with ulterior motives. This will in no way help promote a reconciliation among the parties concerned on the subcontinent, nor will it reflect honour on the country inciting such a move. China stands firm on principles. China considers that the question of whether or not reasonable United Nations resolutions supported by the overwhelming majority of its Members are implemented is a matter of principle affecting what direction the United Nations is heading for. And on matters of principle China will never retreat.

150. The present situation of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East is solely created by the two super-Powers for their respective interests. Taking advantage of this situation, these two super-Powers are using Arab countries' territories and sovereignty and the Palestinian people's right to existence as so many stakes with which to strike political deals. The United States is openly supporting the aggression by Israeli Zionism. The other super-Power claims to "support and assist" the Arab people in their struggle against aggression. Has it supported and assisted them? It has indeed sold them no small amount of weapons. But strangely, the weapons supplied are not allowed to be used. Is this not asking people to buy scrap iron? Moreover, it demands privileges and bases, and even attempts to subvert their Government. What kind of "friend" is this? It is more dangerous than an open enemy.

151. However, recent developments show that the heroic Arab people will not allow others to ride on their backs and lord it over them for long. They have taken determined actions to shake off super-Power domination. This commands admiration. Do not believe the sensational nonsense deliberately spread by a super-Power that no counter-attack should be made against Israel's armed aggression for that would spark a world war. That is meant to scare people. It has been borne out repeatedly by the history of the 20 years and more since the Second World War. We believe that, so long as they strengthen their unity and persevere in their struggle, the Arab countries subjected to aggression

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10771.

are fully capable of recovering their sacred territories and the injured Palestinian people of regaining their national rights.

152. The Chinese Government has always opposed assassination and the hijacking of individuals as a means of waging political struggles and is also opposed to adventurist acts of terrorism by individuals or by a handful of people divorced from the masses, because they are harmful to the development of the cause of national liberation and people's revolution. But we strongly condemn Israel for the recent barbarous aggression and massacres it has committed against Lebañon, Syria and other Arab countries on the pretext of the "Munich incident". The Chinese people will always stand together with the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their just struggle against aggression.

153. The situation in the Mediterranean is closely related to that in the Middle East and Europe. In contending for hegemony, the two super-Powers have dispatched large numbers of war vessels to the Mediterranean and set up many military bases there, posing a threat to the security of the countries around the sea. Now more and more Mediterranean countries have raised their voices for "a Mediterranean of the Mediterranean countries", and demanded the withdrawal of foreign fleets from the Mediterranean. Their demand is entirely just and the Chinese Government and people firmly support it.

154. It is fully understandable that the peoples of the European countries, who have gone through two world wars, are all concerned for the peace and security of Europe. Twenty-seven years have passed since the end of the Second World War, and yet many European countries are still under the military control of one super-Power or the other, with large numbers of foreign troops stationed on their territories. Making use of the confrontation of the two military blocs, each of the two super-Powers is trying hard to keep its allies under control and undermine the opposite side. In these circumstances, how can one speak of genuine peace and security for the people of the European countries? What calls for attention is the fact that there are now some people who, capitalizing on the European people's eager desire for peace, are trying hard by various tactics to cover up the reality that European peace and security are still under threat, and to create the false impression of a European *détente* and "all quiet on the western front", so as to attain their ulterior purposes. The fact that a super-Power could, when it considered it necessary, launch a surprise attack in order to occupy an ally with massive troops shows that such a "military alliance" is no guarantee of peace at all. Security is out of the question for any country when it is under virtual occupation.

155. We hold that, in order truly to ensure peace and security for Europe, it is necessary to oppose firmly aggression, interference, subversion and control by the super-Powers, to disband military blocs, to withdraw foreign armed forces and to bring about peaceful coexistence between the European countries on the basis of respect for independence and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and equality and mutual benefit. Otherwise, the so-called European security conference can only be another name for

the division of spheres of influence between the two super-Powers by making use of military blocs. Such a conference would better be called "the European insecurity conference" rather than "the European security conference". An increasing number of countries are demanding that all the European countries should take part as equals in the European security conference and its preparations with equal powers and opposing the holding of the conference as between two blocs. They especially oppose the two big Powers monopolizing everything behind the backs of the other countries and manipulating the destiny of their people. This is an expression of the profound aspirations of the European people. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the people of the European countries in all their efforts to oppose the power politics and hegemony practised by the super-Powers.

156. In Africa, particularly in southern Africa, the mass movements against white colonialist rule, racial discrimination and *apartheid* and for national liberation have made great new progress, marking a further enhancement of the political consciousness of the African people. The people in southern Africa and other regions which have not yet achieved independence are increasingly aware that the only way to overthrow white colonialist rule and win national liberation is to rely mainly on their own efforts, fully arousing and organizing the masses and waging an unyielding and valiant struggle. It is necessary to seek external assistance, but more and more facts have proved that it is impossible to put an end to colonialist rule by relying on other people. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the heroic people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Spanish Sahara. Their struggles are just, and so long as they carry on perseveringly, fear neither hardship nor sacrifice and advance wave upon wave, they will surely, with the sympathy and support of the peoples of Africa and the whole world, win final victory.

157. As a developing country, China, from its own experience, fully sympathizes with the deep aspirations of the Asian, African and Latin American countries for the defence of their national independence, the protection of their resources and the development of their national economy. We resolutely support the Latin American countries in their struggle to defend their 200-nautical-mile maritime rights. We resolutely support the petroleum—and other raw material—exporting countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle against plunder by foreign forces. We resolutely support the developing countries in their struggle to prevent imperialist countries shifting their economic crisis on to them. We resolutely support the small and medium-sized countries in their struggle against big Powers plundering their fishery resources.

158. We hold that, in order to change the backward state of their economy, the developing countries should first of all rely on themselves; that is, they should rely mainly on their own efforts and take foreign aid as an auxiliary. The just struggles of the people of all countries support each other. Those countries which have already won liberation are all the more duty-bound to support and assist those countries subjected to oppression and aggression. But now some people are using aid as a means for controlling other countries and expanding their own spheres of influence.

When they give something to other countries, they assume the airs of a benefactor and demand all sorts of privileges. They send to the recipient countries experts and advisers who behave as tyrants, ordering people about and lording it over them. How could this be called aid?

159. We hold that all countries which are sincere in providing aid to others, including multilateral aid through the United Nations, should help the recipient countries and not exploit them. Their loans should be interest-free or, at least, low in interest. They must not press for repayment but should allow its postponement. When providing a loan or other forms of aid, they should strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries, attach no conditions and ask for no privileges. The purpose of providing aid to other countries should be to help the recipient countries stand on their own feet and to develop an independent national economy. They must not reduce the recipient countries to dependence and subordination in the name of "economic aid" or "the international division of labour", still less place them under their control on the pretext of "aid". China, too, received some foreign aid in the past and had direct experience in this regard. Therefore, today when we provide aid to other countries, we endeavour to act on the above-mentioned principles. Of course, our capabilities in this respect are limited and the aid we can give is not much. But we hold that the above-mentioned principles should be propagated and applied universally.

160. Now I wish to speak on the question of disarmament. Not long ago some agreements on the limitation of strategic armaments were reached by the Soviet Union and the United States in high-level talks. There is no need for us to comment on these agreements if they are regarded merely as bilateral affairs between the Soviet Union and the United States. But if they are being blown up as tremendous achievements on the road of reducing the threat of nuclear war, we cannot agree. These agreements only stipulate some limitation on the quantity of certain categories of nuclear weapons in the possession of the Soviet Union and the United States, but impose no limitation at all on their quality, nor do they mention a single word about the destruction of nuclear weapons. This can by no means be regarded as a step towards nuclear disarmament. On the contrary, this marks the beginning of a new stage in the Soviet-United States nuclear arms race. Before the ink on the agreement had dried, the one hastened to test new-type nuclear weapons and the other expressed its intention to make a big increase immediately in its military expenditure. How can this be described as reducing the threat of a nuclear war? We hold that no fond illusion should be cherished about these agreements. In 1921, the major naval Powers of the time prescribed a limitation on their respective total tonnages of capital ships, and the limitation was reaffirmed in 1930. Everybody knows what happened in the end. It is not without meaning to recall this historical case today.

161. Moreover, the Soviet Union and the United States have stated in the document on the basic principles of relations between them¹⁷ that they have a special responsibility to avert conflicts which would serve to increase

international tensions, and they have recognized each other's security interests based on the principle of equality. What special responsibility and what equal security interests? According to Khrushchev's "theory", do they not stand for Soviet-United States collaboration for world domination? Of course, one can talk like that, but it would not be so easy to have it realized.

162. As everyone knows, war is the continuation of politics. The invention and the development of nuclear weapons have not changed, nor can they change, this truth. Although no new world war has occurred since the Second World War, local wars of various types have never ceased. Why? Because imperialism resorts to armed force in carrying out aggression and expansion. Where there is oppression there is resistance, and where there is aggression there is struggle against aggression. This is inevitable so long as imperialism exists. But now the Soviet Government asserts that in a nuclear age there is no other way than that of peaceful coexistence among States, which presupposes, above all, the renunciation of the use of force in international relations, that is, the non-use of both conventional and nuclear weapons. It has even spread the alarmist theory that the destructive power of even conventional warfare has by now increased so greatly that the large-scale use of conventional weapons can lead to the annihilation of entire nations. But the world will be safe once there is a resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. This is a sheer hoax. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Government does not believe in its own theory. Its practice in the Middle East, where it gave weapons to Arab countries but forbade the use of them, does smack a little of this "theory". Yet, in the Indo-Pakistan war last year, it gave undisguised support to the Indian Government in its armed aggression against Pakistan. What kind of non-use of force is this?

163. People condemn war and consider it a barbarous way of settling disputes among mankind. But we are soberly aware that war is inevitable so long as society is divided into classes and the exploitation of man by man still exists. There are two categories of wars, just and unjust. We support just wars and oppose unjust wars. If a socialist still wants to be a socialist, he should not oppose all wars indiscriminately. The non-use of force in international relations can only be conditional, and not unconditional. The condition is to realize peaceful coexistence through mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and equality and mutual benefit. And in order to realize this, it is imperative to oppose the policies of aggression and expansion of any imperialism. When imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism of various descriptions are still using force to enslave, commit aggression against, control and threaten a majority of the countries of the world, it is betrayal to the people of the world to advocate non-use of force in international relations indiscriminately, without regard to conditions and in an absolute way. If one still has a grain of socialism in him, why does he not produce something presentable—for instance, opposition to aggression in international relations, and especially aggression backed by nuclear weapons? Why should he, on the contrary, choose to produce such shabby stuff as renunciation of the use of force in international

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1972, document S/10674.

relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons? In that way, does he not allow himself to be seen through right away?

164. Permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons—this sounds so nice and looks so much like China's proposition, but in fact it is completely different. We say that, as the first step towards the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, agreement should first be reached on the non-use of nuclear weapons. And we have publicly declared that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. This fully shows that China is developing nuclear weapons for defensive purposes and with the aim of breaking the nuclear monopoly and proceeding from there to eliminate nuclear weapons. If the Soviet Union entertains the same defensive purposes as it has claimed, why does the Soviet representative not dare to come up to this rostrum and make a similar declaration? How can it make people believe its big talk in favour of the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons to be sincere when it, while mouthing the word "prohibition", is constantly brandishing its nuclear weapons, obdurately opposing the possession and development of nuclear weapons by countries with few or no nuclear weapons, feverishly improving and developing its own nuclear weapons and deploying them at the gates of other countries? It asserts that the renunciation of the use of force and prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would be effective only when the two are linked together. In actuality, this is demanding that the people of the world give up their armed struggle against aggression; otherwise, nuclear weapons will be used against them. Is this not its plain logic? Big talk is useless. The proposal of the Soviet Government, no matter how much it is couched in diplomatic language, has the real intent of making all oppressed nations and peoples tamely submit to the nuclear threat of the one or two super-Powers. But they have grossly underestimated the political consciousness of the people of the world.

165. In order truly to do away with nuclear threats, it is necessary to completely prohibit and thoroughly destroy nuclear weapons. Yet the Soviet Government dares neither to undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons nor to touch on the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, but advocates the cessation of all nuclear tests. Why? As everyone knows, the Soviet Union has made hundreds of nuclear tests. When it had made enough tests in the atmosphere, it proposed the partial ban on nuclear tests. Now when it has made enough underground tests, it calls for a ban on all nuclear tests. Actually this means that the Soviet Union could make any kind of tests when it had the need, and that when it no longer has the need the others are not permitted to make any test. This is another trap blatantly designed to maintain its nuclear monopoly, following the partial nuclear test-ban treaty and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. As a Chinese saying goes, "The magistrates are allowed to burn down houses, while the common people are forbidden even to light lamps." China absolutely will not fall into this trap. At no time and in no circumstances will China recognize such a right for the Soviet Union or any other nuclear Power. No one but those Powers alone are permitted to develop

nuclear weapons; they may threaten others but others are not allowed to exercise the right of self-defence. Can there be such reason on earth? At present, a mere cessation of all nuclear tests without complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons can only hinder countries with few or no nuclear weapons from developing their nuclear capabilities for self-defence but will not affect in the least the nuclear hegemony of the super-Powers. The real purpose of the proposal of the Soviet Government is to maintain its nuclear monopoly and nuclear superiority by capitalizing on many countries' legitimate desire for peace, so that it can have a free hand to carry out its nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail against countries with few or no nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons are something which people can neither eat nor wear. China is a developing country and certainly does not want to spend one penny more than necessary on such stuff. China is making nuclear tests under compulsion. Its nuclear tests are taking place in its deep interior, and their number is limited. China is ready at any time to stop all its nuclear tests, but only on the day the nuclear weapons of the nuclear super-Powers and all nuclear countries are completely prohibited and thoroughly destroyed, and not before.

166. On the question of convening a world disarmament conference, we have explained the position and views of the Chinese Government at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly [1983rd and 2022nd meetings]. We cannot agree to the Soviet position on the "world disarmament conference" as set forth in the Soviet Foreign Minister's letter of 14 August this year [A/8757] to the United Nations Secretary-General. The "world disarmament conference" as proposed by the Soviet Union has neither the necessary requisites nor a clear aim. It would in fact be an "empty-talk club" which would indulge in far-ranging rambling discourse without solving any practical problem. To hold such a conference would only serve to hoodwink and lull the people of the world. It is better not to hold it.

167. The actual situation in the world today is this. The two super-Powers are maintaining military bases of various kinds, including nuclear bases, and stationing large numbers of their armed forces, including nuclear-missile forces, in many countries; their airplanes, warships and submarines, including those carrying nuclear weapons, are flying and plying everywhere; and they have up to now refused to undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly not to use them against non-nuclear countries. To varying degrees, all the countries in the world with no nuclear weapons and those with few nuclear weapons are exposed to their threat. The most urgent question today is the withdrawal of foreign armed forces, rather than the reduction of armaments. Let the two super-Powers withdraw all their armed forces, both conventional and nuclear, back to their own countries. If they do not even want to effect a withdrawal, how can one believe that they are willing to make an arms reduction?

168. The cry for general and complete disarmament has been going on for more than a dozen years. But the result is general and complete arms expansion by the two super-Powers, while all the small and medium-sized countries of the world are in a position of defence inadequacy. This hoax should not be allowed to continue. In order that a world disarmament conference will make a true start and

carry on fruitfully instead of becoming a bout of deceptive empty talk, it is imperative to create the necessary conditions for the convening of such a conference, namely, all nuclear countries, particularly the Soviet Union and the United States which possess the greatest amount of nuclear weapons, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, and that they not only will not use nuclear weapons against each other, but, more importantly, will not use them against the non-nuclear countries, and they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. Only thus will it be possible to create the necessary conditions for all the countries, irrespective of their size, to discuss and solve on an equal footing the important questions of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional weapons.

169. Since the beginning of this year, the United Nations and its Security Council have done much work thanks to the joint efforts made by the overwhelming majority of the Member States. What merits special mention is that the Security Council held special meetings in Africa on African questions. This was an unprecedented action taken at the demand of many African countries. The meetings adopted a number of useful resolutions on some African questions. At the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in the capital of Chile, many developing countries forcefully exposed the situation in which certain developed countries, by trade, tariff, monetary and other means, are monopolizing international markets, shifting their economic crisis onto, and stepping up the plunder and exploitation of, other countries, thus aggravating the irrational international phenomenon of "the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer". The developing countries strongly demanded that this state of affairs must be changed. At the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in the capital of Sweden, many countries of the third world strongly condemned imperialism for carrying out policies of aggression and war and put forward a number of sound views and reasonable opinions on the question of conserving and improving the human environment. At the sessions of the sea-bed Committee, many countries of the third world carried out resolute struggles to safeguard their own natural resources and upheld the just position that each country has the right to determine the scope of its own territorial sea and jurisdiction. At all these meetings and conferences, many countries of the third world showed their firm determination to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and played important roles.

170. However, we cannot but point out with regret that owing to obstructions by the one or two super-Powers the United Nations has remained weak and ineffective in dealing with many major international issues. Some correct resolutions adopted by the United Nations remain unimplemented due to hindrance by one or two big Powers. Many organs and agencies of the United Nations are still dominated by a small number of countries and fail to reflect the demands and opinions of the great number of countries of the third world. In the United Nations there still prevails the very serious phenomenon of discussions

without a decision and decisions without implementation. All this should be corrected speedily.

171. Here I wish to deal with the Chinese Government's views on the review of the United Nations Charter. As is known to all, the United Nations Charter was drawn up near the end of the Second World War and it was a product of the historical conditions prevailing at the time. However, history is making advances and things are developing. In some respects the Charter formulated 27 years ago obviously cannot meet the tremendous change that has occurred in the international situation and in the United Nations. There were 51 original Members at the founding of the United Nations. Since then more than 80 countries have joined the United Nations, most of which are newly independent countries. It is understandable that there is a demand for the United Nations Charter to reflect fully the present state of affairs in the world. We maintain that on the basis of upholding the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter careful consideration should be given to the views of various countries for necessary revisions of the Charter so as truly to give effect to the principle that all Member States, big or small, are equal. Of course, we likewise consider that the revision of the Charter is a serious and important question, and we are ready to join you all in serious explorations.

172. The world is at the cross-roads, and so is the United Nations. If the United Nations is to regain its prestige and play its due role, it must conform to the trend of the world, truly express the just demands of large numbers of its Members and the people of the world, act strictly in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and free itself from manipulation and control by the big Powers. It must be trustworthy in word and resolute in deed. Otherwise, it would be very difficult for the United Nations to avoid eventually taking the old path of the League of Nations. The Chinese delegation is ready to work together with the delegations of all countries which love peace and uphold justice to make the United Nations truly capable of playing a role in safeguarding international peace and promoting the cause of the progress of mankind.

Mr. Raymond (Haiti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

173. Mr. POTOLOT (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The outstanding election of the representative of Poland as President of this year's session of the General Assembly fills us with joy. We believe that at one and the same it is a tribute paid to his qualifications as a statesman and his wide knowledge of international problems and a tribute paid to Poland, a country that is friendly to the Central African Republic.

174. I should like to associate the delegation of the Central African Republic with the warm congratulations and good wishes that have been addressed to him, to assure him of our full co-operation and to express the deeply felt conviction that under his enlightened guidance our work will lead to results that will live up to his competence and be worthy of the United Nations.

175. I am also pleased to pay a tribute to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. President, Mr. Adam Malik, the Minister for

Foreign Affairs of Indonesia. We greatly appreciate his tact and outstanding competence, thanks to which we were able to work calmly during the course of a particularly difficult session.

176. Finally, it is also a particular pleasure for me to extend again to our eminent Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the personal congratulations of General of the Army Jean-Bedel Bokassa, President for Life of the Central African Republic and of the Government and people of my country, as well as my own personal congratulations, on his appointment to such a high and arduous post at the end of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

177. We are not unaware of the many difficulties that he will confront, but we know, too, that he will give the best of himself in order to overcome them. In assuring him of our unconditional support, we can only wish him great courage and excellent health so that he will be able to work as long as possible on behalf of our Organization.

178. The year 1972 will have been a year of détente, marked by the process of profound change that has taken place in the structure of international relations, and more particularly among the great Powers. We must mention the Soviet-American agreements on the limitation of strategic offensive and defensive weapons; the allied Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin; the agreements between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic; negotiations on a treaty to normalize relations between the two Germanys; the announcement of a European security conference; the agreement between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America; the visit of Mr. Tanaka, the Prime Minister of Japan, to the People's Republic of China; and the rapprochement between the two Koreas, to name but a few.

179. These changes were welcomed with joy and satisfaction by the international community as a whole, and particularly by my own country, the Central African Republic, whose domestic and foreign policies have always been based on peace and represent progress that must not be underestimated.

180. But, unfortunately, we must also note that certain principles of the Charter are far from being complied with.

181. Peace is constantly being disturbed by the persistence or outbreak of numerous conflicts in different parts of the world.

182. The arms race makes the day of disarmament seem ever more remote. The international division of labour, learnedly advocated by some, nevertheless widens the gap between a super-industrialized world, replete and satisfied, and a world where hunger, sickness, ignorance, need and destitution are the daily portion of hundreds of millions of human beings.

183. Entire peoples are still held in the shackles of colonialism and are despised by the racists, while neo-colonialism tries to maintain or consolidate its interests by organizing, assisting or encouraging subversive activities and conspiracies intended to change by violence the régimes of

States where the neo-colonialists feel that their interests might be harmed or simply threatened.

184. Briefly, we must recognize with bitterness that social peace, economic peace and peace itself still must be achieved.

185. In fact, my delegation is fully aware that the war in South-East Asia, which is unscrupulously maintained by certain great Powers, continues to bring anguish to the tortured souls of the peoples of Viet-Nam and Cambodia, who strongly desire peace and happiness. But it was with satisfaction that we heard from this rostrum a few days ago the statement by Mr. William Rogers, the United States Secretary of State [2038th meeting], in which he spoke of a cease-fire throughout Indo-China under international supervision and a total withdrawal of United States troops that would allow the Viet-Nameese people to settle their problems themselves and to decide upon their own future. We are convinced that that was not merely thinking aloud, but that it was a statement of high political import that will without doubt begin to be implemented very soon.

186. The Middle East crisis is still one of the main concerns of our Organization. We continue to believe that the only road to a peaceful settlement of that painful conflict lies in the strict application of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and in the resumption of the Jarring mission.

187. What are we to say of the persistence of colonialism and of racial discrimination in Africa, and particularly in southern Africa? In South Africa, in Namibia, in Zimbabwe, in Mozambique and in Guinea (Bissau) the dignity of the black man is still being offended. His fundamental and inalienable rights to self-determination are constantly being trampled underfoot, despite all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

188. The unholy alliance which has arisen in southern Africa between the forces of Portuguese colonialism and the forces of racism of Pretoria and Salisbury and is intended to maintain the supremacy of the white minority constitutes the most heinous crime of this century against mankind.

189. We strongly condemn and denounce the attitude of certain Powers which not only encourage the racist régimes entrenched in southern Africa and the Portuguese policy in their colonies but continue to deliver weapons to those régimes in order to perpetuate foreign domination in Africa and to allow it to reconquer its positions from its devilish strongholds.

190. In this connexion we urge the countries directly or indirectly concerned to take into account the Declarations of Lusaka¹⁸ and Mogadishu¹⁹ and the more recent Georgetown Declaration of 1972 on these questions. Our

¹⁸ Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Relations, adopted at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970.

¹⁹ Adopted at the 7th Summit Conference of East and Central African States, held at Mogadishu from 18 to 20 October 1971.

firm conviction has been and remains that it is imperative that suitable measures should be taken to allow the United Nations to play a wider and more effective role in the elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa and in the field of peace-keeping and security in the world.

191. The full implementation by all Members of the United Nations of the resolutions of this Organization is, we believe, one of the basic elements in the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination. We are pleased to note the praiseworthy efforts already made by the Secretary-General in these fields and we should like to encourage him to continue along these lines.

192. But how could I end this chapter without mentioning a problem that has been the number one problem in the tendentious international press, a problem insidiously introduced in the General Assembly by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland? I am speaking of the Uganda question.

193. In fact, despite the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States and the principle of respect for national sovereignty, it is undeniable that certain great Powers continue to organize slander and smear campaigns against other States which are wedded to peace and justice.

194. May I state on this subject that my delegation is amazed that, after having suffered an unprecedented failure when the people of Zimbabwe rejected the so-called Anglo-Rhodesian arrangements, that same Great Britain has again tried by low and devious manoeuvres to focus world attention on a problem that falls exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of a sister republic, namely, the Republic of Uganda.

195. For our part we believe that it is not within the purview of the United Nations and the General Assembly to find any solution whatsoever to the problem of the expulsion of what the representative of Uganda quite justifiably termed "British citizens of Asian origin" at one of the recent conferences in Africa.

196. What are we to say? Are we to set up our Organization as a biased international tribunal? No! The problem presented to our august Assembly is a false one and we must combat it by opposing its consideration, because in the view of my delegation that is a problem that is essentially a domestic problem of Uganda.

197. How, then, can we explain that Great Britain refuses to welcome on its own soil British subjects expelled by Uganda solely because they are of Asian origin and asks us, the United Nations, to solve in its stead problems which concern it directly?

198. Today the ideas of peace and security, of development and wide-scale multilateral co-operation are supported and appreciated by an ever-growing number of countries. Real conditions exist, such as trade and international economic relations that, we are sure, can become important factors in the maintenance and strengthening of peace and economic and social progress of all peoples.

Imbued with this conviction, we said last year from this same rostrum:

"For us, in a low income country, the most important objective is and remains the economic and social progress of our people. That is the top priority." [1958th meeting, para. 223.]

199. We earnestly hope that the United Nations will be able to bring together the industrialized and the developing countries into a network of economic, trade, technical, social and cultural co-operation. In so doing it would widely contribute to the transformation of the human condition in a very inequitable world.

200. One of these inequities, as we know, lies in the daily deterioration of the terms of trade which deprives the developing countries of the necessary resources for their arduous struggle for economic progress and helps to widen the gap that separates the needy from the wealthy countries.

201. The state of international co-operation between the industrialized countries and the third-world nations is far from satisfactory. Today it is undeniable that the third session of UNCTAD held at Santiago did not offer new prospects in trade, nor was any real progress achieved in the desired implementation of generalized preferences. We are still waiting for a spectacular upswing in the curve of transfer of capital, which, unfortunately, has not changed.

202. How could it be otherwise when many countries were diffident regarding even the holding of that session?

203. As regards public assistance, today it is reduced to a level that is less than half the commitments established in the International Development Strategy. We might then wonder regarding the future of that so-called Strategy for the "Second Development Decade".

204. However, we have not given up hope and we trust that the series of provisions approved by the General Assembly more than a year ago will enable a United Nations development system to handle significant resources more effectively. We are looking forward to the effective implementation of all these measures.

205. Furthermore, we urge the Organization to bring to bear its influence on the specialized loan agencies in order to encourage greater assistance to the needy nations.

206. In this regard, we feel that these financial organizations should lend a more willing ear to certain vital projects that are so necessary to the developing countries, particularly the least favoured ones, such as the land-locked nations, into which category my own country, the Central African Republic, falls when, for different reasons these projects have not acquired financing from bilateral assistance or from private capital sources.

207. The land-locked developing countries feel that the special measures adopted to favour them will not meet their needs until they are allowed to participate effectively in world trade and its growth and until they are guaranteed access to the sea and possess the necessary transit facilities.

208. In this connexion it is with great pleasure that I draw the attention of the Assembly to the joint efforts of the African countries to carry out a road project, whose importance is obvious to all, for the linking of Mombasa in the east and Lagos in the west of the African continent. Surely this project deserves the unreserved support of the international community.

209. On the other hand, it is with great pain that we are reluctantly forced once again to complain from this rostrum of the fact that the railroad project for the linking of the Central African Republic with the Atlantic Ocean, thus releasing my country from its land-locked status—a project that was studied for many years and was placed before the World Bank for financing—has been languishing endlessly in the offices of that great international organization, although we are a full-fledged member of it. The reasons for this indifferent attitude towards us escapes our modest understanding; but in the light of the situation how are we to speak of social justice and peace in the world?

210. I cannot remain silent about a problem which is of concern to the Central African Government, that of environment. I am happy to recall that my country was present at the Stockholm Conference and took a very active part in the work done.

211. Although the Central African Republic does not suffer equally with the industrialized countries from problems of the environment—for which we thank God—we are aware of the interpenetration of the problems of development as a whole with those of the environment and we therefore hope that the United Nations, which bears an important responsibility in this matter, will forthwith adopt suitable measures to ensure the welfare of man and the future of humanity. On the problem of the protection of the environment the United Nations cannot adopt a complacent attitude. The least we could expect would be a policy of vigilance.

212. It is obvious that the developing countries admit the need for foreign capital, but they do not expect miracles from outside.

213. We are also aware of the fact that foreign assistance cannot be effective unless it is based on an intensive national effort. As far as the Central African Republic is concerned, under the guidance of its dynamic Head of State, His Excellency General of the Army Jean-Bedel Bokassa, and within the framework of Operation Bokassa, a vast and original strategy for the harmonious development of all the potential of the country; of which I spoke at great length last year from this same rostrum [*1958th meeting*], the Central African Republic has turned resolutely to continued national participation, thus supporting the economic, social and cultural development of our country.

214. The results of this strategy, particularly in the agricultural field, have gone well beyond our expectations, and we justifiably think that the specialized agencies of the United Nations, which are already assisting us, will increase their assistance in the years to come in promoting this great national undertaking for the benefit of the hard-working people of Central Africa.

215. In the present troubled world conditions we can only hope that the Second Development Decade will link the Development Decade with the Disarmament Decade. The two are closely related and they must become one, if not in the letter at least in the spirit, in a Decade of peaceful co-operation for the increased well-being of all peoples.

216. It surely would not be Utopian to ask the United Nations, on which we found our hopes for a better world, to do all in its power so that this day and age which is already witnessing a universal civilization may mark the beginning of true brotherhood and justice in the world.

217. I would appeal to the peoples of the United Nations on the face of the earth to attack all the ills that threaten peace, so that from the untapped oceans and outer space we may prepare for a harvest of peace.

218. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of the Khmer Republic, who has requested to be allowed to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

219. Mr. LONG BORET (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I already had an opportunity, on 29 September last [*2047th meeting*], to give a detailed account from this rostrum of the actual situation prevailing in my country. It is regrettable that the representative of the People's Republic of China, and certain others in his wake, including the representatives of the Congo and Albania, have seen fit to dwell on a false evaluation of the events, with the sole purpose of interfering in the internal affairs of a Member State of the United Nations. It is astonishing to see these representatives, who represent republican régimes, come here and plead in favour of the return to Cambodia of a monarchical régime which is completely finished. For their benefit, and in exercising my right of reply, I should like to recall the actual facts which occurred and which no campaign of distortion can possibly misrepresent.

220. Marshal Lon Nol did not impose himself on the Khmer people. On the contrary, the will of the people has been carried out and its wishes are being realized. It was the Khmer people that elected him on 4 June 1972, by universal, direct suffrage and by a vast majority, as the first President of the Khmer Republic.

221. The Government of the Khmer Republic did not come to power simply because the previous head of State, Prince Sihanouk, was absent. The latter, whose treachery and collusion with the aggressors from North Viet-Nam and the Viet-Cong were discovered by Parliament, has not dared to return to Cambodia since his dismissal from office as Head of State. As I already mentioned in my statement of 29 September, this removal from office was unanimously decided upon in accordance with legal norms laid down by the Constitution then in force. On 30 April 1972, the Khmer people solemnly and effectively pronounced itself against the dictatorial and despotic Sihanouk régime in a national referendum.

222. At present, in the Khmer Republic, there is only one foreign aggression and it is that carried out by the North Viet-Nameese and the Viet-Cong, who, with their annexationist designs, are exploiting the megalomania of Sihanouk

and the credibility of certain others who are playing into the hands of those invading our country. Thus, the Khmer people, which is only defending itself against these aggressors, on the contrary deserve the sympathy and understanding, if not the assistance and support, of all Member countries of the United Nations.

223. No portion of Khmer territory is occupied by the so-called—and non-existent—forces of Sihanouk. If, as the representative of China affirmed, this person is in fact in control of 90 per cent of the territory of the Khmer Republic, we wonder why he does not install himself in Cambodia.

224. We must confess that we have understood nothing in the discriminatory and conflicting attitudes of these representatives who, although vociferously defending the principle of the sovereignty and self-determination of a people, attempt, on the other hand, to support a régime and a Prince which the sovereign Khmer people has solemnly rejected, once and for all, by a national referendum.

225. Our surprise is no less great when we hear these self-same representatives passionately defending the principle of non-aggression and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States and, on the other hand, trying to camouflage the reality of Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese aggression against the Khmer people.

226. Are they aware of the fact that, by upholding the cause of an exiled Government, they are encouraging the illegality and anarchy which the great majority of nations are now trying to combat?

227. Are they aware that such an attitude will not fail to create a dangerous precedent for all States which are founded on democratic principles?

228. By standing at the side of those committing aggression against us, they are only encouraging a crime which, for reasons of principle, they violently and constantly condemn—at least so they have led us to believe.

229. On the other hand, we have been encouraged by the fact that a number of peaceful States have understood our situation and continue to display their sympathy for the just and legitimate struggle which the innocent people of the Khmer Republic has been and is waging, despite the propaganda which has been so viciously spread by the enemies of the Khmer people, distorting the facts.

230. Finally, we have been reproached with being somewhat emotional in presenting the cause of a people which is suffering in the struggle for its survival. But those who say that are paying us a backhanded compliment, and I should like to thank the person who originated it. This person himself had to go through a rather emotional experience before he was able to come here to throw stones at us, and he will not fail to have similar emotional experiences in the future. Let him have no illusions about that!

231. For our part, it is our rule never to interfere in the internal affairs of other States. Certain Powers change leaders or governments every six months. Why, then, is the right of the Khmer people being challenged to carry out its own revolution and to rid itself once and for all of a despot who exercised absolute power for more than 30 years? We have always supported and assisted, under the aegis of our Organization, other peoples who are trying to free themselves from the colonial yoke. Why, then, should the Khmer people be deprived of the right to determine its own affairs—a right which it has never ceased to advocate for its brother peoples?

232. Those who encourage the aggressors against us bear a heavy burden of responsibility before this Organization and before history. They will come to realize that they have been tricked and that, consciously or unconsciously, they have become the accomplices of the assassins of the Khmer people. But for the victims, unfortunately, this will be too late.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.