

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTIETH SESSION

Official Records



**2363rd  
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 26 September 1975,  
at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*):

Speech by Mr. Macovescu (Romania) .....	209
Speech by Mr. Chiao (China) .....	214
Speech by Mr. Mladenov (Bulgaria) .....	221

**President: Mr. Gaston THORN**  
(Luxembourg).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MACOVESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Your presence, Sir, as President for this year, which marks the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, constitutes a symbol of contemporary international political realities. As the representative of a State which, from the point of view of its geographical dimensions, is among the small countries, you bring to this forum of all the nations the tenacity and dignity of a people which, although not very numerous, throughout the centuries has successfully exercised its will to live freely and independently.

2. Your well-known qualities as politician and diplomat, of which you have given proof in many circumstances and which my Government and myself have appreciated on more than one occasion in the course of the events that have marked the development of relations between Romania and Luxembourg, are a guarantee that our work will, as all peoples hope, be successful.

3. This year again I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. In the year that has elapsed since the last regular session he has continued his complex activities to ensure that our Organization was really able to play the role assigned to it by the States in solving international problems. His initiatives and the action he has undertaken fully justify the esteem and confidence which we have placed in him in electing him to this high position.

4. This session of the General Assembly is being held three decades after the flames of the Second World War, in which the United Nations was forged, were extinguished. During that time the world has witnessed many alterations and profound revolutionary changes both socially and nationally. Instead of stagnating after 1945, international life underwent a tumultuous development because of the will of the peoples of the entire world, freed from the dark shadows of fascism, to forge for themselves a dignified, free and prosperous life.

5. The triumph of revolutionary struggle in the post-war period and the beginning of the building of socialism in a series of countries in Europe, Asia, and America have transformed socialism into a major world economic and political force. In our times the socialist countries exercise increasing influence on contemporary social development and on the course of international life as a whole. New States choose to take the course of socialist development.

6. Dozens of States have acceded to independence and, after being liberated from foreign domination, are now resolutely committed to the struggle to ensure their economic, social and national development, free from dependence of any kind. Only a few days ago our Organization welcomed to its ranks three new States, namely, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe. I take this opportunity, on behalf of the Romanian Government and people, of extending to the Governments and peoples of those countries a warm welcome to the United Nations, and expressing our desire to develop the best possible relations of friendship and co-operation with them.

7. Parallel to those revolutionary processes which I mentioned earlier, the world is at present witnessing one of the most profound scientific and technological revolutions in its history. Science, technology and culture are developing at high speed. Man is penetrating ever more deeply into the secrets of nature and is mastering them.

8. All these phenomena have not failed to exercise a powerful influence on international life. A qualitatively new element is that the relations of subordination have become obsolete. Peoples are determined to become the masters of their destiny and their national wealth and to put an end to the old policy of inequality, domination and *diktat* and to develop in an atmosphere of peace, security and co-operation. The events of the last year have clearly shown that this is so.

9. The historic victories won by the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos against foreign intervention once again confirm a historic truth. They bear witness to the fact that, when a people is determined to defend its independence and its sovereignty, its dignity and its national entity at the cost of the greatest sacrifices, there is no force in the world which can bar the road to total victory for their just cause.

10. Political reassessments, the process of disintegration of military pacts and groups in South-East Asia are affirmations of the tendency of peoples to act independently on the international scene, drawing their inspiration from their fundamental interests and freeing themselves from foreign trusteeships.

11. In Europe, the friendly Portuguese people have done away with Fascist dictatorship and have embarked upon the path of democratic development of their country. This has at the same time created better conditions for the peoples in African territories under Portuguese domination to accede to independence.

12. On the Latin American continent changes have occurred, the expression of which on the external level consists in the increasingly more obvious option of many countries to promote new relationships based on the right of each people freely to establish its domestic and foreign policy, to be the only master of its national wealth and to use it for the benefit of its own development. That option has also been expressed in the rejection of the old policy of discrimination against socialist Cuba. That is a new recognition of the fact that ultimately nothing and no one can prevent a people from choosing the system most suitable to it and following the course of social and political development which it considers best designed to serve its aspirations and interests.

13. Wherever we cast our glance on the map of the world, we see that by their struggle peoples are bringing about the collapse of the imperialist policy of force and *diktat*. On every continent, social forces of unprecedented power rise to establish new democratic and equitable relations in international life.

14. The small and medium-sized States, the developing countries and the non-aligned countries at present play an increasingly important role in the revolutionary transformation of the world and in the struggle for progress. Those countries are determined to contribute to building a better and more just world because they themselves have been compelled to wage long and hard struggles to become masters of their own destiny. Historic realities have led those countries to be attached to the new policy of independence and equality and to oppose the policy and practices of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, so as to establish new relations among States and a new political and economic order which will ensure the free development of each nation.

15. The Romanian people entertain feelings of understanding and affinity for, and shows active solidarity with, the endeavours of the States that have embarked upon the path of independent development. This attitude is also based on the fact that socialist Romania, itself a developing country, must solve many of the problems with which above-mentioned countries are also faced.

16. That explains Romania's presence at the Lima Conference of Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries. In our opinion, the participation of a country in the meetings of the non-aligned countries must not be considered from the point of view of its belonging to military and political groups, but in the light of its foreign policy, its contribution to rapprochement among nations and to the strengthening of a positive process of international understanding and détente.

17. That also explains why Romania is actively involved in the activities of the group of developing countries, the Group of 77, including the recent seventh special session of the General Assembly devoted to problems of development and international economic co-operation. For our part, we consider that

the results of the session were positive and have in a certain sense marked a new milestone, because we have gone from the stage of confrontation and opposition between industrially developed and developing States to the stage of starting a dialogue. It is important that the progress made should yield results and be continued through implementation of the measures provided for in the resolution adopted by consensus. New measures should be added to secure the liquidation of the present situation in which a great part of mankind does not enjoy even the most elementary living standards.

18. Romania stands resolutely in favour of establishing a new international economic order that will lead to the eradication of under-development and to a relative balance in the level of development of all nations, opening the way for the well-being and happiness of all peoples of the world. As we see it, détente cannot coexist with under-development. One cannot speak of genuine détente and peace as long as the world remains divided into the rich and the poor. We feel that détente, international peace and security are indissolubly linked to the establishment of a new economic order and to the development of all nations.

19. As the President of the Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu emphasized:

“Romania, which is engaged in a vast social work in developing the forces of production and the national wealth, of promoting science, art and culture and on this basis of raising the material and spiritual living standards of the whole people, is at the same time pursuing a sustained and energetic international activity for the furtherance of new democratic principles in relations among States, for the broad development of multilateral co-operation among nations and for the establishment of a new international economic and political order in the world. Our country is determined in the future further to expand co-operation with all States of the world irrespective of their social order, and to participate most actively in international life, making its contribution to the settlement, in the spirit of peace and progress, of all contemporary economic and political issues and to the consolidation and continuation of the process of détente which is taking shape today in the world”.

20. The great changes which have occurred in contemporary international life, the determination of peoples to be the masters of their own destinies, made it possible for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to achieve positive results from its work. The successful conclusion of the work of the Conference—of historic importance in the political life of the European continent—marks a new spirit in international relations, laying the foundations for a broad and profound process of establishing security in Europe, with favourable consequences for the whole world.

21. The Socialist Republic of Romania and President Nicolae Ceaușescu himself participated actively in the convening, preparation and holding of the Conference and contributed consistently to the preparation of documents in order to ensure that they would be as clear as possible and would entail genuine commitments, to the assertion of new concepts and prin-

ciples in international life, and to the promotion of democratic procedures to ensure equality among States. We are pleased that those endeavours, combined with those of other States, have proved fruitful. Thanks to careful work, conducted on new and democratic bases in a spirit of equality, receptivity and mutual esteem, it was possible to achieve generally acceptable results which were crystallized in the Final Act signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975 by the Heads of State and Government participating in the Conference.

22. That great inter-European meeting was an expression of the ardent desire of the European peoples to start a new era in the political life of the continent, establish a climate of understanding and fruitful co-operation among all nations based on equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, the sharing of benefits and the renunciation of force and the threat of force in relations among States.

23. For Romania, these principles are not abstract concepts, but the legal framework of certain practical realities. They are the only ones that can today provide the opportunity for peaceful co-operation among States. Unless they are respected it is impossible to attain a better and more just world in which every people will be able to enjoy the benefits of contemporary civilization and no one will have to live in subjection and insecurity.

24. It is now essential to implement resolutely the principles and standards contained in the Final Act. Taking into account the interests of all European peoples and the cause of peace, it is necessary that the slightest infringement of the jointly adopted principles and standards be considered as a lack of goodwill and as action which may endanger security, co-operation and peace in Europe.

25. We appreciate the agreements reached in connexion with the development of economic, scientific and technological relations, the expansion of cultural interchanges, the improvement of the dissemination of information through the press and other means, the development of human contacts and the settlement of humanitarian issues. The practical implementation of all these agreements will doubtless serve the cause of rapprochement and friendship among peoples.

26. We must not harbour the illusion that at the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe we had completely met the wishes of the peoples and their concern for peace and security. The Helsinki stage does not represent the end of the process of establishing security in Europe. Rather, it is a premise, a starting-point for further great and sustained efforts aimed at the effective settlement of the complex problems which remain unsolved and at the creation of a united Europe, based on independent nations, animated by a spirit of peaceful co-operation and equal rights, irrespective of their social order or territorial extent.

27. In speaking of the necessity to pursue and intensify efforts aimed at building European security, we are thinking above all of the extraordinary concentration of military forces and armaments, including nuclear weapons, in Europe at the present time. There can be no real and lasting peace and security in Europe

without resolute disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. We cannot conceive of a Europe of confidence and peaceful co-operation built in the shadow of nuclear weapons. This is tantamount to saying that the political and military aspects of security are inseparable.

28. From this point of view, the measures inscribed in the Final Act, though undoubtedly significant, are limited and insufficient. They must be accompanied by energetic disarmament measures, by determined actions by all States aimed at the liquidation of military bases, the withdrawal behind their national borders of nuclear weapons and foreign troops on the territories of other States, and the reduction of national armies, armaments and military expenditures. Increase of confidence and co-operation should lead to the liquidation of opposing military blocs, the simultaneous abolition of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty alliance, which are not and cannot be permanent but which are the product of certain historical circumstance which we wish to leave behind us.

29. We, as representatives of our Governments, have an opportunity, as regards our own peoples and the peoples of the entire world, to do our utmost to ensure conditions of real peace and progress for mankind. Neither in Europe nor in the world as a whole can we attain that objective unless we embark on a policy of effective disarmament.

30. We cannot help noticing, with great concern, that in recent years the arms race has reached unprecedented proportions. While, year by year, in the United Nations, in the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and in other international forums, disarmament is discussed, the arms race continues to increase, to swallow up vast material and human resources and to monopolize a vast potential of scientific research and production. The technological arms race is intensifying. Military expenditure has continuously increased, amounting to the exorbitant figure of some \$300,000 million in 1974. Undoubtedly, the increase in armament production, the stockpiling of ever new weapons of mass destruction, the rise in military expenditures, have particularly serious consequences for the economic and social life of nations and for the peace and security of all peoples.

31. In spite of the efforts made by numerous States, Romania being one of them, the situation of the disarmament negotiations is still critical and their practical results are insignificant. The agreements achieved so far are of small importance, and they do not represent effective disarmament measures; they deal with peripheral problems, and not with the real priority problems on which depend the effective halting of armaments, above all nuclear weapons.

32. A radical change in the approach to disarmament problems is both necessary and urgent. It is high time for us to move on from words and sterile talks to deeds, to the adoption of practical measures. To this end we consider it necessary to agree on a programme of measures designed to mobilize the political will of all States in order to achieve real disarmament and to provide a forward plan and a coherent approach for negotiations and efforts in this field.

33. Romania, like other countries, believes that nuclear disarmament must be given the highest priority. On the agenda of the present session there are several proposals on adopting nuclear disarmament measures. Romania will state its views on these proposals in the course of the debate. We must say, however, that we are concerned about the weakening of interest in the outlawing of nuclear weapons. More than five years have elapsed since the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] was adopted, but one can see that, in fact, a proliferation of nuclear armaments has occurred. If we really wish to remove the danger of a thermo-nuclear war, we must press on resolutely and without delay to the banning of the use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, to the cessation of nuclear weapons production, to the withdrawal of nuclear armaments from the territories of other States, and, of course, to the destruction of all nuclear arsenals. As long as such steps are not taken and there are not sufficient guarantees of security, no State can be prevented from taking the measures it considers necessary for its own defence, including the production of nuclear weapons.
34. A first step in the direction of disarmament would be a pledge by the nuclear countries never, in any circumstances, to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the States which have renounced the option of acquiring or producing such armaments.
35. Closely connected with the non-utilization of nuclear weapons is the making of certain zones in different parts of the world nuclear-weapon free zones, in conjunction with the granting of appropriate safeguards by the nuclear Powers. Romania has supported all efforts for the creation of such zones or regions, including the Balkans, being convinced that such measures contribute to the lessening of the nuclear danger.
36. Certainly, nuclear disarmament measures should not limit in any way the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. On the contrary, it is necessary to ensure for all States unrestricted right and opportunities to benefit fully from nuclear science gains with a view to their peaceful development within a system which has to be set up on the basis of equality and non-discrimination.
37. As a forum of a universal character, the United Nations has special tasks and responsibilities in channelling all energies and efforts of States towards the adoption of real and effective measures of disarmament, in guiding and controlling negotiations in all disarmament forums. We believe it would be really useful to convene a special session of the General Assembly for the purpose of having a full debate on the situation of armaments and the principles governing disarmament, and to make recommendations aimed at the conclusion of specific agreements.
38. These problems are vital and burning issues. They are of equal concern to all nations, great or small. Hence international public opinion must be informed about the activities taking place in the sphere of disarmament. Disarmament directly concerns the peoples themselves, and they have the right to know what is being done in that field in order to be able to express their opinions on what measures should be taken.
39. These are the cogent reasons which have led the Government of Romania to attach increased importance to the disarmament debates of this session, and it will make its position known in due course.
40. The consolidation of a new path towards détente in international life, as a result of the people's struggle, is indissolubly linked with the extinction of the hotbeds of conflict and tension which still exist in different areas of the world, with refraining from military confrontation, and with the settlement of controversial issues by political means.
41. We are particularly worried by the continued tension in the Middle East, which is a permanent danger not only for peace in that area but also for the peace of the whole world. The Government of Romania has always been in favour of a political settlement of the situation in the Middle East, and has made consistent efforts to contribute to such a settlement.
42. We have welcomed the agreements reached in 1974 on disengagement in the Sinai on the Golan Heights. We also regard as useful the recent Egyptian-Israeli agreement on the disengagement of military forces in Sinai. We regard it as a continuation of the previous agreement which may pave the way for other steps towards the full settlement of the conflict. We feel that new and steady efforts are necessary in order to reach such a solution—both in Sinai and Golan, as well as on the West Bank. We reaffirm our conviction that there will be no peace in the Middle East until Israel withdraws its troops from the Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war; until the problem of the Palestinian people is solved by the restoration of their legitimate rights, including the establishment of an independent Palestinian State; and until the right of all States of the region to existence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence is recognized.
43. In a region close by—Cyprus—a situation of tension persists, which is a matter of grave concern. We are vitally interested in seeing peace established there as soon as possible by means of a negotiated solution of the dispute on the basis of respect for the integrity, sovereignty and independence of the State of Cyprus, and by ensuring peaceful co-operation between the two communities on the island.
44. In present conditions it is imperative for all States directly involved in disputes, as well as for other States and international public opinion, to redouble their efforts so that progress can be made towards negotiated settlement for the elimination of all hotbeds of tension which endanger the peace and security of peoples.
45. A high degree of responsibility in this respect devolves also on the United Nations, which has to act with greater effectiveness for the promotion of co-operation and understanding among nations against any act in disregard of international law, or interference in the affairs of other peoples, and for the liquidation of sources of dispute in international life.
46. As is known, the Romanian Government has consistently paid special attention to the activities of the United Nations and to its ability to contribute to building a just and better world. The evolution of the United Nations towards universality in the sense of the inclusion of all States—an evolution we have

welcomed and wish to be complete—coincides with the ever-clearer awareness that the problems of the present-day world, in order to be solved in the interest of peace and co-operation, require the active participation of all States, which is yet another aspect of universality. And it is precisely the United Nations which offers the most suitable framework for this.

47. At this time I wish to reiterate the firm support of the Romanian Government for the applications for membership in the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam. We express the hope that, in accordance with the recent resolution adopted by the General Assembly [*resolution 3366 (XXX)*] on the initiative of a great number of countries, including Romania, the Security Council will proceed to the immediate reconsideration in a favourable light of the requests of those two countries.

48. As emphasized by the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu,

“The United Nations and other international bodies must play a greater role in the settlement of the complex problems raised by contemporary international life. Starting from the realities of the present-day world and from the shifts in the world balance of power, these bodies have to ensure broad participation by all peoples in the settlement of international problems and in the struggle for security and peace to uphold the principles of international law in relations among States.”

49. In the course of its existence the United Nations has had numerous achievements and made positive contributions to the development of understanding and co-operation among States. It is through the United Nations that a strong impetus has been given to the process of codification of the rules and principles of contemporary international law, to the promotion of legality, justice and equity in relations among States. Particularly in the past few years, more frequent recourse has been had to its machinery and authority, which has had a favourable effect upon the course of some situations of tension and conflict. Under the aegis of the United Nations too, the international community has dealt with the cardinal problem of development in its various aspects and has crystallized a generally acceptable concept regarding the establishment of a new international economic order. It is through the United Nations that real support has been given to the process of liquidating colonialism, that the legitimacy of the national liberation struggle has been sanctioned, and that international recognition has been granted to the liberation movements. Yet the efforts of our Organization must not flag until colonialism and racism, which still persist in Africa, particularly in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, have been completely eradicated.

50. While mentioning these achievements, it must also be stated that, with respect to some of the important problems and conflicts that have occurred in post-war relations, the United Nations has adopted wrong decisions which have tarnished its prestige and have had negative consequences for international life. The outcome of one such decision is included today as an item on the agenda of the General Assembly. I am referring to the involvement of the United Nations in Korea, an anachronism of which

our Organization should rid itself as soon as possible. The Romanian Government considers it the duty of the United Nations to contribute to the encouragement of the positive processes stemming from the political initiatives and steady efforts of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. Consequently, we believe it necessary to abolish the United Nations Command without delay and to put an end to the presence, under the flag of the United Nations, of all foreign troops in South Korea, thus creating favourable conditions for turning the armistice into a lasting peace in Korea and for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

51. It is also fitting to mention that some provisions of the Charter and many resolutions adopted by the United Nations have remained a dead letter. In spite of the authority conferred upon it by the Charter, the United Nations has been unable to prevent conflict, bloodshed and war, and, in many cases, owing both to objective and subjective circumstances has taken no action whatsoever. With the passing of the years the working system of the United Nations has become cumbersome; the Organization has created a complicated apparatus with overlapping and parallel structures which prevent it from giving its prompt and effective consideration to the most urgent problems of the international community. All too often, the United Nations has been justly criticized for an overabundance of talk to the detriment of concentrated efforts at concrete and effective solutions.

52. It must be recognized that the United Nations has not kept pace with the profound changes in the world, does not live up to the hopes of all peoples and—why not say it?—the needs imposed by the dynamic changes in international life. The fact is that the United Nations does not yet exercise a decisive influence on international relations.

53. Taking account of those facts, the changes that have taken place in the world and the complexity and interdependence of contemporary phenomena which make multilateral co-operation among States a primary prerequisite for the progress of mankind, the Romanian Government in 1972 took the initiative of proposing for inclusion in the agenda an item especially devoted to strengthening the role of the United Nations in international life. The debates on this item, as well as the resolutions adopted by consensus—the result of the co-operation of a large number of States—demonstrated the necessity and the possibility of transforming the United Nations into a vigorous Organization capable of supporting with all its authority the independence and sovereignty of States and the right of each people to decide its own destiny and to make a greater contribution to the consolidation of peace and security.

54. We believe that to achieve that end the Organization must act with determination to establish relations among States on new bases and, strengthened by its achievements in the process of building a new system of rules and principles to govern international relations, raise this process to a higher level. That can be done by working out a universal code of conduct covering all the fundamental rights and duties of States. Such a code of conduct, accompanied by the solemn commitment of each State fully and strictly to abide by the rules and principles embodied in it,

would suitably complement the United Nations Charter and would be of inestimable importance for the cause of peace, security and international co-operation.

55. It is in the same spirit that we consider that political and organizational measures should be taken within the United Nations so that it may play an active role and take the initiative in preventing and settling situations of conflict, resolving by peaceful means differences among States and, in general, effectively tackling, with the participation of all States, the urgent problems of under-development, the establishment of a new international economic order, disarmament and the immediate liquidation of the last remnants of colonialism and racism.

56. The strengthening of the United Nations also requires measures designed to increase the authority and competence of the General Assembly, which is its principal and most representative body, especially with respect to the problems of peace and international security. It would also be desirable to establish democratic working procedures and mechanisms to supervise more closely the implementation of the resolutions adopted, to create conditions for the broad participation on an equal footing of all Member States in all the activities of the Organization, to abolish obsolete and anachronistic provisions and to adjust the work of the Organization to the requirements of the present-day world.

57. The Romanian Government considers that the process that has been started for the improvement of the working system of the Organization and its adjustment to the requirements of the new realities of international life must be resolutely pursued by uniting all efforts to that end within the United Nations. The Romanian Government intends at this session to present its position and contribute actively to its efforts. I am empowered to state that Romania will work energetically, in close co-operation with other Member States, for the development and strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international affairs so that the activity of the Organization may become more effective and contribute more substantially to the settlement of the problems confronting all mankind.

58. Thirty years ago mankind, which had barely emerged from the most deadly and both materially and spiritually destructive war in its history, fixed its hopes that there would never be another war and that peace and co-operation would be established on the United Nations.

59. So far, there has not been another world war, but the prerequisites for it have not yet been wholly eliminated. So far, the peoples have proved they can co-operate, but real and lasting co-operation has not yet been established. Mankind can and must get through this critical stage. Let us do everything to ensure that in the coming years, in the quarter-century which remains before we reach the end of the twentieth century, we may fulfil the sacred trust left us by previous generations and meet the consistent demand of present generations by bringing about the absolute necessity of the future: peace and co-operation among nations.

60. Mr. CHIAO (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Profound changes have taken place in the

international situation since the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. A serious capitalist economic crisis plagues most parts of the world. All the basic contradictions in the world are becoming sharper. The trend of revolution by the people of the world is actively developing. The Asian, African and Latin American peoples have advanced valiantly and won a series of significant victories in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. On the other hand, the contention between the two super-Powers for world hegemony has become more and more intense. The whole world is in greater turbulence and unrest. Rhetoric about détente cannot cover up the stark reality. The danger of war is visibly growing.

61. First of all, it should be pointed out that the great victory of the three Indo-Chinese peoples has shaken the world. The Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples have thoroughly defeated United States imperialism and its lackeys, thus making an important contribution to the anti-imperialist cause of the people of the world and greatly inspiring all oppressed nations and oppressed people. Their victory is a brilliant example showing that a weak nation can defeat a strong one, and a small nation can defeat a big one.

62. The peoples of Asia are strongly against super-Power interference and control and against the attempt of any country to seek hegemony in any part of Asia. The South-East Asian countries want their region to become a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from any form or manner of interference by outside Powers. This position of theirs has won the recognition and respect of an increasing number of countries. The struggle of the South Asian peoples against expansionism and hegemonism has made new progress. In West Asia, long-standing disputes have been resolved by the countries concerned which excluded foreign influence and conducted consultations on an equal footing, thus creating favourable conditions for friendly co-operation among the countries in the region. The Gulf countries are uniting in the common struggle against super-Power infiltration and control.

63. In Africa, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and the Comoros have achieved independence, one after another. This is the result of their persistence in protracted struggles, particularly armed struggles. The struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against racism and white rule is developing in depth. The situation on the African continent is most encouraging.

64. The struggle of the Latin American peoples to combat imperialism and hegemonism, safeguard State sovereignty and defend their national natural resources and economic rights and interests has continued to surge forward. Those peoples have reinforced their unity in the struggle in various ways.

65. Furthermore, we are pleased to see that in Oceania Papua New Guinea has recently achieved its national independence.

66. In order to change the old international economic order and oppose the shifting of economic crises, the third-world countries have, in pursuance of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)],

adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth special session, advanced many reasonable proposals and waged unremitting struggles at various conferences and achieved marked successes.

67. The unity and struggle of the third-world countries, extending from the political to the economic sphere, have ushered in a new stage in the revolutionary cause of the people of the world against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

68. The countries of the second world have also heightened their struggle against super-Power, and particularly social-imperialist, control, intervention, subversion and threat of force. The trend among the West European countries to unite against hegemonism has continued to grow. The second world has increased its dialogue and contacts with the third world. Such co-operation will doubtless have good prospects for development as long as it is based on mutual respect for sovereignty and equality.

69. The contention between the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, extends to all parts of the world. Those Powers are intensifying their strife in Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, the Atlantic, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention. Social-imperialism is making a feint to the East while attacking in the West. This was revealed, rather than covered up, by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The two super-Powers do reach some agreements from time to time, but these only erect a facade, behind which they are engaged in bigger and fiercer contention.

70. Take, for example, the agreement in principle reached at the United States-Soviet summit meeting last November on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. This agreement only sets a numerical limit on the arms in question, which exceeds the amount each side possesses at the moment, while qualitatively it sets no limit at all. It is evident, therefore, that such an agreement should more appropriately be called an agreement on strategic arms expansion rather than an agreement on strategic arms limitation. Facts are at hand to prove this. Since the signing of this agreement, the United States and the Soviet Union have both stepped up their development and deployment of new types of strategic arms, each trying hard to overpower the other.

71. Of late, the Soviet Union has made use of the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to turn out much propaganda alleging that détente has progressed to a new stage. This is sheer deception. We are aware of the eager desire for security on the part of the many small and medium-sized countries which participated in that Conference. We are also aware that such countries have no illusions about its agreements, which have no binding force. What security—let alone détente—is there to speak of when Europe remains in the prolonged state of tense armed confrontation? While chanting “peace and security” in the conference hall, the Soviet Union made moves to aggravate tension outside. It not only concentrated massive military forces and carried out unbridled provocations in the seas of northern Europe and the Mediterranean, but it has also brazenly stretched its tentacles to the

Iberian peninsula. Such deeds of expansion coupled with words of détente are a huge mockery of the Conference. From its inception we considered the Conference a European insecurity conference. Now that this Conference has ended, is there greater security in Europe? In our view, no. The Conference has not altered the basis situation in Europe in the least. If one should be so naive as to believe in Soviet propaganda, that would be dangerous indeed.

72. The Soviet leadership hankers after a so-called “Asian collective security system”. Now that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has been a success, as they say, we Asian countries should learn from its example. What a bright idea! The situation in Asia, however, is different from that in Europe. It was only a short while ago that a super-Power was driven out of Indo-China. So the purpose of the Soviet Union is not the preservation of Asian security; rather, it is to “fill the vacuum” and at the same time divert world attention to Asia to cover up the fact that Europe is the focus of its strategy. As for the principle of the inviolability of existing frontiers that was stressed at the European security Conference, what implications would it have in Asia? Is it that the Soviet Union wants us to recognize as legal its occupation of the territories of some Asian countries while at the same time allowing it to reserve the right to support one Asian country in violating the existing frontiers of another, as it did in 1971? To put it bluntly, the idea of a so-called “Asian collective security system” peddled by the Soviet leadership is designed to facilitate its contention with the other super-Power for hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and serves as a means by which it seeks to divide and control the Asian countries. But the Asian countries, which won their independence after protracted struggles, know well that in order to be masters in their own house they must never “let the tiger in through the back door while expelling the wolf through the front gate”. China’s attitude towards this stuff of “Asian collective security system” is clear-cut: first, we are against it; second, we despise it.

73. As Lenin pointed out time and again, imperialism means war. So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, war is inevitable. The content of imperialist politics is world domination, and the continuation of this politics is imperialist war. Since both super-Powers are after world domination, the contradiction between them is irreconcilable; one either overpowers the other, or is overpowered. The so-called “balance of power”, even if it exists, is only a transient and superficial one. It will not do to depend on a “balance of power” or a so-called “balance of terror” for maintaining peace. Khrushchev’s brainchild that peaceful coexistence is the only alternative in this nuclear age is a hypocritical lie. If the Soviet Union took this stuff seriously, why should it frantically develop conventional armed forces in addition to energetically developing nuclear arms and maintain an offensive posture far exceeding its defence needs? With the super-Powers contending so fiercely and expanding their armaments so madly, they are bound to go to war against each other some day. This is independent of man’s will. The super-Powers are the source of a new world war, and the danger of war comes mainly from the wildly ambitious social-impe-

rialism. The frequent meetings between the super-Powers and their profuse talk about détente precisely prove that there is no détente, let alone lasting peace, in this world. What characterizes the current world situation is decidedly not an irreversible process of détente but the approaching danger of a new world war.

74. We hope that the people of all countries will heighten their vigilance and get prepared in view of the growing danger of a new world war. It is better to be prepared than unprepared. Without preparations one will suffer. The super-Powers look strong but are inwardly weak and very isolated. The more evils they do, the more thoroughly they will reveal their true features, and the stronger the resistance of the people of the world will become. At present, the factors for both revolution and war are increasing on a world scale. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favourable to the people. And the future of the world will be bright.

75. Numerous questions will be considered at the current session of the General Assembly. The Chinese delegation would like to state our views on some of them.

76. First, there is the question of opposing colonialism. The past year was a year in which the African people continued to win important victories in their struggle for national independence and liberation. With the collapse of the Portuguese colonial system and the glorious birth of a number of newly independent States, the African national liberation movement has advanced to a new stage, and the last strongholds of colonialism in southern Africa are assailed from all sides by the multitude of African people and countries persisting in struggle.

77. But even before old-line colonialism dies out, the two super-Powers have already stepped in. The United States has long supported colonial rule in Africa, and southern Africa in particular. The Soviet Union, flaunting the banner of "socialism", has infiltrated the African national liberation movement to sow discord and stir up trouble in an attempt to bring the movement within its social-imperialist orbit.

78. All revolutionary peoples of the world are saddened by the civil war in Angola. Differences within a national liberation movement are something normal. The correct attitude is to encourage unity in their common struggle to combat the enemy and drive out the colonialists. That is why the Organization of African Unity has recognized and supported all the three liberation organizations in Angola engaged in armed struggle and has made tireless efforts to promote unity in the Angolan national liberation movement. But the Soviet leadership, which considers itself as the patron of the national liberation movement, disregards the agreement reached among the three Angolan organizations on unity against the enemy and has, through its propaganda media, identified one organization as revolutionary and censured another as reactionary in a deliberate attempt to create division. Furthermore, it has sent large quantities of arms, including heavy arms, to one of the Angolan organizations. That was how the civil war was provoked in Angola. The other super-Power,

on its part, has not lagged behind. The situation in Angola is becoming ever more complicated.

79. From the very beginning, China has given its support to the national liberation movement in Angola. We gave military aid to all three Angolan liberation organizations to help them fight Portuguese colonialism. Being aware of their differences, we have all along urged them to unite against the enemy. After the agreement on independence was reached between the Angolan national liberation movement and Portugal, we stopped giving new military aid to the three Angolan organizations. Such are the facts, and facts are more eloquent than words. The Soviet slanders against China can in no way cover up the truth; instead, they serve to lay bare the true features of the Soviet Union.

80. The civil war in Angola instigated by the Soviet Union is a bad thing, but a good thing too. It is good precisely because it serves as teaching material by negative example. All revolutionary movements are bound to go through twists and turns. We believe that the broad masses of the Angolan people, after experiencing setbacks and detours, will certainly uphold unity, persist in struggle, frustrate the super-Power and particularly social-imperialist schemes and achieve their independence and liberation. Their temporary difficulties and sacrifices will not only greatly enhance their own political awareness, but also provide a profound lesson for the liberation movements of the oppressed nations throughout the world.

81. An excellent situation prevails in Africa. It was because the racists in southern Africa were driven into a corner that Vorster of South Africa proposed "dialogue" between the minority white régime of Southern Rhodesia and the Zimbabwe national liberation organizations. This signifies only the weakness of the racists, not their strength. Through such tactics they intend to disintegrate the national liberation movement and to preserve the reactionary white rule. The recent twelfth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity penetratingly stated that "Vorster's détente manoeuvres on Rhodesia are a transparent trick to frustrate majority rule and to disarm the freedom-fighters". The Assembly stressed the necessity of armed struggle, called on the Zimbabwe people to intensify immediately their armed struggle and expressed a determination to fight by every means possible the white racist régimes until their complete elimination. We warmly support this correct stand. We have always advocated the use of revolutionary dual tactics against the reactionaries' counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Armed struggle is fundamental; the people's armed forces must be strengthened and not weakened, negotiations or no negotiations. Deviations and detours may sometimes occur in the complicated struggle against counter-revolutionary dual tactics. But the people will sum up their experience, overcome difficulties and continue to advance. Through long and tortuous struggles the people of southern Africa will eventually win the complete liberation of the African continent.

82. Secondly, I take up the Korean question. The independent and peaceful reunification of Korea is the common aspiration of the entire Korean people. Over the years the Democratic People's Republic of

Korea has put forward many reasonable proposals and propositions for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. Thanks to its initiative, an agreement was reached with the South Korean authorities in 1972 on the three principles for independent and peaceful reunification,<sup>1</sup> which were affirmed by the General Assembly in 1973.<sup>2</sup> However, Korea remains divided today, because the Chung Hee Park clique, supported by the United States, has abandoned these principles and sabotaged the North-South talks.

83. Under the impact of the great victory of the Indo-Chinese peoples this year, United States imperialism became panicky and endlessly repeated the myth of a so-called "threat of a southward invasion from the north" concocted by the Chung Hee Park clique, deliberately played up the tension on the Korean peninsula and even declared that it would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons there. Backed and abetted by the United States, the Chung Hee Park clique pursued its policy of national division with greater frenzy, issued a succession of "emergency laws", declared a state of war and intensified its suppression of the people in South Korea. It looked as if a Korean war was an imminent possibility. As a matter of fact, that was much ado about nothing. It is now clear that the United States and the Chung Hee Park clique have acted in this way merely to create a pretext and deceive the people of the world so that United States troops may hang on in South Korea and the division of Korea may be perpetuated. If there is a danger of war on the Korean peninsula, it can only originate from the South Korean authorities that constantly clamour for "reunification by prevailing over communism", and absolutely not from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which insists on independent and peaceful reunification.

84. The draft resolution on Korea submitted by the United States, Japan and other countries this year [A/10142 and Add.1-7] claims a "preparedness" to terminate the United Nations Command. But there is no mention at all of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. Obviously, its purpose is, under the cover of terminating the United Nations Command, to legalize the presence of United States troops in South Korea and create "two Koreas." The United States attempt to thrust the Chung Hee Park clique into the United Nations is part of this scheme. Clearly, such a draft resolution can by no means lead to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, no matter how nicely it is worded. It is absolutely unacceptable to us.

85. We have consistently held that the Korean question should be settled by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference. The draft resolution on Korea submitted by Algeria, China and other countries [A/10191 and Add.1-3] proposes that the United Nations Command be dissolved and all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations be withdrawn, and that the Korean Armistice Agreement be replaced with a peace agreement signed by the real parties to the Armistice Agreement. It also puts forward a series of positive measures to remove tension between North and South Korea, prevent armed conflicts and promote the normalization of the situation. This proposal is entirely just and reasonable.

It not only meets the eager desire of the entire Korean people but is conducive to the fundamental improvement of the situation on the Korean peninsula and in northeast Asia.

86. The United Nations Command must be dissolved. From the day of its formation it has been illegal and a tool of United States aggression. In fact, it has become a United States command long since.

87. However, the dissolution of the United Nations Command must be coupled with the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from South Korea. For what would be the point of merely changing the name while keeping everything else intact? Continued presence of United States troops in South Korea under whatever name contravenes the principles of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and will only aggravate the tension on the Korean peninsula. The question of withdrawal of all the foreign troops from Korea should have been discussed and settled within three months after the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement. This has been delayed for no less than 22 years because of obstructions placed by successive United States administrations. And 17 years have passed since the Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew on their own initiative from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to facilitate a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Now there are no foreign troops in North Korea, but United States troops still hang on in South Korea. For how much longer does the United States intend to prolong such a state of affairs?

88. Korea cannot remain forever in a state of armistice. The United States representative's idea for the United States and the South Korean authorities to propose to the parties to the armistice the convening of a conference to discuss ways to preserve the Armistice Agreement is of no avail. The Korean Armistice Agreement has been in existence for 22 years, and how much longer will it be preserved? Moreover, as is known to all, the parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement have in fact changed a great deal. The Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew from Korea long ago. Most components of the United Nations Command have dispersed and evaporated into thin air. So how can such a conference be convened?

89. As for the exploration at such a conference of the possibility of a larger conference to negotiate a more fundamental arrangement, is it not even more impractical? After the armistice in 1953, under the provisions of the Armistice Agreement a political conference at a higher level should have been held to settle the Korean question. However, owing to sabotage by the United States, even the preliminary talks failed to produce any result. Subsequently in 1954, the Korean and Chinese sides made tremendous efforts at Geneva to urge the convening of a political conference at a higher level in the hope that a peaceful settlement of the Korean question could be realized. At the time, the United States representative, stubbornly and arbitrarily clinging to his own course, went so far as to refuse to reopen any discussions on the Korean question in the future. Thus, the United States single-handedly slammed the door to a political conference on the Korean question. In the actual circumstances at present, the practical way is for the real parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement to negotiate and sign a peace agreement to replace it.

The facts over the past two decades and more prove that United States interference in Korea is the root-cause of constant tensions in Korea. Therefore, the key to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question lies in the conclusion of a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement and in the withdrawal of all United States troops.

90. The United States asserts that, as there is no normal international boundary between North and South Korea, the Armistice Agreement and the demilitarized zone stipulated therein absolutely must not be changed. We cannot accept this view. Korea is only in a state of temporary division. Between North and South Korea there can be no normal international boundary but only a provisional demarcation line. Since both North and South Korea have agreed on the mutual non-use of force and on reunification by peaceful means, why should it be impossible for some necessary measures to be agreed on to settle this problem pending the peaceful reunification? It is groundless to assert that a war will break out in Korea in the absence of the Armistice Agreement.

91. The Chinese delegation maintains that the draft resolution on Korea sponsored by Algeria and other countries is one that can solve the problem. We hope that the current session of the General Assembly will seriously consider and adopt this draft resolution.

92. I now come to my third topic, the Middle East question. Since the October war, the Middle East has reverted to a state of "no war, no peace." This is the result of the fierce and many sided contention between the two super-Powers carried on against the will of the Arab and Palestinian peoples.

93. During this period, disengagement agreements were signed between Egypt and Israel and between Syria and Israel. Recently, a second disengagement agreement has been signed by Egypt and Israel. Nevertheless, the Middle East question is far from being settled.

94. It is mainly the two super-Powers that are to be held responsible for this state of affairs. In the two years since the October war, one super-Power proposed a "comprehensive solution" and the other a "step-by-step solution" of the Middle East question, each trying hard to boost itself and denigrate the other and masquerade as a friend of the Arab and Palestinian peoples. In fact, while the United States has no intention of bringing about a thorough settlement of the Middle East question, the Soviet Union is still less inclined to do so. It may be recalled that, when the October war in the Middle East was at its most critical juncture and thereafter, the Soviet Union withheld the shipment of arms already promised to Egypt and even pressed for the repayment of debts. How can one expect such a perfidious country to support in earnest the Arab people in their just struggle for the recovery of the lost territories and the restoration of the Palestinian national rights?

95. Both super-Powers have the need to maintain a state of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East—brief fighting followed by a period of truce, with both war and peace kept under control. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, they contend for spheres of influence, places of strategic importance and oil resources in the Middle East. Taking advantage of

the same, they sell munitions in order to reap fabulous profits and alleviate their own economic difficulties. Again taking advantage of this, they test new weapons in preparation for a new war on a larger scale. All this is done at the expense of the fundamental interests of the people in the Middle East.

96. Countless agreements on the Middle East have been reached inside and outside the United Nations in the past twenty-odd years. Now, in retrospect, is there any agreement that has been strictly observed by the Israeli aggressors, or that has brought about a basic change in the Middle East situation? None, practically none. In the final analysis, it is not agreements on paper but the struggle of the people that will determine the future of the Middle East. What calls for close attention and vigilance now is that a super-Power is taking advantage of the present situation to sow discord and attempt to undermine Arab unity. The Arab and Palestinian peoples must never be taken in.

97. The Chinese people have consistently supported the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their just struggle against the Israeli aggressors and have all along opposed super-Power contention in the Middle East. We believe that the Palestinian and Arab peoples will continue to strengthen their unity, persevere in struggle and carry their fight against aggression and hegemonism through to the end.

98. My fourth theme is the question of disarmament. Disarmament is an old question. At a time when there is a growing danger of a new world war, it is fully understandable that the people of all countries, and those of the third- and second-world countries in particular, should feel more concerned about this question. After the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Soviet leadership has become particularly clamorous for "complementing political détente by military détente", preaching that the most important task now is general and complete disarmament. This is making political profit out of the well-intentioned desire of the people of the world. It is a calculated fraud.

99. Anyone having respect for realities can see that what exists in Europe is not political détente at all but a fierce and many-sided contention between the two super-Powers. Immediately after the conclusion of the European security Conference the Soviet Union violated Norway's airspace. Is this not another proof that the so-called détente is just empty talk? To advocate in these circumstances the expanding, developing in depth and spreading of détente can only make people laugh.

100. Exploiting the developing countries' keen desire to improve their national economies, the Soviet Union recently has again trumpeted its proposal for a 10 per cent reduction of the military budgets of the five permanent members of the Security Council and the use of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. The Soviet Union deems this proposal its masterstroke, and its representative has tried to sell it to us here for no one knows how many times. But so far he has failed to inform us just how big the real Soviet military budget is. It would probably take several years to get this clear. And who knows how many more before military budgets can truly be reduced as proposed by the Soviet

Union? This magnificent Soviet plan, to use a Chinese saying, is "to draw a pie to satisfy hunger". If the developing countries were made to wait for such assistance, would they not be left helpless like "the stranded fish which is promised water to be fetched from a distant sea"?

101. China's views on disarmament are known to all: we are for disarmament, but it must be genuine and not phoney disarmament. We are against phoney disarmament, and still more against the Soviet attempt to use a disarmament conference as a veil to cover up the truth of its arms expansion and war preparations. The two super-Powers are quickening their pace towards a new world war. At this juncture, a disarmament conference in whatever form will only create the illusion of peace, serve to deceive and lull the people of the world and bind the hands of the numerous small and medium-sized countries. This is what we are firmly against.

102. As regards a world disarmament conference, China keeps to the position it set forth long ago, namely, that such a conference must have a clear aim and fulfil the necessary pre-conditions. The clear aim is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and absolutely not the so-called limitation of strategic arms. The pre-conditions are: all nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances, and in particular will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries or nuclear-free zones, and that 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. But now the super-Powers even refuse to undertake the minimum obligation not to use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear countries. How can it be said that conditions are ripe for holding a world disarmament conference?

103. Historical experience merits attention. The more the imperialists diffuse a smoke-screen of disarmament, the bigger is the danger of war. Before the Second World War, a large-scale international disarmament conference lasting nearly three years was held under the sponsorship of the League of Nations after nearly seven years of preparation, and hundreds of proposals and suggestions were discussed. But what were the results? They were arms expansion instead of disarmament, and war instead of peace. The only effect of that conference was to put many countries off guard and as a result they were caught unprepared by the outbreak of the Second World War and suffered a great deal. We hold that the United Nations should not repeat the mistake of the League of Nations.

104. Nevertheless, as was expected, the Soviet Union tabled at this session of the General Assembly a proposal for the "complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests" [A/10241]. This is old ware in new wrappings and another of its tricks for maintaining nuclear monopoly. China's stand on this question is clear to all and we will not repeat it. As regards the Soviet proposal for the prohibition of the manufacture of what it calls new types of weapons even more formidable than nuclear weapons, its aim

is none other than to divert people's attention from the immediate issues by talking about remote things. Let it be discussed by those who are prepared to manufacture such weapons. There is no need to bring it up here to scare people.

105. My fifth point is the question of development. Since the sixth special session of the General Assembly, the third-world countries have waged an effective struggle and have put forward a series of reasonable proposals and ideas for transforming the old international economic order which was based on exploitation. The oil-exporting countries have bravely stood up to super-Power intimidation and threats, and have kept a firm hold on their oil resources and their right to fix oil prices. Many countries have taken measures to curb transnational corporations in order to regain their sovereign rights in varying degrees. Various associations of raw material-producing countries have been set up one after another. The third-world countries have put forward a number of proposals, such as the integrated programme for commodities and the indexation of prices, for the transformation of the present irrational international economic order. The situation of the struggle in the economic field against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is excellent.

106. There are two conflicting positions on the question of development. The position taken by the third world is for maintaining independence and self-reliance, for transforming the old economic order of exploitation of the third world by a few big Powers and for establishing a new economic order on the principles of sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. The other position, taken by the super-Powers, stresses "interdependence" or the "international division of labour" between the exploiting and the exploited countries in an attempt to preserve the old economic order. Are the industrially developed countries and the raw material-producing countries interdependent? Yes, they are. This interdependence has been in existence ever since the emergence of a single world market. The point is what kind of interdependence. It may be said that there is an interdependence between the horse and its rider. But, we all know it is the horse that takes the burden and not the rider. As for the "international division of labour", it is in essence one and the same as "interdependence". With the emergence of colonialism and imperialism, a new international division of labour sprang up in the world that converted one part of the globe into an area of chiefly agricultural production serving the other part which was chiefly industrial. But to call such cosmopolitan exploitation internationalism is an idea that could only be engendered in the brains of the social-imperialists. Whether or not there is exploitation in the existing international economic relations and whether or not an end should be put to such exploitation—this is a real problem of great importance today.

107. Towards the demand of the third world for transforming the old international economic order, two differing attitudes are adopted by different industrially developed countries. One is dialogue, and the other confrontation. Since the use of oil as a weapon by the oil-exporting countries, one super-Power has kept hurling abuses and waving the big stick at them and even threatened them with armed interven-

tion in an attempt to coerce them into submission. The other super-Power has chimed in, saying that oil prices should not be raised unilaterally and asserting threateningly that the aggravation of the oil problem may cause a new flare-up of international tensions. Both take an out-and-out imperialist attitude. We are firmly against this attitude. Facts show that this attitude, far from subduing the oil-exporting countries, only stimulated them to closer unity and hardened their fighting will. We are in favour of dialogue. In the past year and more, many second-world countries have frequently tried dialogue with a number of third-world countries, and some of these attempts have yielded positive results. Ties between the second world and the third world have been strengthened. This is a good phenomenon in the international economic life of today.

108. In the face of the worsening capitalist economic crisis and the shifting of crisis by industrialized countries, the third-world countries have advanced such proposals as the integrated programme for commodities, the indexation of prices and the democratization of the international financial institutions in order to improve their trade terms and develop their national economies. These are entirely justifiable and are minimum demands. But they have met with opposition from a few major industrialized countries. For they constitute a violation of the so-called free market system, which is allegedly sacred and inviolable. Instead, those industrialized countries have put forward a series of concrete proposals allegedly designed to "promote economic development". As a matter of fact, the so-called free market of today has never been free ever since the emergence of monopoly capital. This market is free only for monopoly capital and the industrial Powers and not for the developing countries. In the 1960s, for example, the prices of oil and many other raw materials were kept very low. Was that determined by supply and demand? No, it was determined arbitrarily, or "freely" if you like, by big monopoly capital. To transform the old international economic order, it is imperative to touch this free market system of gaining profits at the expense of others. Otherwise, no matter how many concrete proposals the super-Powers may submit or how much money they may promise, these in essence are nothing but a kind of alms and relief which can at best temporarily and slightly mitigate the difficulties of the developing countries but will not help them shake off exploitation and control. The root-cause of their poverty will still be there. The gap between the poor and rich countries will keep widening.

109. The oil weapon has opened up new vistas for the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic struggle in the economic field. The key to the victories of the oil struggle lies in upholding unity and daring to touch what the industrial Powers regard as sacred and inviolable. All raw material-producing countries should get organized and fight in defence of their proper interests. Some people accuse the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries of being a monopoly organization, a cartel. Why do they not stop and think that cartels, trust and transnational corporations were inventions of the industrial Powers and that to date they still weigh heavily on the developing countries? Are we to tolerate the injustice of

the magistrates being allowed to burn down houses while the common people are forbidden to use fire even to light lamps? All the developing countries should unite more closely. It is true that among the developing countries some are in the greatest need. Other countries should give them more help, and they have already begun to do so. The neediest and other developing countries share common experiences and face common tasks. To call the neediest countries the "fourth world" is groundless or ill-intentioned. There are no saviours in the world. To develop the national economy, a country must persist in independence and self-reliance. Political independence is not won easily, so it is essential to give play to State sovereignty to eliminate gradually but firmly the forces of imperialism and all forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The old international economic order was evolved over centuries of colonialist and imperialist plunder and exploitation. It is impossible to thoroughly change it at one stroke. The seventh special session of the General Assembly is a continuation of the struggle of the sixth special session. The struggle against exploitation will be a long one. United as one and persisting in our efforts, we developing countries will surely attain our goal.

110. Before concluding my speech, I would like to state briefly our opinions on the review of the Charter of the United Nations. We are in favour of reviewing the Charter and making the necessary amendments. Nothing in the world is immutable. The situation within and outside the United Nations has changed, and it is only natural that the Charter should be amended accordingly so as to suit the changed situation. This is common sense. Basing themselves on the purposes and principles of the Charter, many countries have put forward views in principle on the revision of certain provisions of the Charter, such as expanding the power of the General Assembly, restricting the power of the Security Council, changing the composition of the Council, limiting or abolishing the veto right of the States permanent members of the Council. We think that these views deserve serious consideration. Since the Charter was drawn up by man, why cannot it be revised by man? But the super-Powers are greatly upset by the changed situation within the United Nations. One super-Power describes the democratic voting in the General Assembly as a "tyranny of the majority". The other goes further; at the mere mention of the phrase "review of the United Nations Charter," it flies into a rage and breaks into abuse, calling people in favour of reviewing the Charter "reactionary forces". It mortally fears that it might be deprived of its privilege to abuse the veto power. We would advise this "natural ally of the developing countries" to calm down a bit and not get so exasperated. If you are sure that you have the truth, why are you so afraid of dissenting views? A review of the Charter is the general trend and popular demand. We believe that a rational solution acceptable to all can be found so long as the nations, big and small, carry on patient consultations and repeated discussions on the basis of the principle of equality for all. If anyone still resorts to deliberate obstructions, that can only help people see more clearly who are champions of the special privileges of the minority. Therefore, we submit that the work of the review of the Charter should be continued.

111. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria I would like to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the high position of President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly and to express our conviction that under your leadership the current session will contribute substantially to the affirmation of the positive developments of our times.

112. The year 1975 has been rich in memorable anniversaries linked with particularly remarkable events which have exerted, and continue to exert, a great influence upon the destinies of peoples all over the world. These events are the thirtieth anniversary of the victory of the anti-Fascist coalition over fascism in the Second World War and the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations.

113. The defeat of fascism and militarism radically changed the entire course of historical development, and caused profound and dynamic changes in the social and political structure of the world.

114. The main aim of the forces which unleashed the Second World War was to establish world domination. The result was their total defeat and the liberation of scores of peoples from Fascist slavery. The aggressors aimed at liquidating socialism. The result was the creation and consolidation of the world socialist system. And finally they aimed at redistributing the colonies. The result was the final and irreversible collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and the formation of over 70 new States. These results were achieved thanks to the victory of all peace-loving and democratic forces. All progressive people cherish feelings of warm gratitude for the exploit of the peoples of the Soviet Union, which endured the main burden of the war and played a decisive role in winning the victory.

115. As far back as the dark days of the war, nations and statesmen were faced with the question: on what basis should the future world be built so that the victory over the dark forces shall become a turning-point in mankind's history and not a new period between two wars?

116. In the past 30 years mankind has more than once witnessed acts of aggression and military conflicts. More than once has universal peace been put to serious test. However, the peace-loving forces succeeded in frustrating the warmongers' plans. There occurred changes in the balance of forces in the world which favoured the forces of peace and progress. That process, of course, did not take place all at once, nor did it come about by itself. It was the result of many years of efforts. We have always considered the struggle for the reduction of tensions as the cause of peoples and countries from all continents. The relaxation of tensions in international relations assists the struggle of progressive and democratic forces against reaction, while the successes scored by these forces deepen the process of détente, widen its scope and assist in turning it into an irreversible process.

117. In between the twenty-ninth and the thirtieth sessions a number of events took place which confirmed that détente is emerging as a predominant trend in international relations. The principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social

systems are being translated into concrete deeds. The most brilliant manifestation of this trend is the successful completion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, a unique and unprecedented event in international relations. It became possible thanks to the consistent peaceful policies of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, as well as to the political realism shown by the Governments of the European countries, the United States and Canada.

118. The results achieved by the Conference unanimously received the highest assessment by the leaders of the participating States. These results met with wide approval throughout the whole world. As the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, declared, these results are a brilliant manifestation of the affirmation of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, and a proof, too, that today there are no issues that cannot be solved through negotiations.

119. The Final Act of the Conference represents a remarkable international document. It is permeated from beginning to end by the spirit, the goals and the principles of the United Nations.

120. The Helsinki decisions mark a new state in the relations among European countries, which will be built on the basis of just and progressive principles, unanimously adopted. These decisions will play the role of a powerful accelerator to the process of the reconstruction of the political, economic, scientific-technological and cultural relations between States with different social systems.

121. In the past Europe has twice become the centre of world wars that have had millions of victims and caused mass suffering and the destruction of enormous material wealth. Today Europe shows the way that must be followed so that détente can embrace all parts of the world. For that reason we are particularly gratified to note the high assessment, by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima in August, of the results of the All-European Conference, and of the favourable impact they will have on the development of international relations and co-operation among States.

122. The principles adopted at the Conference fully correspond to the foreign policy principles and goals of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The clear-cut aspirations of our country to peace and co-operation determine the character of its relations with the countries of Europe and other parts of the world.

123. In particular the People's Republic of Bulgaria is actively contributing to the creation of an atmosphere of security and confidence among the Balkan States. Bulgaria is not guided by short-term considerations, and has never used for self-seeking interests the crisis situations that have arisen in the Balkans. We look upon our efforts for the strengthening of peace in that region as our contribution to peace and security in Europe. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will make unceasing efforts in the future also for the further development of co-operation among the Balkan countries and for the well-being of all peoples of the region.

124. The victory of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, who won their right to independent existence in a heroic struggle, also contributed to the expansion and deepening of the process of détente. An end was put to the foreign intervention, and broad perspectives were opened up for the stabilization of peace and security in that part of the world.

125. The Bulgarian delegation notes with regret that the admission of the two Vietnamese States to the United Nations is being delayed by a totally unjustified and groundless pretext. There exists no moral, political or legal reason whatsoever to refuse the right of the two Vietnamese Republics to be full-fledged members of this Organization. That was confirmed by resolution 3366 (XXX), unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, which calls upon the Security Council immediately and favourably to reconsider the applications of the two Vietnamese States. We are convinced that commonsense will triumph during the thirtieth session and that the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam will occupy their lawful places among us as Members of the United Nations.

126. The removal of the economic and political blockade against Cuba has also been a contribution to the struggle for détente.

127. The policy of détente favours the national liberation struggle of peoples against foreign oppression. The process of decolonization has been notably accelerated recently, and the peoples in a number of colonial countries have won their national independence.

128. On behalf of the People's Republic of Bulgaria I welcome the representatives of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Papua New Guinea on the attainment of their independence and their admission to the United Nations as Members.

129. Colonialism is moribund. The United Nations has made a not insignificant contribution to that process. Fifteen years ago the General Assembly adopted a historic document—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. The unity of action of the socialist countries with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the struggle for the implementation of that Declaration was strengthened. At the current session the United Nations should draw up a balance-sheet of its activities in this field and outline further measures for the total and final elimination of all vestiges of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

130. The phenomena and processes which are developing in the present-day international situation confirm that détente creates favourable conditions for reaching a just solution to even the most acute international conflicts, for broadening international co-operation and for successfully resolving vitally important socio-economic problems, particularly the problems which confront developing countries.

131. In this situation it has become possible to raise the question of the reconstruction of international economic relations on a new and just basis. We welcome the positive decisions of the seventh special session of the General Assembly as a new and important step in this direction.

132. It should not be forgotten, however, that the forces hostile to peace and détente have not resigned and have not been disarmed and that they have not given up their attempts to launch an offensive in different countries or regions or even to return the world to the atmosphere of the "cold war". We have never imagined the road to détente to be smooth and without obstacles. It is the fault of certain militaristic circles and advocates of the policy of acting from a position of strength, who are actively assisted by those whose policy is based on the arms race and who dream of a new world holocaust, that there still exist centres of tension and military conflicts in a number of areas of the world.

133. The Bulgarian people are justifiably alarmed by the continuing crisis in the Middle East, which conceals a great threat to peace. The danger of a new military clash in this area has not been removed and will not be removed until Israel withdraws from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, until the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine are restored, including the right to create their own State, and until the right of all peoples and States to live in peace and security in the region are assured. A just, overall and durable settlement to the conflict cannot be achieved by partial measures, but only within the framework of the Geneva Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

134. One of the unsolved issues is that of Cyprus. It continues to disturb relations in the Balkans and in the Eastern Mediterranean and unsettles peace. The Bulgarian Government, whose position on the Cyprus problem is well-known, is hopeful that a solution will be found which will correspond to the interests of the people of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, as well as to the interests of peace and security in the Balkans. Undoubtedly, the United Nations can play a positive role in the settlement of the Cyprus problem by activating its efforts for the implementation of its own decisions.

135. The United Nations must, already at the current session, take a decision to dissolve the so-called "United Nations Command" and to bring about the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed on the territory of South Korea. The United Nations will thus help in practical terms the just solution of the Korean question, the peaceful reunification of the Korean people, and will undo the harm caused to the United Nations authority more than a quarter of a century ago.

136. The United Nations is also required to make ever more energetic efforts for the restoration and respect of human rights in Chile, for the release from prisons of the heroic sons and daughters of the Chilean people. World public opinion must not allow the Chilean tragedy to be repeated in any other part of the world.

137. It is necessary to put an end to any attempts at outside interference aimed at checking the democratic development of Portugal.

138. Our Government shares the view, expressed by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the

introduction to the report on the work of the United Nations, that the attention of Member States should be directed towards increasing the United Nations contribution to the solution of the major issues of our times and, in the first place, to the strengthening of world peace. We consider that the United Nations is in a position to do a great deal for the elimination of existing hotbeds of tensions and conflicts. One of the ways to do this is for all States to adhere to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], which was adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union five years ago.

139. We are deeply convinced that lasting peace and security are incompatible with the arms race. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that it is of vital importance to supplement political détente with military détente. The fact that today nearly \$300,000 million are being spent annually on armaments cannot but cause anxiety. The Secretary-General had every reason, when stressing the dimensions of this unprecedented spending for military purposes, to point out the imperative necessity of taking effective measures for ending the arms race and for disarmament.

140. The constructive spirit displayed at Helsinki at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe ought also to stimulate the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe in order to overcome the standstill in the negotiations. We believe that there exist conditions for reaching positive results in the talks, provided that all participating countries adopt a realistic approach and do not attempt to obtain one-sided advantages.

141. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, which along with other countries of the socialist community has always fought for general and complete disarmament, viewed with satisfaction the Soviet-United States agreements concluded in Vladivostok in November 1974 and regards them as real steps towards the limitation of the nuclear arms race.

142. The achievement of progress in the field of disarmament necessitates above all political will and a realistic approach. The achievement of new genuine results leading towards general and complete disarmament is hindered to a considerable degree by the unrealistic positions of certain Governments, by this raising absurd pre-conditions, creating artificial obstacles and undermining the work of the Organization in this important sphere.

143. We believe that the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all countries, including all nuclear States, will prove extremely useful. The need for convening such a conference as soon as possible is being recognized by an ever wider circle of States. This fact necessitates turning to the practical preparation of the conference at the current session by enlarging the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference. Those who boycott the preparation of the conference and impede the implementation of four General Assembly resolutions, find themselves in growing isolation, because they defy the will of peoples and oppose the decisions of our Organization.

144. The implementation of the General Assembly resolution 3254 (XXIX) on reducing the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council and resolution 2936 (XXVII) on the non-use of force in international relations and on permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons will be a sizeable step towards halting the arms race and will allow the release of the considerable means so much needed by developing countries at present.

145. The People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches special attention to the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva. We hope that the Conference will be able very soon to conclude its work on the Soviet and United States drafts, identical in content, on a convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of technology to influence the environment. The work on such major problems as the creation of nuclear-free zones and the prohibition of chemical weapons must be brought to a successful completion without any delay.

146. The current session of the General Assembly could leave an unforgettable imprint on the history of the world Organization by taking decisions which would open broad perspectives leading to effective disarmament. A real and concrete basis in this respect is furnished by two important proposals submitted to the General Assembly a few days ago.

147. I have in mind the new initiatives of the Soviet Union which once again undeniably bear witness to the unwavering concern of the Soviet Government not to allow, even for a moment, any slackening of effort in such a field as disarmament, which is so vitally important to all peoples and States.

148. The Soviet proposal for the conclusion of an agreement on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of new systems of such weapons [see A/10243, annex] is of exceptional importance to halting the arms race. Its implementation will help to cut off all attempts aimed at using the latest achievements of science and technology for military purposes and will contribute to expanding international scientific and technological co-operation for development purposes. Experience shows how difficult it is to halt the arms race in a particular field of armaments once it has begun.

149. The struggle for the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests assumes an important place today in the efforts of the peace-loving forces to reduce and remove the thermonuclear danger. This question is of key importance for the prevention of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons, for halting the arms race and for beginning nuclear disarmament. The 1963 Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water<sup>3</sup> and the 1974 Soviet-United States Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests<sup>4</sup> constitute important achievements in the endeavour to resolve this problem. As is known, however, there still exist at present possibilities for testing and perfecting nuclear weapons.

150. It is only the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests that will contribute effectively to curbing the nuclear arms race. This determines the great significance and timeliness of the new Soviet proposal

for the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests [see A/10241, annex].

151. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria welcomes and fully endorses the proposals initiated by the USSR. Those proposals constitute a new outstanding contribution to the further relaxation of the international climate and to disarmament. Owing to the great importance of these issues the question of their immediate settlement should, in our view, be placed at the centre of the efforts of the current session of the General Assembly in order to achieve speedy progress on the whole range of disarmament problems.

152. The course of historical development shows that the desire of the peoples for a limitation of the arms race and for effective disarmament always faces stubborn opposition. At times that opposition has been due to political short-sightedness, to the theory, which has proved to be absolutely groundless, that it is necessary to prepare for war to strengthen peace. The opponents of disarmament were the representatives of those social circles which saw in conflicts and wars means for establishing their domination over other peoples and nations, political leaders who were dreaming of the creation of empires and world domination. The results of this short-sightedness and criminal intent were always tragic for the peoples. Those who love military adventures, those who are advocates of the arms race, have always borne a heavy responsibility, which in recent history led such people to the bench of the accused at Nürnberg. But in our time, a time of thermonuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, this responsibility has become much more significant and becomes particularly heavy when attempts are being made to indulge in pseudo-revolutionary phraseology and demagogic slogans to disguise over-ambitious political aims.

153. Neither slander nor negation can diminish the significance and the political realism of the Soviet Union's proposal aimed at removing the obstacles in the path of efforts to stop the arms race and clearing the way to general and complete disarmament.

154. We are convinced that those proposals will find the same wide response in the world community and the same wide support on the part of the States Members of the United Nations as they have given to many other initiatives of the Soviet Union. Indeed, that will be the best possible answer to the slanderers and the opponents of disarmament, peace and understanding among peoples.

155. The United Nations was born amid the thunder of gunfire and embodied in itself the will and determina-

tion of nations not to permit again in the future the tragedies of war. During its 30 years of activity the world Organization has contributed to the preservation of universal peace and to the promotion of positive processes in international life.

156. In the course of past years, under quite different and sometimes particularly complicated circumstances, the Charter of the United Nations has stood the test of time and has proved its vitality.

157. If the United Nations has not always been successful in its undertakings, this is not due in any way to flaws in the Charter; on the contrary, this has been the direct result of the non-observance of its principles. Whenever States built their policies upon the strict observance of the Charter, conditions were created for a peaceful and just solution of international disputes, crises and conflicts; the Organization's contribution was then really effective. And, *vice versa*, when the principles of the Charter were violated, when countries diverged from them, tensions flared up in the world and there emerged a real threat to peace and security.

158. That is why Bulgaria is against any revision of the Charter. We are firmly convinced that the enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations can be achieved solely on the basis of the strict observance of the principles and provisions of the Charter.

159. As a member of the socialist community, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to make its active contribution to the realization in the practice of international relations of the lofty principles and goals of the United Nations.

160. We are profoundly convinced that all the objective conditions exist for the current session of the General Assembly to adopt decisions which are worthy of its thirtieth anniversary and which will correspond to the innermost aspirations of the peoples.

*The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30, p. 24, item 41.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> A/9698, annex I.