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*President:* Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ABDUL-BAQI (Iraq):<sup>1</sup> Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to convey to you our most sincere congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. While wishing you every success in the fulfilment of the tasks of your high office, I am confident that your acknowledged wisdom and your judgement will enable you to preside successfully over our deliberations in a manner which will attain the best possible results for this session.

2. In extending its congratulations to you, Mr. President, the Iraqi delegation is also expressing its satisfaction at the fact that this high office is occupied by a person who is a national of a country with which Iraq has the closest ties of friendship and co-operation.

3. I should also like to pay a tribute, on this occasion, to your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, for his valuable efforts in the service of the United Nations during his presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

4. The people of Iraq follow with close attention the developments in all parts of the world. We believe that there is a great necessity for our international Organization to double its efforts to strengthen its sublime Charter and to accomplish its noble objectives.

5. The peoples of the third world, and other peace-loving peoples, have continued their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and backwardness; they have not yet, however, attained all that they desire. The roots of colonialism run

deep and are still alive with the forces of the authority and the exploitation which they have accumulated through the centuries.

6. In fact we have not noted since the end of the last session of the General Assembly any indication on the part of the colonialist States of a change in their policies or a readiness to co-operate with the United Nations in a constructive joint effort to honour the rights of peoples, to banish the prevalent fears and to eliminate the evils of greedy monopolies. Nevertheless, we shall remain optimistic because we have faith in the future of peoples and in their struggle for their just cause.

7. The foreign policy of the Republic of Iraq seeks to establish the best and soundest of relations with other States, based on the principles of respect for independence and sovereignty and mutual efforts for the development and strengthening of those relations. Our policy is one of strict adherence to, and support of, the Charter of the United Nations. We are also strongly in favour of creating circumstances for strengthening faith in the world Organization and its specialized agencies to enable them to fulfil their mission and to raise them to the level of their responsibilities.

8. Many peoples have achieved, through persistent struggle, their right to freedom and self-determination. The United Nations, through its Declaration on the rights of peoples to self-determination and independence,<sup>2</sup> has itself played a prominent part in supporting and promoting the aspirations of those peoples.

9. However, there are many other peoples still suffering under the yoke of colonialism, exploitation and racial discrimination.

10. The ugliest manifestation of this reality is perhaps to be found in what the world is now witnessing in Palestine.

11. The forces of Zionist colonialism, supported by international imperialism with the United States at its head, have been able to drive the people of Palestine out of their homeland and keep them out for nearly a quarter of a century. Since 5 June 1967 Zionist aggression has extended into three Arab States Members of this Organization, occupying parts of their territories, ejecting their inhabitants and establishing colonial para-military settlements in those occupied territories.

12. The United Nations has reaffirmed in numerous resolutions the rights of the Palestinian people to repatria-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Abdul-Baqi spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

<sup>2</sup> Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 1514 (XV)).

tion and to self-determination. But because of Israel's contemptuous intransigence, and the failure of the United Nations to implement their provisions, those resolutions have been reduced to worthless scraps of paper.

13. We firmly believe that the so-called Middle East problem cannot be solved, and peace in our area cannot be achieved, unless the people of Palestine are given the opportunity to exercise all their inalienable rights, particularly their right to self-determination: neither can there be any peace unless the Israeli occupation of Arab territories is ended. Unless those conditions are achieved, the Middle East will remain charged with dangers imperilling world peace.

14. A deep sense of injustice has driven the Palestinian people to ignite the flames of revolution. They have realized that there is no way for them to attain a free and respectable life, to return to the land of their fathers and forefathers, except through self-sacrifice and armed struggle, which represent the zenith of patriotism and the highest example of wars of liberation. The people of Palestine have come to know the meaning of this self-sacrifice in facing Zionist nazism, as many other peoples knew it in resisting Hitler's Nazi occupation.

15. My Government, from the very beginning, did not have much faith in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The resolution is not in conformity with the principles of the Charter, which prohibit the use of force in international relations and which clearly deny to the aggressor the enjoyment of any gain or advantages resulting therefrom. Yet, despite the resolution, with all its serious shortcomings both in form and in substance, Israel, which has never heeded United Nations resolutions concerning the rights of the Palestinian people, persists in its expansionist policies and tries to achieve further gains at the expense of the people of Palestine and of the Arab countries.

16. To deny the people of Palestine their rights, to try to settle the problem of Palestine without the participation of the Palestinians themselves, to ignore the resolutions adopted by the United Nations within the last quarter of a century to solve the problem, and then to reward the aggressor with concessions are the main deficiencies underlying Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

17. The Security Council should have stipulated the determination of the Zionist aggression and the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied territories without any delay and without attaching any conditions to such stipulations.

18. One important aspect of the situation in the Middle East has become a source of deep concern for all the peoples of the world, namely, Israel's policies regarding the city of Jerusalem. The United Nations has adopted many resolutions, known to all, to preserve the character of Jerusalem as a city which is holy to many peoples and to many religions. Israel's response has again been one of complete disregard and arrogant disdain. Excavations and demolitions continue in many quarters of the city in complete indifference to its sanctity and to its archaeological landmarks, which unite the past with the present and represent man's heritage of civilization in our part of the

world. Zionism has now come to destroy the relics of this heritage. In spite of the strong reactions of everyone who values all that Jerusalem represents, Israel, as always, has ignored—in fact, dismissed with contempt—the great concern expressed by the international community.

19. Israel's expansionist settler colonialism is confirmed by its multidirectional aggressions. Its aim is to conquer further territories and to induce further Jewish immigration into Palestine by every possible scheme, in order to realize the dreams of Zionist expansionism in establishing "Greater Israel". These are the factors which distinguish the problem of Palestine from the problems of other peoples whose lands have been partitioned, like Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam. The struggle in Palestine is not one between the countrymen of one land; it is one between the rightful owner and an intruder, between a usurping aggressor and the people made the victim of that aggression. It is only natural that those who ignore this basic nature of the conflict in Palestine should feel tempted to call for direct negotiations between the parties concerned.

20. In order to ensure respect for the Charter of the United Nations and observance of its principles as the basis of international relations, it is imperative, first and foremost, that the great Powers, which bear special responsibilities for preserving international security, should themselves respect the principles of the Charter. It is no secret that the people of Iraq, like many other peoples throughout the world, have come to question the value of the international Organization in maintaining peace and justice in view of the behaviour of some of the great Powers among its Members.

21. During last September Israel mounted a campaign of revenge and terrorism against Syria and Lebanon, directed above all against innocent civilians and the inhabitants of the Palestinian refugee camps. We have never doubted that Israel would never be content with the ejection of the Palestinians from their homeland, but would aim at their extermination and the annihilation of the very concept of the existence of a Palestinian people.

22. What we did not expect, even from the United States with its well-known support and loyalty to Israel, was a resort to the use of the veto to defeat a draft resolution<sup>3</sup> which only sought to restore a cease-fire violated by Israel in its murderous attacks against Lebanon and Syria. The Security Council was thus prevented from discharging its most elementary duty in the maintenance of international peace and security. Does anyone doubt the ulterior motives which led the United States Government to take that shameful attitude, exposing international peace and security to certain danger in the interests of its own political expediencies?

23. The reasons for the peoples' loss of confidence in the world Organization and for its failure to live up to the hopes placed in it are not to be found in its so-called neglect of acts of "political terrorism", as some have claimed, but rather in the impotence of the United Nations

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972, document S/10784.*

in the face of the international terrorism practised by one of the major Powers among its own members against many peoples and in many different parts of the world.

24. The General Assembly has decided, at the request of the Secretary-General, to debate at its present session the subject of international terrorism with its underlying causes and motives [item 92]. My delegation believes that the consideration of the item in its amended form will clarify the full dimensions of this problem. But we cannot close our eyes to, nor remain silent about, a fact which by now is well-known to all, namely, the exploitation of this item by the United States for internal political purposes. Nor can we ignore the efforts by some other Powers to exploit this debate so as to discredit and to strangle national liberation movements, under the guise of combating terrorism and in the name of the international community.

25. We are greatly surprised to see that the Government of the United States should hasten to lead the campaign of what it terms combating terrorism, at a time when the United Nations itself and permanent missions here in New York are subjected to threats and acts of violence by American terrorist organizations, without the United States authorities taking any effective action against those terrorists in contravention of its contractual obligations towards the United Nations. We also find it totally unacceptable that the United States Government should, under the cloak of humanitarian motivations, call for action against terrorism while a deluge of American bombs engulfs the innocent women and children of Viet-Nam, and "civilized" American generals threaten to bomb that valiant people back to the Stone Age.

26. There exist in the Arabian Gulf area conditions which threaten peace and foreshadow dire consequences. Imperialism is actively trying to consolidate its influence in the Arabian Gulf under the pretext of filling a so-called vacuum in the wake of the withdrawal of British forces. In pursuit of these aims, international imperialism has no compunction about employing any and all available means.

27. The Iraqi Government is convinced that peace and security will not prevail in the Arabian Gulf unless the States in that area respect one another's sovereignty and independence. Towards the end of last year, however, Iranian forces occupied three Arab islands in the Gulf, resorting to the use of force to achieve Iran's expansionist ambitions, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law, which explicitly prohibit the use of force in international relations. The laxity of the United Nations organs in taking effective measures to restore right and justice is bound to encourage expansionist ambitions which would undoubtedly endanger international peace and security in the area.

28. During the last two sessions of the General Assembly, the Iraqi delegation outlined the action of our neighbour Iran in unilaterally declaring the abrogation of the Iraqi-Iranian Boundary Treaty, signed at Teheran on 4 July 1937. This Treaty, in force for over 30 years, was freely concluded by both parties, and registered with the League of Nations, in order to put an end to their frontier differences. It appears that our neighbour Iran overlooked the fact that the sanctity of treaties is one of the

fundamental principles of international law, and that the violation of treaties was, and is, among the gravest transgressions for which a State is held accountable to the international community. The unilateral abrogation of a treaty, for whatever reason, is considered one of the most serious of violations.

29. Iraq continues to maintain its adherence to the 1937 Treaty, and is convinced that Iran has no right to abrogate the Treaty unilaterally. Iraq has expressed its readiness to refer this question to the International Court of Justice. We hereby renew this offer. Iran's procrastinations in accepting our offer and its continued negative attitude are but an expression of Iran's determination to defy the most important and most securely established rules of international law.

30. My Government takes every possible opportunity to reaffirm its peaceful policies and its desire to establish the best of relations with all States. The latest affirmation of this policy towards Iran was expressed a few months ago by the President of Iraq, Mr. Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr, when he stated:

"The Government of Iran, one of our neighbours, has for the last three and a half years adopted unwarranted hostile attitudes against Iraq and the Arab nation, as exemplified by its unilateral abrogation of the 1937 Boundary Treaty and the continued acts of provocation along our borders threatening our peace and security. It carried its policies to the extent of usurping parts of Arab lands in its occupation of the three Arab islands in the Arabian Gulf. These actions are bound to have harmful effects on Arab-Iranian relations, not only at present but also in the future, especially since they coincide with the Zionist-imperialist onslaught on the Arab people. We shall strongly uphold our rights and shall continue to oppose the use of such methods for the solution of problems. In our opinion, those methods constitute violations of international obligations in addition to being an outcome of outmoded policies. We reaffirm here again our respect for the historical ties which bind us to the friendly Iranian peoples as we reaffirm our sincere desire to establish good-neighbourly relations with them on the basis of continued co-operation for the benefit of our mutual interests. We have for the last three-and-a-half years followed a policy of self-restraint and resorted to reason in confronting the adventurist policies into which the colonialist forces tried to draw us. While upholding our rights and national interests, we reiterate our readiness, always, to solve problems peacefully, provided the Government of Iran will reconsider its attitude, abandon its present policy and follow the path of good-neighbourliness with Iraq and the Arab nation."

31. In the Far East, we are witnessing an appalling tragedy: the tragedy of the unequal war in Viet-Nam, the indiscriminate mass killings of the Viet-Nameese people by the United States forces and the devastating destruction by its missiles, airplanes and napalm of Viet-Nameese civilian installations, including hospitals, schools and dikes.

32. The war in Viet-Nam has been condemned by all peoples of the world, including progressive liberals within the United States itself. Our people calls for the full and

immediate withdrawal of United States forces from Indo-China, in order to enable its peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and to express their will freely without foreign intervention. Our people supports the proposal for the establishment of an international body which would be entrusted with assisting Viet-Nam for the immediate rehabilitation of both North and South after the devastation of the prolonged years of fighting. The necessary resources for such rehabilitation should be provided by the United Nations: the rich States, headed by the United States, should provide the major part of such assistance. What we have said about the aggression against the Viet-Nameese people applies equally to the aggression against the peaceful people of Cambodia. Here was a nation enjoying freedom and full of hope, but the United States Government, which does not approve of those who refuse to fall into line with its policies, resorted to its well-known methods and intelligence services. Endangering the security and the stability of the Cambodian people, it installed a puppet régime to replace the legitimate Government, which still enjoys the support and the sympathy of the majority of peoples.

33. There are still a number of peoples languishing under the yoke of colonialism and vassalage. The Republic of Iraq calls upon the United Nations to rescue these peoples and to support their just struggle to achieve independence, thus implementing the United Nations' own resolutions and securing the realization of its aims and respect for its principles.

34. We demand the liquidation of all forms of colonialism, wherever found, and the elimination of racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations. Our people, under the leadership of the Socialist Arab Ba'ath Party, which has dedicated itself to the struggle for freedom and independence, stands with the peoples' legitimate resistance to colonialism, imperialism and discrimination. It demands the termination of the United States occupation of Korea and of the United States exploitation of the United Nations flag in its flagrant interference with the unity of the Korean people. We support the right of the Korean people to self-determination and to reunification. Our people supports the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. It condemns the white minority régime in Rhodesia and sincerely hopes that all States will respect United Nations resolutions and refrain from establishing any economic relations with Ian Smith's illegal régime.

35. We condemn the policies of *apartheid* and the repression imposed by the South African Government on the Africans, the indigenous people of the land. We cannot help but salute, on this occasion, the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe and pay a tribute to their struggle, in the hope that they will soon achieve their freedom and enjoy full sovereignty and independence.

36. The people of Iraq has chosen the policy of non-alignment in its international relations, thus providing itself with the opportunity to participate in joint efforts for the realization of peace and security and to avoid the evils of aggressive pacts, with all their propensity to create confrontations and crises. The world has already seen the

effectiveness of the policies of non-alignment in sparing mankind the consequences of blocs and military alliances.

37. The Republic of Iraq would welcome any sound agreement concerning the limitation of the armaments race. The arrival at a comprehensive agreement on disarmament would undoubtedly diminish the dangers of war and save vast sums which might be diverted to peaceful purposes, especially to assistance to the developing countries.

38. We support complete disarmament under effective international control and confirm our support for the prohibition of the use and the manufacture of chemical, biological and other similar weapons. My Government associates itself with the proposals concerning the declaration of certain areas as zones of peace. It also supports the convocation of a world conference on disarmament.

39. My Government welcomes all efforts aimed at the utilization of atomic energy, the sea-bed and outer space for peaceful purposes. It would welcome a conference on the law of the sea, provided that adequate preparation were made to ensure its success in a manner which would guarantee the interests of all States and especially those of the developing countries. Special attention should be given to the resolutions adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment<sup>4</sup> and the proposals made by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, in order to see that justice is done to the developing countries, to enable them to utilize their resources and, finally, to create the conditions which would narrow the gap between the developing and the developed countries.

40. On this occasion I should like to refer briefly to the measures taken by my Government on 1 July of this year to nationalize the operations of the Iraq Petroleum Company.

41. That company, which had monopolized our petroleum resources for nearly half a century, went too far in ignoring our just demands and adopted a policy of procrastination and equivocation regarding those demands. While the Iraqi Government tried earnestly to arrive at a just solution to the problems outstanding, the company resorted to pressure tactics by reducing production in order to undermine the economy of the country. Those tactics led the negotiations which had been going on for many years into an impasse. It was then the duty of the Government to nationalize the company's operations in order to safeguard the rights of the people. In following this course of action Iraq was exercising a definite right recognized by international law and stated in numerous United Nations resolutions which affirm the sovereignty of States over their natural resources. In the nationalization decree we have declared our readiness to compensate the company.

42. In his eloquent statement before the General Assembly Mr. Maurice Schumann said that hope was "a difficult virtue" [2041st meeting, para. 60]. Although I have ex-

<sup>4</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chaps. II and IV.

pressed here today the apprehensions and suspicions which preoccupy the minds of many peoples about the role of the United Nations and its ability to rise to the level of the hopes placed in it, I personally still greatly hope that these suspicions will not be confirmed.

43. The peoples of the whole world are united in the desire to establish an international community, living in peace, in which the principles of freedom and justice prevail. Those peoples regard the United Nations as the only means for attaining that goal. Although it is true that much of that hope for the United Nations has evaporated, our faith in man and in his determination to realize his longings for freedom, peace and justice saves us from total despair. It enables us to continue our support for the United Nations so that we may attain mankind's common goal.

44. Mr. THORN (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, in addressing this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly I am very happy to offer you the heartiest congratulations of my delegation on your election to the presidency of this august Assembly. Your unanimous choice was not only a just recognition of your great personal qualities but also a tribute to the country of great diplomatic and other traditions which you represent. We are confident that under your enlightened guidance, and I would say thanks to it, the present session will fulfil the hopes which the peoples we represent have placed in us.

45. I should like also to express to the Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, our great esteem for the outstanding job he has already done for the Organization. During this first year of his mandate the Secretary-General has been endlessly active in all United Nations fields and we can only congratulate him on the positive results which he has already achieved in so short a space of time. He has taken over the direction of the Secretariat at a crucial moment for the Organization and it is certainly appropriate that he should consider the re-establishment of the authority and the prestige of the United Nations as one of the primary objectives to be attained. It goes without saying that this task does not concern the Secretary-General alone; it is of primary interest to each of the sovereign countries which make up the United Nations, and it is only ever more complete and open collaboration among all the Member States which can give the Organization its proper place in the world.

46. Our Organization has reached an important crossroads in its history. The participation of the People's Republic of China represents a major landmark on the road to universality, and it is precisely because I want to see us persevere on this road that I hope for the speedy admission of Bangladesh. The entry of that State into the United Nations would be the logical consequence and the complete and sincere application of the Simla Agreement of 3 July 1972.

47. In our view a difficult hurdle to clear in the interest of ensuring universality is the admission of the divided States of Europe and Asia. However, I must say that I am optimistic following the encouraging developments in Germany which I hope will make it possible to bring about

the normalization of relations between the two German States and, in consequence, their simultaneous admission to the United Nations.

48. I also note with satisfaction that contacts have been established between North and South Korea, and for my part I am convinced that here again common sense will triumph and the parties concerned will find a settlement which will take due account of the essential interests of the Korean people as a whole. In such circumstances—that is, whenever the parties are themselves moving in the direction desired by all—our Assembly must refrain from a debate which might arouse too many passions and arguments drawn from the past at a time when a page of history is about to be turned and preparations are being made for the future.

49. If one considers the present international situation other developments which seem to us to be encouraging cannot fail to be noted. The most striking event in this respect seems to me to be the détente which has appeared in the relations between the United States of America and both the Soviet Union and China. We must rejoice to see the leaders of the great Powers giving ever greater priority to dialogue and to the search for common grounds of agreement and co-operation. Our international community as a whole welcomes this desire to avoid as far as possible confrontations which are too often due to considerations of prestige and power and to the desire to settle their disputes peacefully.

50. This climate of détente and co-operation has already made possible considerable progress towards a return to a normal situation in the heart of Europe thanks to the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin and to the considerable improvement in relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. Similarly, the ratification of treaties prohibiting the use of force between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union on the one hand and the Federal Republic of Germany and your country, Mr. President, on the other, augur well for the conference on security and co-operation in Europe, the preparatory work for which is to begin shortly in Helsinki.

*Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

51. As the representative of a very small European country which twice in the twentieth century suffered terribly from confrontations between its great neighbours, I am particularly happy that there are new prospects for Europe to be entirely peaceful, turned towards co-operation and, indeed towards competition in the economic, social and cultural fields, but at last with no further recourse to force or even to the threat of force.

52. While I can at last express my satisfaction at the positive development in what is traditionally called East-West relations, I am, however, particularly sorry to note the persistence of serious conflicts which take the form of open or threatened hostilities in Viet-Nam and in the Middle East, in spite of all the efforts to bring about peace which have indeed already resulted in a substantial withdrawal of military forces and military experts.



53. As regards the Viet-Nameese conflict, the slow pace of the Paris negotiations must cause despair to a people that has endured the ravages of war for more than 30 years and whose country is slowly undergoing total destruction. I express the profound hope that efforts towards an equitable peace will no longer be held back by considerations of tactics and prestige and that each party will at least scrupulously respect the rules of war and simple humanity, both in regard to prisoners of war and to the prohibition against striking civilian targets and endangering the lives of civilians.

54. Another trouble spot in the world with respect to which our Organization has, regrettably, thus far displayed almost total impotence is the conflict in the Middle East. Innumerable hours of debate in the General Assembly and the Security Council and numerous resolutions have been devoted to various aspects of this dismaying problem without, as must be acknowledged, any solution having really come closer. My Government remains convinced that the basis for a settlement remains the principles set out in Security Council resolution 242 (1967)—and here, again, I can only subscribe to everything that Minister Harmel said from this rostrum this morning [2054th meeting]—which must finally be implemented either totally or, if that is not possible, at least step by step.

55. On the contrary, we see, unfortunately, on the one hand the Arab States refusing to negotiate and adhering to an attitude that leaves no way out, an attitude of “all or nothing”, instead of recognizing that everywhere in the world only negotiation has made it possible to achieve solutions to conflicts. And on the other hand we see Israel, for its part, deliberately or through the simple passage of time, daily consolidating its position in the occupied territories. Negotiations, direct or indirect—because we are all anxious to spare the susceptibilities of all the parties concerned—seem to me to be an elementary course, and probably the only course, to reach a valid compromise. Those who oppose negotiations must seek inspiration from other recent experiences of the great Powers—which I have already mentioned—and derive confidence from the dynamism of negotiations. To wish to get the last possible concession before actually negotiating is an attitude which is, in my estimation and on the basis of history, unrealistic. Organizations such as ours—through the intermediary, for instance, of the mediator Mr. Jarring, in whom my Government again expresses its confidence—and States or groups of States may make suggestions for a settlement or offer their good offices in order to bring the parties together; but the principal responsibility remains and will always remain that of those parties.

56. The events of past weeks, the terrorist attacks and the reprisals offer little room for optimism. The Government of Luxembourg condemns terrorism in all its forms and deplores the innocent victims that it has produced. I was in Munich at the time of the massacre in September and I was horrified by the violence inflicted upon innocent victims. We are therefore prepared for our part to associate ourselves with all actions that may be undertaken to repress terrorism, be that here or in any other, more restricted context. We are convinced that only determined action by all the nations can bear fruit, just as we are convinced that that solidarity is in the interest of all the Member States.

57. I must add that my Government condemns equally vigorously blind reprisals which produce innocent victims. Moral law must always prevail over so-called requirements of security and must prohibit the taking of the smallest risk that one will miss the target and kill even one innocent person.

58. Terrorism and reprisals are a vicious circle which has a chance of being broken only if an over-all settlement of the problem of the Middle East is reached, a settlement which must, of course, extend to the Palestine refugees—and I have constantly repeated that it is dangerous and wrong to neglect or underestimate this aspect of the problem. This pessimism which the situation has inspired in me and in many others should be a stimulant to action, not a brake on it.

59. The serious events to which I have just referred—be they encouraging or depressing—have this in common: they highlight the very small influence exercised in the past or being exercised at present by the United Nations. We are bound to acknowledge that there is still a very difficult road ahead in regard to bringing about international security through the adoption of effective collective measures for the purpose of preventing or removing threats to peace, repressing acts of aggression and reaching a peaceful settlement of disputes or situations which might lead to conflicts.

60. Of course, progress has already been made in the limitation of arms by virtue of international treaties which prohibit certain forms of nuclear tests and limit the production of certain types of nuclear or biological weapons, especially on the bilateral level, where the United States and the Soviet Union have concluded the first treaty whose purpose is to limit the production and the use of certain strategic arms.

61. But we are also bound to note that more than 10 years of negotiation in the field of disarmament have produced only extremely modest results if one recalls that since 1960 more than \$2 million million has been used for the manufacture of all sorts of war *matériel*. It is therefore essential to adopt political decisions internationally in order to modify the situation and to make it possible at last to make available for peaceful purposes the extraordinary resources that might thus be liberated.

62. I should also like to express the hope that the work that has been going on for many years to give peace-keeping operations a more solid basis will soon be crowned with success. Public opinion in our countries can no longer understand why a programme for the use of forces in the service of peace cannot be concluded after such lengthy discussions and such important negotiations.

63. The general mission of a world organization encompassing more than 130 sovereign countries becomes increasingly more complex and difficult for a multitude of reasons. Improvements in the means of transport and communication, the development of industrial, commercial and financial networks throughout the world and the continuing progress of science and technology are such that States are becoming ever-more interdependent notwithstanding their sovereignty. This means that an increasing

number of problems can no longer be solved within a strictly national context and, accordingly, international organizations have been given, and will increasingly be given, new tasks.

64. It is evident that the machinery for international and multinational co-operation is not sufficiently perfected to permit of the immediate solution of all these problems at the world level. Certain problems, as must be recognized, have become particularly acute on a regional plane, and it is frequently easier to arrive, at least in the first stage, at valid solutions applicable in a restricted area before extending or generalizing the solution on a world-wide basis.

65. It is in that light that for decades my country has been taking part in all efforts at co-operation and integration capable not only of bringing about economic progress but also of guaranteeing more stability for our own continent. Beginning with the Union économique belgo-luxembourgeoise and including the Benelux Economic Union, we have from the very first taken part in the building of integrated Europe.

66. The meeting of the heads of State and Government of the nine countries of the expanded European Economic Community, which will take place in Paris in two weeks, will, I hope, lay down the essential guide-lines for the future of the Community and will, I am sure, give a decisive impetus towards increasing unification which can never be synonymous in our minds with falling back upon oneself, but, on the contrary, means opening towards the outside world. If Europe is to have greater weight, it will have to shoulder even more clearly its responsibility, first vis-à-vis the developing countries, but also vis-à-vis other industrialized countries. A Community which is the greatest commercial power in the world, even if it is not the least fragile, has the right, indeed the duty, to affirm its own identity and to deal on a footing of equality with the other industrialized States concerning economic, commercial and monetary problems without there being any question of any prior conditions either way, and this with the sole purpose of reaching settlements satisfactory to all the countries concerned.

67. Such a Community has the special duty to take the greatest account of the needs of all the countries of the third world and most especially of those who have been our partners from the very first.

68. The third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held in the spring in Santiago, Chile, did not, unfortunately, live up to expectations. But is it not true that public opinion sometimes tends to expect too much from great conferences of this kind? After all, the achievement of tangible results in a field so complex and controversial requires persevering and continuous co-operation based upon a common political will. Moreover, I feel that what harmed that session of UNCTAD was that an attempt was made to discuss and resolve everything simultaneously.

69. Nevertheless, it would be unfair to minimize the results obtained at that session, which recognized the need to have the developing countries participate in the rearrangement of the international monetary system and to

devote special attention to aid to the least developed countries. The session likewise made possible a better understanding of highly varied problems posed by development. Now, we have to implement the decisions adopted, to infuse the will to act and to offer the means to do so to the United Nations organizations concerned, as well as to all the other institutions which, both nationally and internationally, are dealing with developmental problems.

70. The countries of the European Community will no longer be able to take refuge behind the absence of world-wide solutions in order not to move forward, but they will not accept criticism concerning the regionalism of their aid on the part of those that stick solely to bilateral aid.

71. In regard to the environment, over and above national issues there are the needs of mankind which transcend the borders of States and require rational international co-operation on a world-wide basis. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to avoid having the just preoccupation with the future of mankind on earth hide from us present injustices and disorder. The setting of priorities for action to be taken will have to be such as to weigh carefully all the problems to be resolved. This is one of the primary tasks of the present session of the Assembly—to point the way. Here I can only say that I applaud what my colleague and friend, Mr. Schmelzer, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, has said on this subject [*2050th meeting*].

72. It might also be appropriate to add to these considerations on under-development and the protection of environment a few brief reflections on this intellectual and moral pollution caused by racial discrimination as it exists today. It ought to be clear to any man of good sense that, while there may be characteristics peculiar to every race, no race is superior to any other, and therefore there is no justification for separation or segregation by force, which is nothing but a manifestation of the arrogance of certain human beings vis-à-vis other human beings whom they consider inferior.

73. In this respect Europe is frequently judged to be privileged, because, it would appear to have a more homogeneous population and is therefore free from any racial problems. This is only partly true. Luxembourg, for instance, has within its borders a foreign population by birth amounting to 30 per cent of its own population. It is unquestionable that such a situation, by virtue of the differences of language, custom and habit and mores, creates genuine problems in the relations between foreign immigrants and Luxembourgers. Hence even we are perfectly capable of appreciating the difficulties which countries with multiracial populations may be confronted with, but that makes us only more convinced that these difficulties cannot be resolved except through co-operation based upon reciprocal good will and upon extensive understanding, whereas any discrimination will have only the effect of creating tension, indeed hatred, which nothing will dispel but which the slightest thing can cause to explode.

74. I am bound to add that while my comments apply, of course, to southern Africa, I condemn with the same rigour

discrimination which emerges in any other country, and in particular the brutal expulsion—brutal both in its conception and its execution—of persons of different ethnic origins from any country in the world.

75. Over the years we have all had to contend with numerous criticisms of the United Nations, especially by the press and world public opinion, which describe our Organization in terms that are frequently less than kind.

76. Even if there is considerable exaggeration in all these assertions, we nevertheless must recognize that some of the aspects of the work of the United Nations are open to criticism, and it is of course necessary to reconsider the procedures, which are sometimes too slow or cumbersome, in order to arrive at more suitable working methods. I consider in particular that we ought to adhere more to a sound distribution of work and not introduce in technical debates questions of a political order, which, of course, all countries are keenly interested in but which should instead be discussed by highly competent persons, in a context that should be reserved for such discussions.

77. Some have expressed the opinion that the Charter, signed more than 27 years ago in San Francisco, is now obsolete and no longer constitutes a valid basis for world-wide co-operation. On the contrary, we, together with many Governments represented here, are of the opinion that the Charter, although not a perfect instrument, nevertheless remains one that is very well suited to its purposes, and while it is not something that should not remain unchangeable or untouched, at this stage there is no need to make any fundamental changes in it.

78. If international co-operation in the United Nations is not always as effective as it might be, the fault, let us recognize, lies not with the Charter—and this must be recalled very often—but rather with the very imperfect use made of it by Member States.

79. I express the hope that the present session of the Assembly will be conducted in a climate of forthrightness and confident and dispassionate co-operation, and therefore in a climate of mutual respect, without which fruitful work cannot be done, so that we may not disappoint the just hopes of the peoples of the whole world.

80. Mr. RATSIRAKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): A country proud of its past, of its customs and of its traditions, a nation working in the challenging task struggling against under-development, injustice and poverty, a people, finally, determined to affirm its identity, its personality and its sovereignty when confronting the future: such is the Malagasy Republic in October 1972.

81. I, who have the honour today of speaking for the first time on behalf of that Republic, address to the President its sincere congratulations on his election to preside over this twenty-seventh session of our General Assembly. I am convinced that, thanks to his eminent qualities as a politician, diplomat and specialist in international affairs, the work of this session of the Assembly will take place in a calm atmosphere, will bear the hallmark of objectivity and will be crowned by the success that the peoples of the entire world with deep hope expect of it.

82. I am very happy to stress the remarkable and able mastery with which the President's predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, presided over the work of the twenty-sixth session.

83. I am very happy also to be able to pay a solemn tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his efforts, carried out with patience and courage, to confront with determination all the intricate problems that face the international community.

84. The Malagasy Republic wishes to do its small part and to make its modest contribution to the great common three-fold goal: peace, fraternity and international justice. It is for that reason that, despite our remoteness and insularity, we are determined to keep in touch with the world and to have our voice heard on all current problems.

85. Thus we, the people of the Malagasy Republic, welcome agreement and reconciliation here and the relaxation of tension and normalization there. We are extremely happy, first of all, at the entry into force of the treaties signed between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the latter and Poland. We are also gratified at the conclusion of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin and at the economic opening of the German Democratic Republic to the other European nations.

86. We are also gratified at the ratification of the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan in August 1972. Finally we are gratified at the opening of direct talks between the two parts of Korea, which, we hope, will lead very soon to the reunification of the country.

87. In particular we welcome the forthcoming conference on European security, and the signing on 3 October of the documents dealing with the entry into force of the agreements on the limitation of strategic offensive arms.<sup>5</sup>

88. We note with satisfaction the recent movement of international relations towards the emergence of a multipolar system capable, we believe, of encouraging greater interdependence in relations among States, non-alignment and, finally, negotiations and positive bilateral agreements.

89. Finally, we wish to pay a warm tribute to the spirit of Rabat, which allowed the African countries to set aside what divides them and devote themselves fully to what unites them, and thus to concentrate their efforts on common action to ensure unity, liberty and peace. We earnestly hope that this same spirit of Rabat will make it possible rapidly to solve the present dispute between Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania.

90. But unfortunately we must recognize that these few bright patches are not sufficient to remove the clouds from the skies of international relations, where storms still break out here and there, while heavy cumulo-nimbus clouds still darken the horizon, particularly of the third world—the beleaguered third world, where aggression is committed

<sup>5</sup> Interim Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed in Moscow on 26 May 1972.



here and there, while the clash of rival ideologies and ambitions still causes far-off conflicts that are as murderous as they are deplorable.

91. Thus, in Viet-Nam the blind bombing of civilian targets and populations continues relentlessly without justification. More than a quarter of a century of war has proved, if we needed proof, that a military solution to this conflict is most improbable and that it is up to the Viet-Nameese and the Viet-Nameese alone to find a negotiated, just, equitable and lasting solution, without foreign interference. That is the essential condition without which, we believe, the Viet-Nameese people cannot live in peace, and certainly not in peace with independence and dignity. Only the neutralization of South-East Asia can restore peace to that region.

92. In the Middle East, our position regarding the long-standing conflict which afflicts that area is, again, dictated by realism, justice and respect for equal rights. We believe that one would have to be very naive today to say that Israel could be purely and simply wiped from the map of the world. Israel is a reality. It is a regrettable fait accompli in the sense that it was practically imposed on the international community by the great Powers of the time. But, all the same, it is a fait accompli. On the other hand, what we categorically refuse to accept is that Israel should go from one fait accompli to another and conduct itself with impunity as an expansionist, imperialist and war-like Power. As a member of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] we refuse to agree that a foreign State can occupy by force the territory of another State and in particular of an African State, Egypt, trampling underfoot at one and the same time the inalienable right to existence and self-determination of the Palestinian people.

93. That is why we forcefully reiterate our unreserved support for Security Council resolution 242 (1967) calling upon Israel to withdraw from the territories that it improperly occupied after the famous six-day war. In the present state of affairs that is the only way that will lead to a peaceful, just and equitable settlement of the conflict. If that thorny question is not solved, if the roots of the evil are not attacked, it is obvious that all the efforts we might decide to make against certain desperate acts of terrorism, however deplorable they may be, will be in vain.

94. Another subject for mitigated satisfaction is the question of disarmament. While we note with satisfaction the Moscow Agreement of 26 May 1972 on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, it still is a fact that a limitation on the installation of anti-ballistic missiles and the establishment of a numerical ceiling for offensive missiles should have been accompanied by a concomitant limitation on the qualitative increase in the nuclear arsenals of the super-Powers. In other words, we whole-heartedly insist upon the need to sign as soon as possible a convention on chemical and biological weapons and on the urgent need for general and complete disarmament. We also advocate the holding of a world conference on disarmament, the main objective of which would be the destruction of all nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass annihilation.

95. Regarding the difficult problem of development, we believe the achievement of a harmonious and equitable

development of world economy to be indispensable, as also the establishment of a new economic and social order that will meet the needs of all nations and all peoples.

96. But, alas, we still fall into a certain scepticism if we objectively analyse the world economic situation. The growth rate of the so-called developing nations falls far short of the target set for the Second United Nations Development Decade. The deterioration in terms of trade also causes disquiet to the countries of the third world. And, finally, the third session of UNCTAD unfortunately did not live up to the hopes that the 77—now the 96—developing countries placed in it after the Declaration of Lima.<sup>6</sup>

97. Under-development is not just a delay in development; it is the unavoidable consequence of a one-sided approach to the organization of world trade which favours a minority at the expense of the great majority. The balance—or should I say the imbalance—that has been established between the developed and the non-developed countries is deeply unjust and wrong. The poor constantly sell at lower prices and purchase at higher prices from the wealthy.

98. The self-centred economies of the industrialized countries have long seen their products appreciate in value, which allows them further to develop, to the detriment of the peripheral non-self-reliant economies of the needy countries. But that appreciation has gone so far that it must not be allowed to last indefinitely. Therefore, it is imperative that the under-developed nations form a common front in the international community confronting the wealthy countries, if only to ensure proper rates for their raw materials.

99. The logical corollary of the problem of development—that is, the problem of decolonization and human rights—cannot fail to be a subject of great concern to a proletarian nation such as Madagascar. Saint-Exupéry told us, “Respect for man, respect for man: that is the touchstone!” But if respect for man lies in the hearts of men, then men will eventually ensure a social, political and economic system that enshrines that respect.

100. The tie between development and decolonization would seem to be obvious, since both rest on respect for and recognition of the rights of peoples. Colonialism, racism, the denial of human rights—these are the main obstacles to the development of any man and of the whole man.

101. Respect for man and the sovereignty of peoples, recognition of the interests and rights of the indigenous inhabitants, respect for democracy, the rights of self-determination, freedom and justice—all are *leit-motifs* that should continue to receive priority today even though they are somewhat tarnished in the midst of the contradictions that gnaw at the very basis of our civilization. That those conditions are far from achieved in Africa is an obvious fact. That is why we of the Malagasy Republic reaffirm as loudly as ever the following points: first, that Namibia must

<sup>6</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), annex VIII, F.

be liberated from the illegal presence of South Africa, in accordance with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971;<sup>7</sup> secondly, that Southern Rhodesia should be cleared of the oppression of the white minority of Ian Smith; thirdly, that a new Constitution should be drawn up to replace that of 1969, which has been recognized by neither the United Nations nor the Administering Authority; and fourthly that the sham blockade of Rhodesia should cease immediately. That is one of the reasons why the Malagasy Republic put an end to a so-called "blockade air force" based in Majunga. An effective blockade must be set up or the present blockade, which is nothing but a joke, should be ended. Thirdly, the perpetuation of Portuguese domination in West and East Africa gravely threatens international peace and stability in the region.

102. The right to self-determination of these Non-Self-Governing Territories must be recognized and respected, and efforts to carry out indirect recolonization must be denounced and rejected—in particular, the placing of more than 1 million expatriate settlers in Mozambique and Angola in order to build the Cabora Bassa and Cunene dams.

103. We cannot end these brief considerations on the decolonization of peoples without drawing the attention of this distinguished gathering to certain improper interpretations and also certain oversimplifications confusing gratuitous terrorism with the struggle for national liberation, particularly in Africa. While we condemn senseless and blind terrorism, we support and encourage the just struggle of the national liberation movements. In desperation, the colonized peoples have no alternative but to resort to violence in order to cut the Gordian knot that binds them.

104. What, finally, are we to say about *apartheid*, that scourge of the twentieth century that still defies public opinion? All nations that love peace and justice must resolutely fight together to eliminate this crime against mankind from our planet for ever. We, for our part, honestly believe that we have fought effectively against *apartheid* by cutting off all dialogue with South Africa. Paradoxically, that seems to suit both sides—both those who support and those who attack the dialogue policy. We have served the supporters of dialogue by showing the vanity of that policy as conceived, noting that the Pretoria régime has not changed its policy of *apartheid* one iota, and proving that no concession has been made in favour of the blacks of South Africa. That might have led Mr. Vorster to modify his position if he wanted to interest certain countries of Africa in dialogue.

105. But we feel we have strengthened even further the camp of intransigent adversaries of racial segregation by proving that in the more-and-more threadbare guise of dialogue the segregationists of Pretoria have only endeavoured to divide the Africans and to find customers ready to

condone their imperialist and racist policies. Therefore, by that historic and twofold decision, we are convinced that we have served the cause of justice, fraternity and freedom.

106. Obviously, some who still dream of the absurd and distant past have tried to discourage us by waving the spectre of bankruptcy before us. Some have in fact tried to blackmail us by using measures of extortion such as sabotage or the abandonment of an economic project that might have greatly helped to promote the economic development of our country. We shall answer them resolutely—and in this we shall be accompanied by the voice of the entire Malagasy people—that regardless of what happens we shall not go to Canossa.

107. We would prefer to give up such a grandiose and profitable investment if it would mean increasing our dependence upon foreigners—if the price must be the relinquishment of our sovereignty and national dignity.

108. In conclusion, I shall merely state that all the peoples of the world aspire to development, to better living conditions, to justice and to peace.

109. But to attain these noble aims the unity and the solidarity of all are more than ever necessary. Concerted and united efforts on the part of one and all are more than ever essential. All nations—whether large, medium or small—must make a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace and to the settlement of the important interrelated problems of the moment: development, decolonization, human rights, disarmament and peaceful coexistence, among others.

110. We in Madagascar wish to state solemnly in this forum that, after more than 80 years of abdication and eclipse, Madagascar is now enjoying a renaissance and from now on intends fully to play its rightful role in our part of the Indian Ocean. We have put an end to 12 years of mistrust, diffidence and lack of understanding regarding certain socialist and progressive countries by establishing with all these countries, whether from the East or the West, relations of a dispassionate nature based on mutual respect, a clear understanding of our common interests and the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

111. And we trust that we shall be able to progress with our sincere and forthright policies because this is the most pragmatic form of pragmatism and the most realistic form of realism.

112. We are, in one word, convinced that humanism, in the fullest sense accepted and desired by all, is the sole foundation for peace, justice and the democratization of international relations.

113. With this in mind, we are no less convinced that under your guidance, Mr. President, the work of this session of the Assembly will attain the objectives set for it.

114. May I conclude by assuring you, Mr. President, that in that task the collaboration and the understanding of the Malagasy Republic are entirely at your disposal. We wish to thank you for hearing us with patience.

<sup>7</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

115. Mr. AL-SAID (Oman):<sup>8</sup> Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, upon your assumption of the duties of President of the General Assembly and to assure you of the co-operation of my Government and delegation. We are confident that you will fulfil your difficult duties with the same distinction that you have devoted to other duties in the service of your country.

116. Allow me also, Mr. President, to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the distinguished Foreign Minister of Indonesia Mr. Adam Malik. We in Oman will always remember that it was under his presidency that Oman became a Member of the United Nations.

117. Looking back over the events of the past year, we may find much to be encouraged about in our quest for peace and international harmony, although we must at the same time point out the problems that we face and on which no progress has yet been achieved.

118. On the positive side we must point to the détente and rapprochement that has been achieved by the major Powers. The arms limitation agreements already achieved at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and in Moscow go part of the way to achieving the objective of placing a real limitation on arms of mass destruction. As a representative of an under-developed country, we find that the progress that has been achieved in this field has been encouraging, and we can only hope for further progress, for it is indeed deplorable that 7.2 per cent of the world's gross national product is being spent on armaments and highly sophisticated methods of mass destruction. We feel that these resources could be better spent on aid to the under-developed countries of the world, for it is only this course of action that can assure peace, security and harmony among the nations and the peoples of this planet.

119. My Government is also highly gratified to hear of the détente and rapprochement that has been occurring between other nations that have so very recently been involved in futile and fruitless confrontations. It is our deep hope that these nations will not stop at just ceasing their previous confrontations but will continue to achieve lasting peace, brotherhood and co-operation in all fields with their erstwhile adversaries.

120. We particularly welcome the agreement that has been achieved between the Governments of India and Pakistan. These two countries are very close to us not only geographically and economically but also historically. It is our sincere hope that these great and peace-loving countries will progress from partial agreements to full accord on a permanent and just peace and or mutual co-operation in all fields. It is also our sincere hope that any such peace will not reflect the weight of military conquest or victory, for it is in this area more than anywhere else that true statesmanship requires foresight and magnanimity.

121. We also welcome the agreements that have been achieved between the divided countries of this world,

namely, West and East Germany and North and South Korea. Their decision to solve their problems by peaceful means requires our highest support, for their decisions comply with the spirit of our Charter. It is our sincere hope that these States will persevere in the path that they have chosen and that they will soon join us as full Members of this Organization.

122. The further consolidation and widening of the European Economic Community that has occurred during the course of this past year is also welcome to us. It is our profound hope that the new Europe will be a force for peace among nations and that it will continue to expand its generous aid to under-developed countries.

123. I now turn to an area of the world that is of great interest to us. I refer to the Gulf area. My Government's policy in this highly important and strategic area is based upon our profound desire that there should be in this area the basic and fundamental stability in which the nations of the area can work for progress and development in the economic, social and political spheres.

124. Under the reign of my enlightened Sovereign, His Majesty Sultan Qabus, we in Oman have been able to safeguard just such a stability and remarkable strides towards progress have already been achieved by my country and people. Schools and health clinics have been set up, and Oman has already begun a network of roads to connect its various parts.

125. Ports and telecommunications facilities are now almost completed and many, many projects are now under construction.

126. We realize that we have only just begun the task of laying the basic infrastructure for further economic and social development and we realize that the road ahead will be both long and arduous. But we, the Government and people of Oman, have freely resolved to embark and to persevere on the course of action we have freely chosen. My Government and people will also welcome all economic and technical assistance and investment by foreign States and commercial enterprises, as long as they are in the interest of our economic development as a free and sovereign country. My Government particularly welcomes economic and technical assistance from international organizations, especially the United Nations and its subsidiary agencies, which have such a wealth of experience and know-how.

127. In this context my Government and people will not allow various foreign elements to disrupt the framework of peace, stability and progress that we have freely chosen. These elements seek to divert us and our limited resources from this noble and enlightened path and they hope thereby to retard our economic and social development. We will resist these foreign elements which seek to interfere in our internal affairs and which have openly and shamelessly declared their aggressive and seditious intentions. They harbour nothing but enmity toward our country and people and never cease to slander us. We in Oman will not interfere in the internal affairs of another State. By the same token, we will not stand idly by while another State or various alien elements interfere in our internal affairs.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Al-Said spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

128. My Government's policy with regard to the situation in South Africa is based upon our complete support of the principle of self-determination of African peoples and of our total rejection of the policies of *apartheid* and racism practised by the régime in South Africa. We support the rights of the African people struggling for freedom and independence.

129. I would now like to turn to the situation in the Middle East. The tragic events and continuing crisis in the Middle East impose a special responsibility upon this Organization and it is our profound hope that this year the Members of this body and the members of the Security Council will be able to resolve and enforce a just and permanent peace, for the present crisis in the Middle East poses the greatest threat to world peace and international security and, if you will allow me to add, to the efficacy and credibility of this noble Organization.

130. We believe that no solution to the Middle East crisis can be just or permanent that does not deal with the heart of the situation and its basic causes. The forcible expulsion of the Palestinian nation from their land, and the land of their ancestors, and the creation of an alien racist State that prides itself on its religious exclusivity constitute one of the most tragic and immoral crimes of this century. It was a crime and a blunder that the United Nations has a special responsibility to correct. No solution to the Middle East crisis can be just or permanent that condones and perpetuates the relegation of the Palestinian people to the status of refugees, living on international charity and deprived of their most basic human rights and of their national sovereignty.

131. Israel is the source of terrorism in the Middle East area. How else can we interpret the daily acts of aggression against Lebanon, Syria and Jordan? How else can we interpret the murder of innocent women, children, and the aged and the use of poison gas and napalm by the Israelis? Is this not terrorism?

132. We believe that no solution to the Middle East crisis can be just or permanent that condones and perpetuates the acquisition and annexation of territory by the use or threat of force, or as the Zionists euphemistically call it, "creating facts". Our belief is based not only upon elementary morality but also upon the principles of our Charter and of the most basic tenets of international law.

133. We believe that no solution can be just or permanent that condones and perpetuates the annexation of Arab Jerusalem by a Zionist aggressor. To allow the annexation of the city of peace, the holy city of three major religions, by the Zionists would be an act of eternal desecration of that great city.

134. In this connexion I would now like to appeal to the major Powers of this world to work in the United Nations and outside it for a permanent peace in the Middle East based upon justice. These Powers have often in the past pursued a policy in the area based upon their own strategic and economic interests or upon the wishes of vested interests consisting of vocal and often violent minorities in their own countries. What is required in the Middle East today is a policy in the wider interests of a permanent and

just peace in compliance with the letter and the spirit of our Charter and of international law.

135. It has been an honour and a privilege to have had this opportunity on behalf of Oman to address the General Assembly of the United Nations, which meets now at a delicate and complex time. The nations of the world hope that we will be able to establish a fundamental framework for peace and international harmony. I thank you, Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity to address the General Assembly.

*Mr. Trepczyński (Poland) resumed the Chair.*

136. Mr. GUTIERREZ GUTIERREZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The presence of the illustrious economist and Polish diplomat and politician, Mr. Stanislaw Trepczyński presiding over the General Assembly of the United Nations is an open tribute to his outstanding ability and an implicit tribute to his great country. Poland, the land of heroes and artists, a nation of heroism and sacrifice, has always given us persons of great valour. We are sure that our President will guide the work of our Organization with the hand of a master.

137. I also wish to take this opportunity to express to Mr. Adam Malik the appreciation of my delegation for the wise and correct way in which he presided over the twenty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly.

138. On 1 January of this year, Mr. Kurt Waldheim replaced U Thant as Secretary-General of our Organization. U Thant carried on his shoulders for many years the enormous responsibility as the executive and co-ordinating organ of the United Nations before relinquishing his post. The Bolivian delegation wishes to reiterate our tribute and admiration to the ex-Secretary-General, and we express our hopes for success to Mr. Waldheim, who has arrived at a moment of great concern, of grave risks, but also one of noble hopes and expectations. We trust that Providence will enlighten his mind and that the United Nations, under his administration, will regain the faith and confidence of the peoples of the world under a single ideal of peace and justice.

139. A year ago when I first appeared before this great forum, in speaking of my country I was able to state:

"Revolution is proceeding now in Bolivia on the basis of a unanimous consensus and along the glorious path of full nationalism. It will always be welcome in America, as elsewhere, so long as it preserves its autonomy and the hallmark of genuine authenticity. When the revolution tries to transfer its own sovereignty it becomes anti-national and hence anti-American." [1957th meeting, para. 56.]

140. Today, after a reasonable time has elapsed which has allowed us, as a dynamic young nation to get an over-all view and glimpse the main trends and goals, I can say now that the impression I had then, far from being lost or attenuated, has become clearer, and today the Government is supported by a great majority of the people, which is a source of great satisfaction to those of us who entered into a solemn commitment with history.

141. Bolivia today is living through a glorious moment in its republican history, because it lives in peace and order, which are daily being strengthened, because it is based on the peaceful governing of the national life, on the rebirth of our institutions and on the moral and economic rehabilitation of the country after a number of years of turmoil and of anxiety.

142. I expressed to this Assembly at that time my hope for the flowering of my country. At that time it was a certainty based on faith, on my knowledge as a fighting man and a man who knew my people well. But I was also encouraged because I shared the concerns and the dangers of a leader of outstanding virtues and patriotism, Colonel Hugo Bánzer Suárez, who at that time was beginning his term of office. Today it is different. Intuition based on a sound approach to one's civic duties has given way to a conviction strengthened by what the nationalist régime has done for the people of Bolivia, and I am honoured to represent that nationalist régime in this distinguished gathering today.

143. I digress for a moment because I believe that the United Nations is not, nor can it be, disinterested in what happens among its Member States. In an organization of this nature I believe that there are no irrelevant problems, that mankind's destiny is a single one, and for those of us who compose the international community the hope and disappointments, successes and failures of any Member must affect all the Assembly, which is the home of all where both our joys and our sufferings must be heard.

144. The main concern of the nationalist and popular régime of Bolivia has been to bring law and order to our society. We have guaranteed all forms of freedom, the only restrictions being those that flow from a need to maintain social peace and to fight against all terrorist tactics that had plunged the citizenry into a state of constant fear. Here the Government has been inflexible and severe but just, because the excesses that occurred during the two previous Governments took a heavy toll of innocent victims and brought the country to the brink of chaos.

145. Due to the overweening arrogance of the extremist forces and the impotence of the authorities which were very often guilty of complicity, unprecedented crimes took place in Bolivia, including the cowardly crimes that caused victims among journalists, the assassination of the peasants' leaders, the trials of the combatants who were accused of desertion, and the kidnappings that, on the pretext of raising money for subversion, paved the way for a new form of extortion hitherto unknown in my country.

146. The basic desire of my Government to encourage the rule of law and the unimpeachable majesty of the courts of justice led to the enactment of a new organic law of the judiciary. This body of law is based on a broad sense of humanism, and in accordance with the most modern of juridical techniques, gives added vigour to procedural and administrative acts for more speedy and just administration of justice.

147. But we did not stop there. The Republic of Bolívar and Sucre was living under the ancient codes of the Napoleonic law proclaimed by Marshal Andrés de Santa

Cruz, whose name they bear. But in a spirit of juridical renaissance, President Bánzer has just prepared the new books of law in Bolivia that will enable him to remain in office as a wise and intelligent leader.

148. Another problem that we tackled with decision and courage, as well as with probity and patriotism, is that of the reopening of the universities. The new statute of the Bolivian university was received with obvious enthusiasm, and it returns to the university its specific function to promote cultural growth and education. Without in any way impinging on the university's autonomy, in the true revolutionary and humanistic sense, but on the other hand, defending its authority and its right to disseminate ideas, the universities have resumed their specific activities in an atmosphere of security and with guarantees for all those who come to the classrooms with the sincere intention of receiving training in the arts and letters, in science and in technical fields. It is with great satisfaction that I can declare that we have restored to the university its high standing, and we are sure that, after the experience acquired in the recent past when it was turned into a terrorist arsenal and a laboratory for nefarious subversive practices, such shameful and criminal acts will never recur.

149. I want clearly to state to this world-wide gathering, where the fate of man on earth is at issue, that in Bolivia we have the widest freedom of opinion. No one is persecuted for his ideas. Human intelligence is not imprisoned in dogmatic cells or sectarian moulds. We prefer to run the risk of freedom of expression, the source of culture and the cradle of mankind's growing civilization. We firmly believe that economic and social development must be agreed to and shared and not the result of imposed decisions. Those who suffered sanctions did so not because they disagreed with the Government or because they professed one doctrine or another, but because of the degree of danger that they represented to the life of the nation.

150. Thanks to the moral authority with which the Government is now acting, and its determination to defend peace and fraternity among Bolivians, my country has taken a stride forward in the material achievements leading to economic development.

151. Here we might mention the completion of the oil pipeline that carries 150 million cubic feet of gas a day from the eastern part of Bolivia to Argentina. Because of the chauvinistic demagogy of the previous Government, this work had been long held up and the national economy seriously damaged.

152. In the course of the year that has elapsed a number of estimates have been requested regarding wide-scale industrial projects, such as the oil plant in Villamontes, in the Department of Tarija, which calls for the sizable investment of \$12 million.

153. Another project under way is the construction of silos for grains that has recently been signed in the city of Santa Cruz with a very important and trustworthy Colombian firm. And thus our agricultural workers will have a modern system of storage for their products and enjoy better marketing conditions.



154. We might also mention the volatilization plant that has been established in order to improve the grade of our minerals for export; this has been done with the efficient co-operation of the Soviet Union. The smelting plant of Vinto has been expanded with the technical and financial assistance of the Federal Republic of Germany. This will be a true liberation from the economic dependency which was keeping us in the position of a country that only produced raw materials.

155. Quite apart from all this is the highway from Cochabamba to Villa Tunari and from Puerto Villarroel to Puerto Patiño, roads known as 1 and 4, which, from primitive roads to the fertile area of the Chapare, have been converted into first-class paved roads. I am sure that they will very soon be a powerful factor in helping to promote national integration.

156. The Abapó-Izozog project, designed immediately to irrigate 300,000 hectares, with this figure being raised soon to 2 million, has also been provided with considerable finances. Once this irrigation project is concluded, Bolivia will export products of the land and we shall carry out great settlement work and shall have sufficient foodstuffs. This will save currency, today being spent in the amount of \$40 million a year, for the purchase of food.

157. Hospitals, new roads linking zones and provinces that are today far removed from progress and the productive activity of the nation, public works of local progress, exploration of underground waters in the plateau for the purpose of irrigation, freezing plants, highways, mining camps and settlements, schools, the draining of rivers, national and international airports such as that of Viru-Viru, with an investment of more than \$16 million, city halls, the paving of cities, the urbanization of rural areas—these and many other works very difficult to list in a speech of this nature reflect the beneficent and progressive work of the State at present.

158. I should like to give a brief outline of the important and significant contribution of private enterprise to the creative efforts of the Government. It has not been alien to the great changes going on. Indeed, it has shown great social awareness as well as a great sense of historic and patriotic responsibility. Without the assistance of private enterprise, it is obvious that national progress would limp along and would be unilateral and it would not be in keeping with a society that belongs to the Western world by its philosophy and its fundamental structures. In the area of cotton alone, despite difficult climatic and other conditions and adverse circumstances, employment and the volume exported this year lived up to what had been planned in March.

159. We have increased capital and reinvestment as announced by the national bank and foreign banks, which provided financing in the amount of \$12 million to the Mining Corporation of Bolivia, which is in charge of the nationalized mines.

160. Eighty-two new large, medium, and small industries have been set up in my country. The National Institute of Investments is at present weighing 48 new projects with a total investment of \$35 million. It is an organ to encourage

new fields which offer opportunities for foreign capital and to guarantee its flow to the country.

161. The spontaneous contribution of private industry of 10 per cent of its profits for the encouragement of new projects in a few months has provided considerable amounts of capital. The interest of investors from Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and other countries has been awakened, and we have thus set up binational companies for the development of certain industrial projects.

162. These and other initiatives of the private sector in such a short time are already eloquent proof of the confidence that has been awakened in the minds of investors by the popular and nationalist régime directed by Colonel Bánzer, with its sights set squarely on a great future for the Americas and the world.

163. As my Government has carried out intensive work to ensure harmony in the Bolivian family and also to encourage development, we have not overlooked projecting Bolivia's image to the outside world. The President of the Bolivian people has made State visits to the leaders of Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay. At these interviews, which went beyond mere formalities, the most important aspects of bilateral relations were studied. Principles of an international nature were reaffirmed. Future action was projected, both in regional and subregional relations and with regard to our contribution to the maintenance of peace and the settlement of the grave problems that endanger our civilization.

164. These bilateral relations at all diplomatic levels have been established with our continental and geographical neighbours. We do not carry out a policy of preferences but one of harmony, complementing the economies of the other Latin American countries. Thus, with Peru last year we submitted to the Inter-American Development Bank a request for credits to finance the paved road between Ilo and La Paz. With the Buenos Aires Government we agreed to carry on the construction of the road that links Bermejo with Tarija and Potosí. With the nationalist administration of Paraguay, led by General Alfredo Stroessner, we have agreed on the necessity of immediately completing the trans-Chaco road and linking it with the Bolivian roads of Santa Cruz and Sucre, which would bring the Pan-American highway and the marginal road of the forests to the capital of Asunción, which presided over the task of opening up and settling the Río de la Plata region in colonial times. At the same time, we have been pursuing a similar policy with Brazil, the country of Pedro II, Río Branco and Ruy Barbosa. With that Government, we have planned to link up the eastern network of Bolivia with the western network, thereby joining Santa Cruz de la Sierra with the terminal point of the railroad of Cochabamba. This is an important undertaking for Bolivians, on which we base our policy of national unity and also our policy of promoting our development, a task that cannot be postponed any longer. Similarly, an undertaking of continental significance is the linking of our countries and also the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It is an undertaking that has its important and transcendental counterpart in the railroad going from Santa Cruz to Trinidad in the north, which was carried out by Argentina and which will link the plateau with the Amazon,

thus bringing a fertile land into international trade and joining peoples in the common task of working together for the future of the Americas.

165. Yes, Bolivia, located in the very heart of South America, will be criss-crossed by international traffic in the future and will provide shorter routes from the Strait of Magellan and the Panama Canal for certain countries.

166. That is our function today and our destiny. We are the bridge between the coastal countries of our hemisphere, bringing new benefits to mankind. To fulfil this function and destiny, we count on the enlightened understanding of our neighbours and the forthright co-operation of their distinguished leaders.

167. The visit to Bolivia of the Foreign Minister of Colombia, Mr. Alfredo Vásquez Carrizosa, opened up a new stage in the relations between my country and the country of Santander, whose armies covered themselves with glory in Junin and Ayacucho, consolidating the independence of upper Peru. That visit led to the creation of a joint commission to study trade relations between the two nations. There is also the forthcoming trip of the Foreign Minister of Ecuador, Mr. Lucio Paredes, to my country, which will link even more closely the peoples that saw the fame of Sucre in Pichincha and Potosí.

168. A separate subject is the foreign policy of Bolivia vis-à-vis Chile. This year, in accordance with what was stated by me last year [1957th meeting], we have started an open dialogue with representatives of the Government of the Palace of La Moneda by the establishment of a joint committee. It is by directly studying the factors of integration that Chile and Bolivia can unite, over and above whatever differences we may have, so that we may arrive at a policy of understanding. There are no insoluble problems or insurmountable differences. Reason, which persuades men and peoples, can lead us to modern and constructive ideas. Security does not lie in our own capacity to commit aggression or to defend ourselves, but in joining our efforts with those of others and putting together the resources we have. For all those reasons, I wish to express my hope here that through sound integrationist reasoning, within the framework of the Andean Pact, Bolivia and Chile will find a way to unite and build a better tomorrow.

169. In times like these, characterized by the principle of universality, there can be no partisan or exclusionary positions. The La Paz Government, convinced of this, is cultivating relations with all those countries that express a desire therefor. We are closely tied diplomatically and commercially to the members of the capitalist as well as the socialist communities. A number of cultural agreements and agreements of technical assistance and scientific co-operation and exchange are eloquent proof of this and they represent what we trust is a far-sighted policy.

170. This conduct in no way jeopardizes our doctrines. Today the peoples of the world cannot ignore one another for we all need one another. Man has awakened to a new era in which he has decided to improve his future and widen his sphere of action in the universe. But to do this the combined efforts of all nations are necessary. The

struggle to conquer outer space has confronted us with a new reality, and that is that our limited frontiers are narrow and egotistical. We can no longer say that our State is ours and concerns us alone. The commitment not to interfere in the affairs of other countries become today more understandable and categorical. We trust that all Governments will act accordingly and thus ensure fraternity throughout the world.

171. In keeping with this universalist philosophy I must refer specifically to the relations which Bolivia would hope to establish with the prodigious constellations of countries of Africa that victoriously have entered the international community. It is an ancient world which appears new, a continent pillaged for centuries that is now emerging to civilization and culture with the formidable talent of a race that is equal to any and which in a very short time has given proof of such creative capacity. The African nations are beginning to be heard when great historic decisions are made and their importance will continue to increase. Therefore it is our duty to offer them cordial and fruitful ties of friendship.

172. From this experience to which I have referred so briefly my Government has arrived at a very favourable conclusion as to the meaning of this international Organization. Its deficiencies are doubtless many. It may well be that it lacks sufficient decision-making power. But it is a positive fact that it exists and that in its short existence it has fostered the birth of many nations.

173. This fully justifies the existence of the United Nations. It is an Organization that can not only bring together almost all of the nations of the world but constantly create new States in the everlasting struggle against colonialism. It is a living, dynamic organization, in keeping with the aspirations and the desires of the peoples. The harmonization of the widely differing interests of Member States is indeed a complex undertaking. These are sovereign wills that should try to act in concert to maintain peace, but we must have faith that full knowledge of the risks of a modern war will permit the United Nations to strengthen itself as a universal parliament in which nations compare their interests and try to find harmonious positions in the interests of civilization.

174. Bolivia was represented at the meetings of the third session of UNCTAD, at the Second Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in Lima, which preceded them and at the meetings of the non-aligned countries, to which we brought our sincere aspiration for political plurality in international relations, mutual respect and friendship for all the nations of the world and indefatigable defence of the self-determination of peoples and the rejection of any form of dependence.

175. My country believes that we have fully carried out our obligations as a Member of the United Nations, because our presence in this building is a consequence not of fleeting circumstances but of profound democratic conviction.

176. We believe that the Charter is a basic document for peace among peoples and for the rule of social justice, without hegemonies, without exclusive sectarianism,

without unfounded privileges and based only on the law. If all the Members of this great conclave of nations were to proclaim our faith in the Charter, if we were all to combine to comply with the terms of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I believe that mankind would have gone far towards the achievement of permanent peace. Unfortunately that is not the case. We are still living in a dangerous period of armed peace, a peace based more on fear than on love.

177. We have the Charter and we recognize that it is a most valuable instrument of understanding and harmony, but we lack the decision and the sincerity to comply with it in all its aspects instead of just when it is in line with our interests. The Charter must not become a mere expression of hope or of an unattainable Utopia. But that will depend not so much on the smaller nations as on those that have the resources of power; it will depend on the great Powers.

178. My country, together with all the other countries of Latin America, has subscribed to and ratified the Treaty of Tlatelolco.<sup>9</sup> We, the Latin American nations, are still on the threshold of the atomic era. To a great extent that might appear to be one more disadvantage that separates us from the developed countries, but if we consider the substance of the problem we must agree that it is instead an advantage. We hope for and desire reactors and laboratories where we can take advantage of this marvellous source of energy for peaceful purposes while still preserving our geographical area from nuclear pollution. In this connexion our position is firm and determined and we supported Peru and other countries which expressed their justifiable fears a short while ago when France exploded nuclear devices over the Pacific.

179. So far the Protocol to the Treaty of Tlatelolco has been acceded to only by the United States of America and the United Kingdom. My Government considers that the Latin American aspiration to isolate our geographical area from the dangers of radiation is perfectly justifiable. Therefore I would remind those countries which have added nuclear weapons to their arsenals that Latin America fervently desires to see the Treaty of Tlatelolco strengthened by the firm adherence of others.

180. On the initiative of Ceylon and the United Republic of Tanzania the General Assembly last year declared the Indian Ocean a zone of peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. My delegation believes that this felicitous idea should be applied to other seas and continents which have so far been spared the dangers of war. In this way we should be preserving geographical sectors, and would thus be able to isolate areas of conflict so as to eliminate the germs that generate danger.

181. Latin America, which gave proof of its peaceful spirit with the Treaty of Tlatelolco, would be very interested in a similar declaration regarding the Indo-American area.

182. The history of the world could well be summed up in one phrase: man's struggle for freedom; for without

freedom there is no dignity, since in indigence man can only be humiliated and not free. Man has always struggled for this inalienable right, which is just as much part of his vital needs as air, or bread, or water, and he has done so devotedly. As Jesus exalted the most humble and preached equality among men, so my country rebelled against the authoritarian Powers and liberated itself from a slavery which it could not bear. Thus we follow with great interest the process of independence in which many peoples of the world are involved. We are aware that misery and oppression spawn rebellion, but we consider rebellion to be the last stage in justified protest. If the dikes of prudence and fear are shattered and man engages in a heroic undertaking against his oppressors, he must meet them face to face. The struggle against misery is always unequal as far as means are concerned, but it is usually impelled by an ideal and the powerful stimulus that is given by the knowledge that the fight is in a just cause.

183. But terrorism is not that. When you struggle for the rule of justice in the world it is neither lawful nor human nor acceptable, nor even tolerable, to compensate for the hunger for change by the sacrifice of innocent victims who have nothing to do with the maintenance of the situation that is being fought against. The greed for power very often hides in the most extreme tendencies. It seeks supporters among the disgruntled. Psychology is made to serve politics and becomes a very powerful weapon.

184. In this international parliament I must speak sincerely and with vehemence against the use of these practices, which are an affront to our civilization. Today more than ever before the oppressed people have a rostrum here from which to denounce their oppressors. Each year, at each Assembly, we hear denunciations of abuses by the strong against the weak.

185. This means that the peoples which struggle are not without means. The international community has not turned a deaf ear to their cries. Furthermore, there are always institutions, peoples and individuals ready to assist them to achieve the justice to which they aspire and are entitled. Therefore, we cannot complacently watch acts of insanity such as those that recently shocked the world, because the victims were not those who caused the sufferings but were merely the victims of an outpouring of irresponsible hatred.

186. My Government believes that the United Nations should put an end to this new type of violence, particularly because it is premeditated, evil and destructive; it seeks its victims among those who have nothing to do with the problem, as though cruelty wished to drink the blood not only of its chosen victims, but also of humanity as a whole.

187. I should like now to refer to the fight against pollution. At the recent United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, this problem was debated at length; but the problem calls also for some comments from us. We must recognize right away that the concern must be shared by all men. Its significance could be compared to the concern of an astronaut on this spaceship which we call earth. He, too, must worry about his environment, means of life and safety during this extraordinary adventure of life.

<sup>9</sup> Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068.

188. We agree with principle 20 of the Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.<sup>10</sup> It is quite in keeping with the Declaration of Asunción, approved on 3 June 1971 at the Fourth Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Plata Basin. In the matter of the utilization of international waters, the up-river countries must do whatever is necessary to meet their needs, with the sole condition of not causing tangible damage to the nations down-river. This principle, added to the principle of not changing the river bed from one geographical basin to another is a doctrinal concept that Bolivia has consistently supported, in keeping with universal principles of law and reason.

189. Although there is a general trend today not to accept the creation of new international organs because of the burden they represent for Member States, we believe that the case for creating a small body to study the human environment is one worthy of applause. The suggestion by the United States has the widest support of my delegation since it fills a felt need.

190. One final comment. With reference to the question of pollution, it is only natural that this phenomenon alarms those countries suffering from it. We are speaking of the highly industrialized nations. But it is for us to tell them that in the young and still unexplored continents of Africa and America there is sufficient green space, the necessary oxygen and it is neither rare nor contaminated. In our opulent land can be built new industries without endangering human health. Those industries, in the process of industrial deconcentration and promoting the development of the backward countries, could strengthen their economies and lessen the degree of their dependence.

191. This does not mean that we are unaware of the situation of the countries and cities which suffer from the pollution of their environment. We are at one with them in their search for adequate solutions.

192. From the very moment when, on the initiative of Malta, the question of the sea-bed and the ocean floor was raised in the United Nations, Bolivia has taken a great interest in that question. We were elected a member of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction and our representatives have contributed greatly to clarifying the problems of land-locked countries as far as the sea is concerned.

193. This concern over the questions of the sea by a country which has no coast is neither paradoxical nor extraordinary. Bolivia, together with the other land-locked countries, has a direct, immediate and urgent interest in anything that deals with the oceans of the world.

194. Our participation in the clarification of those problems will not—for obvious reasons which we consider circumstantial at the moment—be extended to questions relating to the width of the territorial sea, the continental shelf, fishing or international straits, on which we lack experience. We will therefore limit our discussion to the

questions of land-locked countries, their consequences and possible solutions.

195. The process of elaborating principles in the legal field is now under way. The recognition of the sea as belonging to mankind is a positive fact. That means that the wealth of the sea-bed is the common heritage of mankind.

196. We must note that the practical application of those truths is very unequal and, in some cases, non-existent. Although the land-locked countries were ignored in the past, since the Barcelona Agreement and the Geneva Conference of 1958 the international community has turned its attention to the problems confronted by the land-locked countries. We must recognize, however, that the principles thus far approved are deficient. We must, without referring to the specific condition of each land-locked country, recognize the general nature of the right of all countries to benefit from the use of the wealth drawn from the oceans and the rivers; otherwise the universality of the sea would be purely nominal so far as the land-locked countries are concerned and their possibility of utilizing the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor would be illusory.

197. Naturally, in the exercise of those rights in one case as well as in another, there must be different characteristics and features, and their legal formulation is the second point that must be considered by the General Assembly and the sea-bed Committee.

198. Some of these concepts have already been included in the topics and issues to be dealt with at the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea at the plenipotentiary level. We have contributed drafts and amendments which, fortunately, to a large extent were accepted at the Geneva meetings. We expect to put forth those same concepts in this Assembly in the forthcoming meetings of the sea-bed Committee and particularly at the conference of plenipotentiaries in 1973, whose convening we support.

199. Only a few more words, addressed particularly to my colleagues the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the permanent representatives of the other land-locked nations. My Government considers it right and proper that, in the course of the present year and prior to the holding of the conference of plenipotentiaries, the land-locked countries meet to study joint formulations which while improving their depressing geographical situation are acceptable to the coastal States. We know that there are various regional realities which require different approaches; but we must recognize that they must be in keeping with certain principles of universal validity. Therefore, my Government intends to act systematically and to make the necessary efforts to make possible the conference of the land-locked countries. In due course we will hold the necessary consultations.

200. In the meantime, we want to draw attention to the two resolutions approved at Santiago during the third session of UNCTAD.<sup>11</sup> They place a singular responsibility

<sup>10</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chap. I.

<sup>11</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), annex I.A, resolutions 51 (III) and 52 (III).



on the land-locked countries to ensure implementation. The first refers to the danger to the under-developed countries of the exploitation of minerals on the sea-bed; and the second warns the industrialized nations that no claims based on past, present or future activities over any part of the zone or its resources will be entertained, and appeals to those States which have made such claims to refrain from doing so until an international régime governing exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor has been established.

201. Land is a universal common asset; and, therefore, it is natural and logical that the sea and its wealth also be considered the general heritage of mankind, to be used for the benefit of all nations. This same general idea relates to what we said last year in our statement concerning the economic equality of States, in keeping with the principle of their legal and sovereign equality. We must say the same regarding the Mexican proposal made during the third session of UNCTAD for the drafting of a charter of the economic rights and duties of States. The daring idea of collective economic security put forward by the Brazilian delegation [2038th meeting] is in keeping with the same idea. By studying these ideas and discerning these fraternal purposes, we are led to believe that mankind is heading towards a future of peace and wider international justice. Success in mankind's earnest efforts for a better future depends, in the last analysis, on the determination of the great Powers and on the understanding their leaders show in assisting the development of the less favoured nations of the world.

202. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call in turn on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

203. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to thank you for having given us the floor at this stage of the debate. We likewise wish to point out that since Burundi acceded to independence 10 years ago, this is the very first time that it has found it necessary to exercise its right of reply. We had put our name down to speak next week, but we must speak now as a result of the statement this morning by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the sister Republic of Rwanda [2054th meeting].

204. Some years ago—and here I address myself especially to the members of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]—when genocide without equal in the history of mankind ravaged Rwanda from 1959 to 1964, that is for six years, Burundi did not find it appropriate to bring to the United Nations a problem that could be settled amicably and in a brotherly atmosphere within the OAU. Today, we regret very strongly that the events which bloodied Rwanda have now affected Burundi and that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rwanda has had the audacity to accuse Burundi repeatedly this morning, even though the events themselves which occurred in Burundi found their inspiration in Rwanda as a result of the actions of certain elements, both foreign and national, which found it appropriate to plagiarize Rwanda's ethnic attitudes in our territory. Since, much to our regret, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of a neighbouring country has raised this problem,

we will describe the situation with documents in support of our statements and with references used as evidence.

205. First of all, on the assumption that in Burundi there is allegedly a minority ethnic group which oppresses a majority ethnic group, according to the words used by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rwanda, Mr. Munyaneza, I would briefly like to sketch, in a few words, the political development of the Foreign Minister of Rwanda. He was at the College of Saint-Esprit of Burundi, sitting side by side with the present President of the Republic. Therefore, assuming there is a feudal minority, since he apparently is a commoner, how could he have been sitting at the same school bench and eating at the same table as our present Chief of State, who is a nobleman according to the description of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rwanda?

206. So it was in the 1960s, before the accession of Burundi and Rwanda to independence, that Mr. Munyaneza, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rwanda, precipitately left the College of Saint-Esprit where he received his education. He went to Rwanda where he was appointed Prefect of the Chyangungu Prefecture and where he conducted massacres of the bloodiest nature. Having been educated in Burundi, his ingratitude vis-à-vis our country should have been less marked.

207. Since the events of May last, at our request in the letter addressed by me to the Secretary-General of the United Nations dated 25 May last, the Secretary-General sent out a mission at the head of which was an African who distinguished himself in his services to Africa and to the United Nations, Mr. Djermakoye. Following upon that mission, a second one was sent by the Secretary-General for an assessment of the damage done by the invaders. And who were these invaders? These invaders were foreigners with whom Burundi elements had become associated, and these Burundi elements had attended school in Rwanda—Rwanda which participated in, and indeed inspired, the events that plunged our country into mourning.

208. In the interests of African solidarity and in defence of human dignity, we believe that it happens in the course of history that a country makes mistakes. In spite of the noise and fuss that the Minister of Foreign Affairs has indulged in over the past months here and in several countries in Asia and Europe, his principal preoccupation seems to be the striking defeat which the people and Government of Burundi had inflicted upon the assailants. In view of this foreign inspiration, particularly of Rwanda, we understand the delicate situation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of that country since we are not the only ones to have experienced this import into Burundi of a tribal parody or ethnic plagiarism from Rwanda.

209. In connexion with the massacres which took place from 1959 to 1964 I should like to quote a document which was written, not by Burundians, but by people who are foreigners both to Burundi and to Rwanda. I would refer the Assembly to the book entitled *Massacre in Rwanda*, by Aaron Segal, written in 1964. I shall merely quote a passage from that book:

“The exact numbers killed will never be known. The local population, using whatever arms were available,



mostly hoes and long whetted knives for cutting grass known as pangas, caused hideous atrocities and mutilations. Bodies were thrown into nearby rivers and streams, dumped in piles along the side of the road, and left to be scavenged by wild animals.”<sup>12</sup>

210. This is what another author, Mr. René Lemarchand, who is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida, wrote in his book entitled *Social Change and Political Modernization in Rwanda*:

“When you compare the recent evolution in Burundi and that of Rwanda you will note that the latter”—the Rwanda development—“which better than any other African State has conformed to the ideal design of the hierarchic authority . . . has crumbled in one of the most violent racial turbulences which has ever been noted in colonial Africa.”

211. I should like to add here what was written by a group of writers in a book regrettably entitled *Africa, Addio* where the stress is placed upon Rwanda as being a particularly special case. After having quoted that, we shall come to conclusions in order to see from where the events in Burundi came.

212. This book refers in the first place to PARMEHUTU and in this connexion I should explain that PARMEHUTU is the only party in Rwanda and Rwanda is the only country on our planet which has only one ethnic group in its party; I invite all the representatives present here and those who are not to tell me if on our planet any other country exists where all the political organs are tribalized. In Rwanda—and this is the work of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and his colleagues—all political institutions are “Huticized”. The Government is exclusively Hutu, the Parliament is exclusively Hutu. It is truly the height of scandal, for have you ever seen, except for Rwanda, a country with a political party which is exclusively the preserve of a single ethnic group?

213. We are ready to invite the United Nations—and I declare this solemnly and officially on behalf of my Government—to send a mission to Burundi. If the United Nations ascertains that even the Government is exclusively ethnic in character, we will then have disappointed the United Nations and dishonoured mankind. Our successive Governments have included representatives of both ethnic groups which in reality and on the scientific and ethnic levels are only one, as I shall shortly demonstrate.

214. I shall now cite what has happened in Rwanda, which unfortunately influenced the situation in Burundi. On several occasions attempts at genocide inspired from the outside, particularly from Rwanda, have failed because of the national and ethnic cohesion of the Burundi people. This is what took place in Rwanda—and I shall quote from the authors to whom I referred earlier:

“Contrary to UNAR”—that is the party which calls itself the National Rwanda Union—“the PARMEHUTU”

—whose nature and objectives I have just described—“struck at the base by launching its partisans who were armed with bows and arrows, sticks, stones, sabres, pangas and hoes as if they knew how they would inherit the earth. The Hutus . . . spread out into the countryside burning and killing. The Watutsis did not have enough strength to fight against the Hutu hordes.”

I continue:

“All those who had been pointed out were shot. The same thing happened to the majority of the deputies of UNAR in the National Assembly and to the leaders of that Party. For those who were arrested conditions were distressing. At Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, 15 political prisoners were stuffed into a minute underground cell where they died of suffocation. The actions of the Ministers . . . launched the 2.5 million Hutus from Rwanda into another orgy of brutality and murder. Having taken up their sticks, their maces, their hoes, their lances and their pangas, the Hutu bands spread out through the mountains and streams in Rwanda. Watutsi villages were completely exterminated and wiped out. The Watutsis were beaten to death, beheaded, burned alive, cut into pieces, or thrown into waters infested with crocodiles after having been bound, with their heads resting on their knees. Children were impaled, women cut to pieces, a number of men had their legs amputated at the knee ‘in order to cut them down to our size’ as one Hutu explained, and left to die of haemorrhages. All the others were assassinated in the most atrocious fashion . . . according to the most moderate estimates, 50,000 Watutsis were exterminated, whereas the maximum figure might run as high as 130,000 or even 150,000. The most probable number of Watutsis massacred would be of the order of from 80,000 to 100,000.”

215. Here I wish to tell you that the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi itself reported to the General Assembly on the fundamental difference existing between the social and political system in Burundi and that of Rwanda. Thus, in a report made to the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, the United Nations Commission for Rwanda-Urundi said:

“In Rwanda, on the other hand, a Government had been brought to power which had from the outset followed violent methods, and which had been actively supported from its foundation by the Administering Authority.”<sup>13</sup>

216. A few moments ago I said that the events that had taken place in Burundi were largely inspired from the outside, particularly from Rwanda. I should like to refer members to *Le Monde Diplomatique* of June last, in which it was said that events in Rwanda had had a negative influence upon the social and political development of Burundi. I quote:

“The model of Rwanda has in any event played a particularly unfortunate role in the contemporary development of Burundi. It will be recalled that the establish-

<sup>12</sup> Aaron Segal, *Massacre in Rwanda*, Fabian Research Series 240 (London, Fabian Society, April 1964), p. 15. Quoted in English by the speaker.

<sup>13</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes*, second addendum to agenda item 49, document A/5126, para. 296.

ment of a Hutu power in Rwanda was accompanied between 1959 and 1963 by a series of massacres and the exile from that country of several tens of thousands of Watutsis. That is why 50,000 such refugees are to be found in Burundi.”

217. I should like to emphasize that early in the 1960s the number of Rwandese refugees in the neighbouring countries ran as high as several hundred thousand persons. In the early 1960s, 100,000 Rwandese refugees came to Burundi alone.

218. I apologize to my colleagues for having gone into some detail, despite the lack of time, in order to give them a crude though accurate picture. We shall have, moreover, many occasions to do so if the delegation of Rwanda and, in particular, its Foreign Minister, so desire.

219. I should like to point out that at the time of the summit meeting of the OAU Rwanda was the only country to oppose—through its Foreign Minister—the message of solidarity and friendship which the members of the OAU unanimously sent us. It was a strange mark of gratitude to a country that was its cradle and to a chief of State who was the classmate of that Foreign Minister.

220. I may go further. We understand that the Minister for Foreign Affairs does indeed know the number of victims—of which neither the Government of Burundi nor other sources of information are aware—because of what the agents of Rwanda, dispatched to our territory in order to participate in the genocide I have described, have been able to report to Rwanda. For our part, we know through our calculations, body counts and visits that 50,000 were massacred during the first seven days of the vandalism launched from the outside with the support of elements that are the wards of Rwanda on our territory.

221. Since there were 20,000 of them, we must also express our profound regret that on the battlefield the aggressors lost virtually all 20,000 persons from the number of assailants that had been sent out. Unfortunately, that brings the total number to somewhere between 60,000 and 80,000 victims. Of course, Rwanda is better informed of the figures since it was represented among the agents of subversion and vandalism who were present there.

222. As for the ethnic percentage, we wish to ask how Rwanda—and especially its Minister for Foreign Affairs—can challenge the stark facts noted by foreigners. For instance, the Minister for Foreign Affairs has spoken here of the majority and the minority. In Burundi, as in all the countries of the world, one cannot speak of a majority except in the context of political parties confronting each other during elections, or in the case of a competition leading to accession to political posts. That is what is normally understood by “majority” throughout the world—with the exception of Rwanda, of course.

223. Can we, in Burundi—where all men are brothers—return now to the Stone Age and require that a tribe exercise power to the exclusion of any other ethnic group? I invite the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rwanda to propose, as we do, that the United Nations should undertake an investigation in Rwanda.

224. And I should like to ask him the following questions. First, how many other Rwandese, apart from the Hutus, are represented in the Government? Secondly, how many other Rwandese, apart from Hutus, are represented in the Parliament? Thirdly, how many Rwandese, apart from Hutus, are represented in the governing organs of PARMEHUTU party which, as the name itself implies, is the party of the Hutus?

225. In the same context, we would invite the United Nations, which in 1961 supervised the general legislative elections that took place there, to visit our country in order to see whether the party is composed exclusively of a single ethnic group. Everybody knows—it is to be found in United Nations reports—that of 64 seats the UPRONA party still in power gained 58 in a landslide victory. And those elections were supervised by the United Nations, specifically by Miss Brooks of Liberia, to whose objectivity I wish to pay a tribute.

226. If it were a question of a minority, then, how could a whole nation—as much as 94 per cent—have brought the present régime, the UPRONA, to power? We wish to ask that question, and to see whether the Minister for Foreign Affairs can reply. Could a minority have succeeded in obtaining 94 per cent? On the other hand, a mosaic of political parties sponsored from the outside garnered only a very limited percentage—6 seats out of 64, which represents half a seat for each political party. I would ask the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rwanda to say whether these things did not in fact happen in the way I have just described.

227. We believe that we in Burundi are justified in understanding that there is only one ethnic group. According to science and ethnology, by “ethnic group” is meant a group of people speaking the same language, belonging to the same culture and civilization. Burundi fulfils all those requirements. We invite the United Nations to undertake an investigation on this subject also. For the 5.5 million inhabitants of Burundi there is no dialect; all Burundians speak the same language. On our continent that constitutes quite an achievement, if not a unique phenomenon.

228. Thus, if anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists and even dictionaries define “ethnic group” as a group of people who fulfil the requirements I have just mentioned, why would Burundi be denied the right to be called an ethnic group? I would go further. Even before the introduction of Catholicism and Protestantism, Burundi had an identity of religious beliefs. Today we have identical economic and social conditions.

229. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rwanda spoke here [2054th meeting] of a “feudal minority”. Does he not know that Burundi toppled its monarchy on 28 November 1966? Today, this minority “sure of itself” of which they speak is an entirely imaginary minority. The Foreign Minister of Rwanda has lived in Burundi. As for myself, when I was six years old, I worked with my own hands. I went to school and I went to the fields to work, alternating between the two. I would therefore like to ask him if in the field of economic and social affairs, the Minister for Foreign Affairs could affirm that President Micombero,

who was his classmate, was not born under circumstances identical to those in which he himself was born. I would also ask that an investigation be made on this score. I should like to add that when the United Nations Special Mission was in Burundi in June I showed them the hill where the President of the Republic was born and the conditions in which he lived, both economically and socially speaking. I challenge the Foreign Minister to refute this. The economic and social conditions are still identical today—at the very time I am speaking to you—between those who politically were qualified as “Tutsis” and those who were qualified as “Hutus”.

230. This method of cataloging Burundians had a political goal in mind, in other words, it was designed to create a political bandwagon. And politically, for some, especially those who received education in certain countries, a distinction was drawn indeed between those known as Tutsis and those known as Hutus.

231. It can be seen, therefore, that both politically as well as economically we are open to any investigation in order that light be shed on all of this. We would wish for this to be done both in Rwanda and in Burundi so as to establish the truth; and we would wish—and that remains our wish—that the matter be dealt with in the OAU, if the fraternity that is typical of Africans is to be respected and safeguarded.

232. If the dictionaries list all French from France as constituting a unit—a national identity—why do otherwise with Burundi? I picked this case at random. In France there are many immigrants from many countries. I cannot list them because they are too numerous. In Burundi, since the thirteenth century the Hutus and the Tutsis have lived in an almost ethnic osmosis. I now address myself to the Foreign Minister of Rwanda in citing the words of the last Resident-General, Mr. Jean-Paul Harroy, who as is known, was not favourably inclined towards Burundi, particularly after the 1961 elections which led to changes contrary to his expectations.

233. When I speak of Jean-Paul Harroy, I would not like by that to link his action with that of Belgium to which I pay a tribute, in particular, for its most recent attitude; my country has renewed its agreements with Belgium little less than a week ago. The Belgian Government, despite solicitations, intense pressures from Rwanda and the Christian trade unions, nevertheless made an objective study of the matter and refused to take sides against the Government of Burundi, knowing full well that the latter had to repel genocide directed against the 5.5 million Burundians.

234. Recently, we accompanied Mr. Jean-Paul Harroy to the Kigali airport and, during the long trip, he told me this which will show you that in Burundi, percentages, with regard to ethnic symbiosis, with regard to racial brews, are not those of Rwanda. This is the reason why we ask Rwanda not to export this racial farce in order for us to import it into Burundi. Mr. Harroy, who governed Burundi for a decade told me, and I asked him to repeat it in order to take note of it word for word, and you will realize that it is not properly speaking a compliment, since his personal

view is that the non-existence of ethnic lines in Burundi is bad:

“In Burundi, the situation is more complicated; there were many mixtures, a great many mixtures. It would be truly impossible to know to which ethnic group you belong.”

He added that if the situation in Burundi is more complicated:

“... it is in contrast to Rwanda, where criteria of differentiation between Hutu and Tutsi were exploited so as to kindle and stir tribal passions . . . The stature of the Tutsi”—inasmuch as this was one of the criteria used to catalogue all of them—“was brought about in Rwanda through the use of special procedures for stretching the limbs during early infancy and by an original nutritional system based on milk, both of which account for the height of two meters two centimeters and two meters three centimeters respectively of the two former kings of Rwanda, Mutara and Kigeliv.”

I asked him how it had been possible to catalogue the Tutsis and the Hutus in Rwanda and Burundi, since no censuses had ever been held. He replied that the colonial authorities “resorted to sample surveys in order to determine the number of Hutus and Tutsis and the ethnic groupings”. In our country, however, this system was not successful.

235. I would like to conclude by saying that after this clarification you will all realize that in Burundi the ethnic situation, the political situation, is basically and radically different to what it is in Rwanda and, therefore, it would not be a good idea for anyone to attempt to impose upon us a system exported from elsewhere. The sole reason why the Burundi people and Government have for the third time succeeded in counteracting genocide instigated from the outside, is due precisely to this ethnic situation, this millenary cohesion that exists in the country.

236. You thus have seen a picture of the Burundi nation. We have but one single ethnic basis, ethnologically speaking, but it is a known fact that influential outside circles, particularly from Rwanda, wish for political reasons to create two ethnic groups. But should there be two clearly distinct ethnic groups, I would like to tell those who are seeking to break up Burundi into tribal crumbs, that we are aiming towards the unification of peoples and not the tribalization of institutions, as occurs in Rwanda.

237. And in that connexion you will realize that the OAU has no other reason for existence than to unify the continent, the peoples, the cultures, the civilization, the systems and the régimes.

238. If my delegation should be constrained to speak again, I would request you to excuse us; we have copious documentation that I could quote for many hours. However, in order to co-operate with you I shall put a halt to my reply here, concluding with a quotation from my book, one of whose chapters is devoted to the friendly relations between Rwanda and Burundi.

239. Since 1966, when I became head of the Mission, I have constantly tried to engage my Government in providing shelter to hundreds of thousands of Rwandese to prevent further damage to Rwanda. I refer the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rwanda to the continued talks I had with his successive representatives—particularly the former permanent representative, Mr. Mudingue—in the course of which I demonstrated the need for the two countries to live together in harmony.

240. In my book I stated in one of the chapters: “A conjuncture of varied circumstances militates in favour of close co-operation between Rwanda and Burundi without encroaching on their national institutions”.

241. The Foreign Minister today interfered, in what I would call the most spectacular way, in the domestic affairs of Burundi and, as I said at the outset, his concern is to disguise the role that he himself played in the course of the slaughters that took place in Rwanda and also to conceal the role played by Rwanda in the events that took place last month in Burundi.

242. None the less, if I have intervened—and I am addressing myself to my African brothers in particular, to all the representatives present here and to all the Members of the United Nations—it is because the Foreign Minister of Rwanda saw fit to distort and vitiate the problem. Despite the knowledge we had of the misdeeds of Rwanda-influenced elements, we wanted to solve our problems along African lines.

243. I said further in the same chapter of my book: “Co-operation which is starting to grow roots will, however, be jeopardized in the future if it is not surrounded by absolute safeguards against any interference in the domestic affairs of the two Governments”.

244. That is why we wish to say that because of the imperative questions raised by Mr. Munyaneza, the Foreign Minister of Rwanda, we were compelled to take the floor to prove to him that we are not satisfied with casual statements. We have facts at hand, we have unchallengeable documents and, if necessary in the future, we shall not fail to bring out these documents.

245. In conclusion, I would say that following the genocide which was unleashed in Rwanda from 1959 to 1964, even the technical assistance representatives of the United Nations had to leave the Butare University, slamming doors and saying that it was impossible for them to train young men who were doomed to execution by drowning, as had been the case for their brothers. This is confirmed in the report of the United Nations Special Mission, which speaks of the dictatorship of a Rwandese political party, the Hutu Party, that imposed its own law on the country. I could cite the text *in extenso* if necessary.

246. I shall conclude by saying that I am extremely grateful to those delegations that have been kind enough to give us some of their time so that we may sound a second alarm.

247. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Iraq, at the beginning of this after-

noon's meeting, dealt with the question of Iraq's relations with my country, beginning, as always, by distorting a geographical place name established since the beginnings of the history of mankind. That does not surprise us. My delegation, however, does not intend to take up the time of this Assembly by engaging in unnecessary polemics. I merely wish to recall here some of the facts which are known to all.

248. As regards the islands of the Persian Gulf over which Iran re-established its sovereignty, interrupted by the reign of colonialism, our representative in the Security Council amply elaborated on the substance of the matter at the meeting of 9 December 1971.<sup>14</sup> There is no need to cover the same ground.

249. As regards our relations with the Arab countries, we here need no spokesman. We ourselves develop our relations, and the annals of the United Nations fully bear witness to our constant support of the just cause of our Arab brethren.

250. As for the question of the common border river, which is the subject of a treaty also concluded during colonial times, the Iraqi Minister himself recognized that his delegation had already taken up the time of the General Assembly during two previous sessions in presenting its views on the matter. I would not wish to repeat here the answers that my delegation provided at that time.

251. The Minister of Iraq insisted upon the need to respect international contractual obligations but, like his predecessors at this rostrum, he failed to mention that Iraq for more than 32 years had been unwilling, in spite of our constant representations, to apply some of the very important clauses of that treaty. Need I recall here that, in accordance with international law, the failure by one of the parties to apply an essential clause of a treaty entitles the other party to consider that treaty as null and void.

252. As for our position concerning the referral of the matter to the International Court of Justice, we already explained our point of view to the President of the Security Council in a letter dated 2 September 1969.<sup>15</sup>

253. Moreover, all the aspects of those problems have been thoroughly brought to the attention of the General Assembly, as will be seen from the relevant records, and to the attention of the President of the Security Council in letters dated 1 May 1969,<sup>16</sup> 9 May 1969<sup>17</sup> and, as I pointed out a moment ago, 2 September 1969.

254. I am very happy to note that the Iraqi Minister, in spite of his aggressive tone, did quote the recent words of his President concerning Iraq's desire to resolve its disputes with Iran. But need I recall here that my Government—despite Iraqi measures that are contrary to international law

<sup>14</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year*, 1610th meeting.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1969*, document S/9425.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, *Supplement for April, May and June 1969*, document S/9190.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/9200.

and human rights, and I am thinking of the mass expulsion of Iranians that took place last January and that have moved world public opinion—has never ceased to affirm its desire to settle all of its differences with Iraq on the basis of the recognized principles of international law and of justice.

255. Moreover, need I mention, we are maintaining excellent relations with all of our other neighbours, and we hope that this will also be true of our Iraqi neighbours.

256. I merely wished to recall here what my delegation has already explained on numerous occasions in previous sessions. I do not wish to take any more time of this Assembly. I just refer representatives to all the documents of the United Nations that contain the statement of our views.

*Mr. Espinosa (Colombia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

257. Mr. YASSEEN (Iraq) (*interpretation from French*): I have not come to the rostrum to discuss matters already debated, but the representative of Iran forces me to cast some light on these matters.

258. With regard to the islands in the Arabian Gulf, I would not want to reopen a debate. The Arab nature of these islands was proved incontestably in the course of the statement made by our representative in the Security Council. What we deplore, and what we have deplored, is the violation of a basic principle of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, the principle of the prohibition of the use of force in international relations. No one is unaware of the fact that Iran committed a military invasion of those islands, and that that question is still pending before the Security Council. If consideration of the question has been deferred or postponed, it is because diplomatic efforts were under way to try to bring Iran back to wisdom in order to re-establish a situation which would be in accordance with the requirements of international legal order.

259. With regard to another point, the 1937 Boundary Treaty, the representative of Iran stated that Iraq failed for over 30 years to implement certain provisions of that Treaty, but he concluded by saying that Iran could consider the Treaty null and void.

260. With all humility, may I submit that the representative of Iran is wrong. International law does not authorize anarchy. International conventions cannot be defied. Conventions must be respected: *pacta sunt servanda*. A party that contends that another party has failed to fulfil its treaty obligations cannot set itself up as a judge in its own cause. Therefore, under no circumstances can Iran consider the 1937 Treaty as null and void. It is not possible to shake loose so easily from international commitments and obligations. And to prove its respect for international legal order and especially for its structural principles, Iraq offered to go to the International Court of Justice to find out whether or not Iran really had the right unilaterally to consider this Treaty null and void.

261. As the President of the Republic has stressed, we would very much like to have the best relations with all the nations of the world and, with greater reason, with our

neighbours. Fortunately, our relations with all our neighbours are excellent. Like the representative of Iran, we too hope that our relations with Iran will be normalized.

262. However, for this to happen Iran must in its relations with Iraq respect the fundamental principles of international legal order, and in particular, the principle that *pacta sunt servanda*. This would be the prelude to the re-establishment of Iraqi-Iranian relations on the solid foundation of good-neighbourliness.

263. Mr. PACHACHI (United Arab Emirates): I wish to apologize for taking the floor at this very late hour. However, the representative of Iran said in his statement this afternoon that his country had recovered its sovereignty over certain islands in the Arabian Gulf, a sovereignty interrupted, he said, by colonial domination. Therefore I am compelled to state, on behalf of the Government of the United Arab Emirates, that we do not recognize any sovereignty over these Arab islands in the Arabian Gulf other than that of the United Arab Emirates.

264. Our position has been made clear on many occasions. The Government of the United Arab Emirates, immediately after the proclamation of its independence, stated that it considered these islands to be Arab and that they had always been Arab and deplored the use of force in settling a dispute between neighbours. I myself echoed this position before the Security Council on 9 December 1971,<sup>18</sup> and also here in the General Assembly at the twenty-sixth session on the occasion of our admission to membership in this Organization [*2007th meeting*]. My country also joined in sending a letter to the President of the Security Council last July,<sup>19</sup> in which its position on this issue, which is of course of direct and vital concern to us, is fully clarified.

265. I had to make this statement in order to place on record the position of my Government and my country on this question.

266. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Iraq said a few moments ago that I had compelled him to come to this rostrum in order to answer me. I think he really has put things back to front. If anyone was compelled to come to this rostrum today, it was certainly I, because the representative of Iraq said things which do not tally with reality. Therefore, I do not see how I could have compelled him to come to this rostrum.

267. In the statement he has just made the representative of Iraq has introduced no new material to this debate. Accordingly, I shall not take up the time of this Assembly, and I shall merely refer to the official records of the Assembly and the Security Council in which the position of my Government has been stated.

268. The representative of Iraq also attempted to give us a lecture on respect for international law. I do not wish to

<sup>18</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year*, 1610th meeting.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10740.



stress this, but I think that as representative of Iraq he is in a very poor position to lecture us on that topic.

269. Moreover, the representative of the United Arab Emirates has just presented the position of his Government, and he has referred to the meeting of the Security Council of 9 December 1971. I myself referred to that meeting a few moments ago, from this rostrum. I really do not see the need for repeating myself. My delegation in the Security Council presented the position of my Government on that same day.

270. The representative of the United Arab Emirates referred to a letter of 17 July last to the President of the

Security Council,<sup>20</sup> and here again I do not see any need for me to take up the time of this Assembly, inasmuch as on 7 August 1972<sup>21</sup> in a letter that I personally addressed to the President of the Security Council I answered the letter to which the representative of the United Arab Emirates referred.

*The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.*

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/10756.