

Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the 7th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly

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Mr. President,

Since the last special session of the United Nations General Assembly, the international situation has undergone great changes increasingly favourable to the people of all countries. The anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic struggle of the people of all countries, the third world countries in particular, is broadening and deepening in the political and economic spheres. It is of great significance that we are meeting here at this juncture in the Seventh Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly to discuss the problems of development and international economic cooperation. We warmly greet the convocation of the seventh special session and hope that, on the basis of the triumphant achievements of the sixth special session, it will make a positive contribution to the independent development of national economy by the developing countries, and to the struggle against foreign exploitation, plunder and control and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

The lawful rights in the United Nations of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia — the representative of the heroic Cambodian people — have at last been restored. This is a victory for the Cambodian people and for all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. It once again proves that no one can stem the tide of history. We extend our warmest congratulations and welcome to the delegation of the R.G.N.U.C. that has come to attend this session.

It must be pointed out here that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam are fully qualified, under the provisions of the United Nations Charter, to become members of the United Nations. Yet, during the recent discussions in the Security Council on their applications, a superpower arbitrarily vetoed their admission in disregard of the wishes of the great majority of states. This is most deplorable. This extremely unjust state of affairs should be promptly rectified.

The current international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven, and the situation is excellent. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening. The factors for both revolution and war are increasing. On the one hand, the third world is rapidly awakening and has become the main force in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people of the world. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this great current of history is surging forward irresistibly. The splendid historic victories of the Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples and the tremendous progress of the struggle of the people in southern Africa for national liberation are all convincing illustrations of this trend. On the other hand, the rivalry

between the superpowers for world hegemony is becoming ever more acute and extending to every corner of the world. Europe is the focus of their contention. Although they have lauded "detente," "peace" and "security" to the skies and ostensibly concluded agreements of one sort or another, these are nothing but empty, deceptive verbiage. Actually they are intensifying their contention, aggravating tensions and speeding up their arms expansion and war preparations, thus causing greater intranquillity in Europe and other parts of the world. The intensifying contention between the superpowers is bound to lead to war some day. This is independent of man's will. As things stand now, there is no "irreversible process of detente" at all, but instead the growing danger of a new world war. The people of all countries must get prepared. However, whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in the end it is the increasingly awakening people of the world in their hundreds of millions, and not the one or two superpowers, that determine the destiny of mankind. In any case, the future of the world is bright.

At present, the capitalist world is in the grips of the most serious post-war economic crisis. Under these circumstances, the superpowers are stepping up arms expansion and war preparations, intensifying their scramble for spheres of influence, selfishly and unscrupulously shifting the economic crisis on to the numerous third world countries and even on to the second world countries in an endeavour to reinforce their exploitation and control of these countries. This profound crisis is sharpening the struggle on the international arena between exploitation and control on the one hand and resistance to exploitation and control on the other. It is stimulating a new upsurge in the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, particularly in the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic struggle of the third world. This is another eloquent proof that the old international economic order built on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is declining, rotting and doomed to extinction.

Since the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, the third world countries and peoples have carried on a massive struggle against imperialist and particularly superpower exploitation, plunder, control and shifting of economic crisis, against the moribund old order and for the establishment of a new international economic order, and they are winning great victories. Firmly defending the sovereignty over their national resources, many third world countries have taken resolute measures to tighten their control and supervision of transnational corporations and systematically nationalized foreign monopoly enterprises which manipulate their economic

lifelines. In firm defiance of superpower threats, the oil-exporting countries of the third world have defended and developed the successes of their united struggle and are fighting in unity and in mutual support with other developing countries. Following the example set by the oil struggle, a number of new associations of raw material producers have been formed and are growing stronger in struggle. The various producers' associations of third world countries are playing an ever greater role in the struggle to defend their economic rights and interests and combat superpower monopoly and exploitation. At the same time, economic cooperation among developing countries is greatly expanding. The recent inauguration of the Economic Community of West African States gives expression to the common aspirations of the African people to develop the national economy through self-reliance, unity and mutual help and combat imperialist exploitation and plunder. From Africa to the Caribbean, from Latin America to Southeast Asia, developing countries are speedily promoting, consolidating and strengthening regional economic cooperation in one form or another.

The conference of developing countries on raw materials held in Dakar last February advanced a series of reasonable and important propositions relating to the third world's anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic struggle in the economic sphere and fully demonstrated the militant solidarity of the third world countries. It solemnly declared that "any measure of aggression, economic or otherwise, directed against any particular developing country shall meet with a united response from all the developing countries." The conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries which was just held in Lima and many other international conferences of third world countries have all played a positive and important role in forging closer unity, heightening morale and coordinating efforts in their common fight against imperialism and hegemonism.

The struggle of the third world countries and peoples has dealt a heavy blow at the wild ambition of the superpowers to seek world hegemony and given a powerful impetus to the steady advance of world history. Now, it is evident to everyone that the third world countries and peoples have stood up. The days are gone forever when the superpowers could wilfully rule the fate of small, weak and poor nations.

There is a growing struggle on the part of the second world countries in between the superpowers and the third world to free themselves from the control, threats, bullying, exploitation and the shifting of economic crisis by one or the other superpower. More and more second world countries favour dialogue with the third world countries and are making efforts to establish cooperation with them. This positive attitude is to be welcomed. As is pointed out by many developing countries, such dialogue and cooperation, if they are to proceed successfully, must be based on the principles of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty and of equality and mutual benefit. Contacts and exchanges of this nature are beneficial to both sides and have favourable prospects. The struggle of the second world countries against superpower control and exploitation and their tendency to establishing ties with third world countries are also exerting an important influence on the development of the international situation.

Facts show that the superpowers have become increasingly isolated and are beset with troubles both at home and abroad. In spite of all their efforts to sow discord, make trouble and carry out sabotage, they can in no way extricate themselves from their predicament. The third world peoples will steadily see through and frustrate superpower schemes and gradually attain their fighting goal of establishing a new international economic order and developing their national economy independently, so

long as they strengthen their unity, unite with all the countries subjected to superpower bullying, control and exploitation, fear neither duress nor intimidation, refuse to be duped, dare to struggle and persist in struggle.

Mr. President,

The problem of development we now face is an important problem bearing on the endeavour of the numerous developing countries with a population of nearly 2,800 million to lift themselves from poverty and backwardness and develop their national economy independently. The people of Asian, African and Latin American countries are industrious and talented, and these countries cover vast territories and abound in natural resources. After independence, it is their eager desire to develop the national economy and build up their countries, and they have made arduous efforts towards this end. But why has this legitimate desire of theirs remained unfulfilled, and why are they still poor and backward? The developing countries have come to realize more and more clearly in the course of struggle that the oppression and exploitation imposed by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism are the root cause of their poverty and backwardness and constitute the greatest obstacle to the development of their national economy. At present, the problem of development is in essence a problem of combating imperialist and particularly superpower control, plunder and exploitation, thoroughly destroying the old international economic relations built thereon, establishing a new international economic order and clearing away the numerous obstacles on the road to the independent development of their national economy.

At the same time, we must take note of the fact that the two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors today and that they are the source of a new world war. To prepare for war, they are intensifying their scramble for sources of energy and raw materials, places of strategic importance, outlets for their investment and markets for their commodities, establishing and expanding their spheres of influence all over the world and stepping up their plunder and control of the third world. Therefore, the sustained struggle of the third world countries against superpower plunder and control and for the establishment of a new international economic order is not only essential to the development of their own national economy, but also important for combating the arms expansion and war preparations of the superpowers, preventing them from launching a war of aggression, and for defending world peace.

One superpower tries stubbornly to preserve the old order and opposes the establishment of a new order so as to maintain its hegemonic position and vested interests in the international economic field. It loudly asserts that "the present international economic system has served the world well." But the truth is that it is exactly this system which enables the superpowers to exploit the developing countries and amass great fortunes. And it is exactly under this system that the sovereignty of developing countries is encroached upon, their resources are ravaged, their people exploited and the gap between the rich and the poor countries is being widened. Is it not clear whom the system "has served well"? To oppose the associations of raw material exporting countries of the third world, this superpower also advocates "automatic adjustment through the free market." This is sheer fallacy. What predominates in international markets today is the monopoly exercised by imperialism and its transnational corporations, so how can there be any so-called "automatic adjustment through the free market"? In essence, this argument is calculated to preserve that superpower's "freedom" to control and exploit the third world and keep the developing countries forever in the plight of being controlled and plundered.

The other superpower which claims to be a "socialist" country is energetically pushing its policy of plunder and

exploitation on a global scale. In what it describes as its own "family," this superpower resorts to high-handed measures to enforce what it calls "economic integration" and "international ownership," depriving other member countries of their sovereign rights and ruthlessly exploiting and plundering them. Moreover, under the signboard of "non-discrimination," it tries hard to contend with the other superpower in the economic field for spheres of influence in Europe. Above all, it should be pointed out that this superpower is energetically pushing neo-colonialism in the third world under the cloak of a "natural ally" of the developing countries. In the name of "aid," it practises usury, outrageously dumps outmoded equipment and loots the raw materials and other industrial and agricultural products of the developing countries. It even uses "aid" as an opportunity for securing various special privileges and obtaining strategic bases. What is even more vicious, it takes advantage of others' difficulties to press for the repayment of debts. It buys cheap and sells dear, reaping fabulous profits through speculative transactions. It sets up "joint-stock enterprises" for the export of capital. Selling munitions on an ever bigger scale, it has become a super-merchant of death. This fully shows that this superpower in the guise of a "friend" is more greedy, insidious and unscrupulous than old-line imperialism.

In recent years, it has been particularly active in selling to the third world the idea of "international division of labour." Lauding the neo-colonialism it enforces in its own "family" as a model of such a "division of labour," it calls on the third world countries to join in "gradually" and "by stages" "international division of labour"! To put it bluntly, its aim is to bring the many third world countries under its social-imperialist system of exploitation and subject them to its wilful manipulation, extortion and exploitation.

As a cover-up for its pursuance of hegemonism, this superpower has vociferously preached such fallacies as "development depends on detente" and "funds saved from disarmament can be used to aid developing countries." Its so-called "detente" is actually a camouflage for more intense contention, and its so-called "disarmament" is actually the constant intensification of its arms expansion and war preparations with the wealth extorted from the developing countries. Its aim is none other than to hoodwink the people of the third world and induce them to give up their struggle against imperialism and hegemonism and for the establishment of a new international economic order and pin their hopes for developing their national economy on the superpower hoax of "disarmament" and "detente." It is calculated to divert the attention of the people and lead astray the just struggle of the third world. The doings of this superpower fully reveal the fact that it is double-faced and hypocritical. It professes to support the establishment of a new international economic order, but is actually engaged in obstruction and sabotage and fishes in troubled waters. It is socialism in words and imperialism in deeds.

What calls for special attention is that this superpower, taking advantage of its rival's decline and loss of initiative, is stepping up its aggression, infiltration and expansion in the third world and actively extending its social-imperialist system of exploitation. It stretches its tentacles everywhere and tries to squeeze in wherever possible. It is becoming more and more evident that in quite a number of places, no sooner has one imperialism been compelled to withdraw than the other imperialism under the banner of "socialism" seizes the opportunity to squeeze its way in. In the current struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism, we developing countries must especially guard against the danger of "letting the tiger in through the back door" while "repulsing the wolf through the front gate."

Mr. President,

We developing countries have become keenly aware from our own experience that independence and self-reliance are the fundamental principles for developing the national economy, shaking off poverty and backwardness and attaining complete political and economic independence.

To be independent and self-reliant, the developing countries must first of all smash the heavy fetters imposed on them and free themselves from imperialist, and particularly superpower exploitation and control, while at the same time eliminating the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist forces at home so as to create the necessary conditions for the development of national economy.

By self-reliance, we mean that a country should mainly rely on the strength and wisdom of its own people, control its own economic lifelines, make full use of its own resources, work hard, increase production, practise economy and develop its national economy step by step and in a planned way. Each country should make a distinction between different circumstances and determine its own way of practising self-reliance in the light of its specific conditions. Many developing countries have followed the road of self-reliance in conformity with their own characteristics and conditions and, after making sustained efforts and overcoming all sorts of difficulties, they have achieved gratifying successes in developing their national industry and agriculture, striving for self-sufficiency in foodgrain, developing communications and transport and training their own scientific, technical and managerial personnel. Facts show that it is entirely feasible for the developing countries to develop their national economy independently and self-reliantly.

We have learned from our own experience that in the course of developing the national economy independently and self-reliantly, it is essential to correctly handle the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. In the light of her own conditions, China has formulated a general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in developing the national economy and made her national economic plans according to this order of priorities: agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Priority is given to the development of agriculture to solve the people's food problem, supply industry with raw materials and a market and accumulate funds for it. It must be stressed that if a country is not basically sufficient in foodgrain but has to rely on imports, it may be taken by the neck at any time and find itself in a very passive and dangerous position. In developing industry, we have adopted the policy of putting emphasis on small enterprises while combining small, medium and big enterprises, and based ourselves on domestic needs and capabilities, relied on our own resources, built up our industries from scratch and expanded them step by step.

Self-reliance in no way implies "self-seclusion" or rejection of external assistance, but means relying mainly on one's own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary. Experience has shown that in the development of the national economy it is both beneficial and necessary for countries to carry on economic and technical exchanges on the principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit and the exchange of needed goods, thus making up for each other's deficiencies and learning from each other.

Mutual assistance and economic cooperation among developing countries are especially important. We are all developing countries, and we understand best each other's difficulties and needs, so we should support and help each other. Such cooperation is based on genuine equality and has broad prospects.

It should be pointed out that the third world countries' self-reliant development of the national economy by

no means implies that the developed countries may shirk the responsibilities they should discharge. To destroy the old international economic relations and establish a new international economic order, the developing countries demand that the developed countries should make and honour explicit commitments in such matters as international trade, finance and currency, shipping, the transfer of technology and aid. These demands are entirely justifiable.

Mr. President,

China is a developing socialist country. We Chinese people shared the same historical experience with the people of other developing countries, and are now facing together with them the same historical task of combating imperialism and hegemonism and building our countries. We have always stood together with the other third world countries and peoples, sharing each other's weal and woe. We resolutely support the third world countries in their struggle to transform the present extremely inequitable international economic relations, establish a new international economic order and combat imperialist and particularly superpower exploitation, plunder, control and shifting of economic crisis. We energetically support the just positions and reasonable proposals of the third world countries regarding international trade, finance and currency, industrialization, science and technology and other matters.

We hold that economic as well as political relations between states should be based on the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. All countries, big or small, rich or poor, should be equal. International economic affairs should be jointly administered by all countries of the world, instead of being monopolized by the one or two superpowers.

We are of the view that the affairs of each country should be managed by its own people. The developing countries and their people have the full right to defend their political and economic independence, protect their national resources and develop their national economy independently and self-reliantly. We support the right of the developing countries to bring all foreign capital, and particularly transnational corporations, under their control, supervision and management, up to and including nationalization.

We maintain that international trade should be based on equality, mutual benefit and the exchange of needed goods. We support the developing countries in establishing various associations of raw material exporting countries for a united struggle against exploitation and monopoly. We support them in intensifying and extending their struggle in the field of raw materials trade by such means as the integrated programme for commodities. We support their demand for a fair and equitable link between the prices of their export commodities and those of their imported commodities from the developed countries and for the indexation of prices. We support their reasonable demands to improve trade terms for their raw materials, primary products, semi-manufactured and manufactured goods, expand their markets, fix equitable and favourable prices and increase their export earnings.

We maintain that major issues concerning international monetary affairs and the question of reforming the international monetary system should be settled jointly by all countries through consultation on an equal footing. We support the demand of the developing countries for the right to take a full and effective part in decision-making on monetary affairs, and we are resolutely against the practice of a few big countries and particularly the superpowers making unilateral decisions in disregard of the interests of the numerous developing countries. In reforming the international monetary system, the interests of the developing countries should be taken into full con-

sideration and such reform should be conducive to the development of their national economy.

We hold that economic aid to the developing countries must strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries and must not be accompanied by any political or military conditions and the demand for any special privileges. Such economic aid must be aimed at helping the recipient countries to develop their national economy independently and self-reliantly and not at reducing them to dependence. Loans to developing countries should be interest-free or low-interest. Delayed interest payment and amortization, or even reduction and cancellation of debts should be allowed in case of necessity. It is absolutely impermissible to take advantage of others' difficulties to press for the repayment of debts and practise extortion. We are opposed to infiltration and control under the guise of aid.

We hold that technology transferred to the developing countries must be practical, efficacious, economical and convenient for use. All unreasonable restrictions and obstacles imposed by developed countries on the transfer of technology to developing countries must be removed. The experts and other personnel dispatched to the recipient countries have the duty to pass on technical know-how to the people there conscientiously and unreservedly and respect the laws and national customs of the countries concerned. They must not demand privileges and special amenities, let alone engage in illegal activities.

We hold that the fundamental way for the developing countries to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrain is to develop agriculture and increase food production independently and self-reliantly. Furthermore, the solution of the food problem in the developing countries must be closely linked with the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism and with the current struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order. We are opposed to the superpower practice of monopolizing the grain trade and using it as a means for interference and the control and plunder of other countries. We are opposed to the superpower practice of selfishly stirring up troubles to upset the international grain market, thereby creating difficulties for developing countries.

We hold that it is entirely proper and reasonable for the developing countries to demand a restructuring of the economic sectors of the U.N. system to meet the needs of establishing a new international economic order. We support this demand. The economic sectors of the United Nations should be restructured through consultations and serious discussions on an equal footing so that the numerous developing countries may enjoy full rights therein. Manipulation by the one or two superpowers must be ended.

Mr. President,

The Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted by the U.N. General Assembly at its sixth special session have laid down a series of correct principles for the establishment of a new international economic order. Our task now is to continue to uphold and conscientiously implement these principles. We believe that so long as the third world countries close their ranks, unite with all the forces that can be united with and wage a common struggle, they will certainly win new and greater victories in the struggle to destroy the old international economic relations, establish a new international economic order, safeguard their independence and sovereignty and develop their national economy. The Chinese delegation is ready to join others in the efforts for the achievement of positive results at this session.

China's Foreign Trade