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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Maghur (Libyan Arab Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): A country jealous of its independence and sovereignty, achieved at the cost of the blood of the flower of its youth; a nation living in symbiosis for thousands of years, proud of its liberation and cohesiveness in spite of the nefarious actions of those who have imported barbaric systems repugnant to the conscience of mankind; a determined people fighting at the side of other revolutionary peoples in a relentless struggle against under-development and injustice in all its forms; a people that has always fought to bring about the triumph of the noble ideals of the Charter; an authority based on democratic centralism capable of ensuring the security of both nationals and foreigners; a people united and engaged in an irreversible revolution which began on 28 November 1966 thanks to its wise guide and well-loved chief, Colonel Michel Micombero—this is today the glory and honour of the Republic of Burundi and the pride of its inhabitants.

2. It is on behalf of that Republic that from this lofty rostrum I have the honour of conveying to the President my warmest congratulations upon his election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. He may be assured that my delegation will be at his side and support him in his noble and lofty task of serving faithfully and indefatigably the interests of the whole international community. We are certain that the objectives of our Organization will ultimately be achieved, thanks to the efforts and sacrifices of the various world personalities who devote body and soul to this task. The President is one of those, and it is precisely for this reason that he has been elected to preside over the General Assembly. His eminent political attributes and diplomatic qualities, his expertise in international questions, and his

personality which transcends the limits of his own country—a personality which has long since made its mark on the international scene—his experience, competence and integrity constitute, we are sure, an earnest of the success of this Assembly session. As citizen of a country—Poland—which has suffered from foreign aggression, we are sure that he will be all the more concerned about the problems of aggression against the independent countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and elsewhere.

3. At this particular stage in history, when certain Powers are doing everything they can to sow subversion in the less-favoured countries, fomenting division among citizens of the same country and also promoting foreign aggression, it is a great pleasure for us to have such an eminent personality as he presiding over this session, backed up by the members of the General Committee, who together make up such a great team. It is for this reason that we are confident that this Assembly session will be crowned with success, and that we greet him with such enthusiasm.

4. May I also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, who throughout last year ceaselessly strove for world peace and international security.

5. I should also like to thank and congratulate most sincerely Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose competence, devotion and probity are a credit to the Organization. Since his election to his high office a year ago Mr. Waldheim has devoted all his energies to the safeguarding of peace and to the search for understanding among peoples. Let him find in this the sincere expression of well deserved gratitude on the part of the Government of the Republic of Burundi.

6. On 26 June 1945, many of the nations represented here today signed the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco. Our country was not yet independent, but it was no less appreciative of the principles contained in that Charter. That is why, on 18 September 1962, precisely 79 days after its liberation, the Burundi people wholeheartedly adhered to the United Nations. In that way my Government and country demonstrated their determination to struggle for the safeguarding and success of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

7. Burundi, in joining this Organization, was thereby taking an oath that it would henceforth spare no effort to maintain international peace and security and to promote development among nations and friendly relations based on the principle of the equal rights of peoples and their right to guide their own destinies and to take all other measures which might consolidate world peace and bring about

international co-operation through the solution of international problems in the economic, social, technical and humanitarian fields.

8. It behoves us to note that today, 10 years after becoming a Member of the United Nations, Burundi has always acted consistently with the principles to which it solemnly subscribed.

9. All nations represented here may derive gratification from the climate of understanding which has made it possible to avoid new conflicts among States. The world today may take pleasure at the fruitful talks which have been held between the People's Republic of China and the United States, on the one hand, and the United States and the Soviet Union on the other hand. The visit of the Japanese Prime Minister to China, the talks between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea bode well for the unity of divided nations and for peace in Asia. This climate of détente, so favourable to the search for peace and co-operation, is a direct consequence of the admission last year of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

10. The friendly meetings and dialogue between the leaders of nations and the world are, we are certain, a guarantee of international peace and security, as well as of the unity of the great human family. It is therefore to be hoped that such meetings will take place regularly and periodically. Although our Organization has registered striking successes, we must express our regret at the fact that the worst hotbeds of conflict which constitute a permanent threat to international peace and security still persist and threaten to grow even worse. I would mention particularly the Far East and the Middle East conflicts, and the situation in the Territories under *apartheid* or the anachronistic colonialism of Portugal.

11. Once again the Republic of Burundi appeals most urgently to international opinion, particularly to those responsible for the tragedy which has been going on in Viet-Nam for almost 30 years now, to see to it that those deliberate and organized massacres committed against an innocent people cease immediately. These massacres have been repeatedly denounced by many representatives from all continents.

12. I, in turn, associate myself with them in asking that the 1954 Geneva Agreements be scrupulously observed and that the foreign troops of aggression be totally withdrawn from Viet-Name territory to enable the people of Viet-Nam itself, as a free nation, to settle its own affairs. For its part, the Republic of Burundi considers this to be the only acceptable solution dictated by common sense, because this war benefits neither the aggressor nor the Viet-Name people, but constitutes a crime against humanity and an unprecedented waste. This state of affairs, moreover, seriously jeopardizes the prestige of our Organization, and prevents it from effectively fulfilling its original and ultimate mission of protecting future generations from the scourge of war. My country suggests that France, which has offered its hospitality to the negotiators on Viet-Nam, could play an even more active role as mediator, thus responding to the statement of its Foreign Minister, Mr. Maurice Schumann, who said, just a few days ago that

France “. . . has allies but neither has nor wants enemies.” [2041st meeting, para. 62.]

13. Not far from Viet-Nam is another suffering people—the people of Korea. As long as that country, which wants to be an entity following its reunification, continues to be the object of a power and influence struggle, peace in that region will be delayed. That is why the independent and peaceful reunification of the Korean homeland must be brought about rapidly. For our part, we consider that no State in the world has the right to stand in the way of this manifest will of the Korean people. While the delegation of Burundi takes pleasure in noting the fact that talks between the two Koreas are under way, it regrets none the less that the United Nations has not hastened the conclusion of those negotiations, in spite of the consultation asked for by the two parties.

14. A no less disturbing problem is that of Bangladesh, whose fate depends largely on friendship among all the States in the area and normalization of their relations. We hope that speedy achievement of the conditions governing admission to the United Nations—which has so far been lacking—may take place soon.

15. Within the same context, our delegation expresses its pleasure at the contacts between the two Germanys. This constitutes a prelude to the strengthening of European security which, we hope, will consolidate international peace and security and the well-being of the people of Germany as a whole.

16. I come now to the Middle East conflict which has become a real tragedy for mankind. The Government of Burundi considers that immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) would be conducive to the restoration of peace in that part of the world. Withdrawal by Israel from the occupied Arab territories, together with settlement of the Palestinian problem, would reduce the causes of tension in that part of the world and, consequently, the frequency of individual or collective acts of violence caused by that war:

17. As a member of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] we object to any part of the territory of an African country, in this instance the Arab Republic of Egypt, being occupied by armed force. The reopening of the Suez Canal has become an imperative necessity for many African countries whose goods are subject to high transport costs.

18. We invite the two super-Powers to do their utmost to bring about a rapid settlement of the Middle East crisis which is liable to provoke a thermonuclear war at the very time when disarmament is the topic of the day.

19. On the question of disarmament, my delegation would like to make some suggestions. In spite of the signing of many agreements on the reduction of armaments, the misuse of which may well lead to a terrible catastrophe, the danger of a war threatening to wipe out mankind is far from negligible.

20. That is why the Burundi Government welcomes the courageous proposal to convene a world disarmament conference. My Government considers that such a con-

ference is of the greatest concern to mankind as a whole which is earnestly hoping for the day when the present astronomical expenditure on weapons of destruction will be channelled towards its prosperity and happiness. In order to attain this objective fully, the conference should be held at the level of Heads of State or Heads of Government, who would take decisions to bring about total and complete disarmament.

21. We come now to problems relating to decolonization in Africa. While the African continent is dangerously threatened in the north by the Middle East conflict, other hotbeds of unrest and conflict are deliberately and cruelly maintained in the south, thus rendering peace precarious and very seriously jeopardizing its development.

22. I associate the delegation of the Republic of Burundi with the representatives who have spoken before me from this rostrum, to condemn South Africa's hold on the Territory of Namibia and also the terrible physical and moral exhaustion which it is causing to the black peoples of South Africa.

23. The results of the mission undertaken by the Secretary-General in the first half of this year as well as all the contacts and subsequent representations are impatiently awaited. Without prejudging the content of that report, we should like now to express the hope that it will provide for broad consultation with the people of Namibia. The integrity and independence of the Territory of Namibia should be safeguarded. The so-called autonomy which South Africa wishes to give separately to the different tribes instead of liberating the country as a whole, is an old colonialist manoeuvre designed to divide in order the better to perpetuate domination. My delegation would like to express wishes for success to the Secretary-General in this enterprise for which a Special Representative has been specifically nominated, and he should, we hope, hasten the issuing of the report so that the Organization does not have to prolong indefinitely its analysis of the case of Namibia.

24. We again urge Great Britain to do everything in its power, if necessary by force, to put an end to the rebel régime of Salisbury and to grant independence to the people of Zimbabwe struggling for its self-determination. The United Kingdom should also show its good faith in that unhappy affair instead of taking refuge behind legal subterfuges which deceive no one. The economic embargo against that country called for by the United Nations is a powerful weapon, even if it is not decisive, and it is a weapon which the British authorities could use to bring the Southern Rhodesian régime to see reason.

25. The Members of the United Nations which violate Security Council resolution 253 (1968) on sanctions are deliberately destroying United Nations institutions. An urgent examination of this question is necessary in order to adopt new working methods.

26. The problems of Rhodesia, and those of South Africa, are an exact image of the problem posed by the perpetuation of Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Officially, Portugal considers those African Territories as its own provinces and thus, in the view of Portugal, form an integral part of that shabby,

decadent empire which is an empire in name only. Portugal persists in remaining beyond the pale of history by perpetuating its domination in Africa. Notwithstanding the repeated appeals of the world Organization to bring an end to those colonial practices Portugal, in spite of the severe defeats inflicted upon it by the peoples suffering from colonial occupation, still clings, thanks to the aid of certain Powers, to the major cities which alone remain outside the control of the freedom fighters. We think for our part that without the support or the complicity of certain Powers and with its long tradition of political incoherence Portugal alone would be incapable of resisting the fierce, resolute struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). It is therefore incumbent upon our Organization to do its utmost to discourage those Members which, from near or far, support the bloody venture of the Portuguese colonialists. Basing itself on Article 6 of the United Nations Charter, the delegation of the Republic of Burundi has requested at previous sessions that Portugal be expelled from the Organization for having been guilty of grave crimes against peace and mankind as a whole. Since Portugal has done nothing to change its conduct and in fact is continuing to commit the most atrocious crimes, my delegation reiterates this demand for reasons which I have just mentioned and which are well known to all representatives here.

27. These Portuguese crimes are all the more reprehensible and worthy of condemnation because they often extend to independent States. No doubt you all have fresh in your memories the recent and barbaric aggression of Portugal against the people of Guinea which, thanks to their vigilance, were able to neutralize, repel and destroy the enemy. The Assembly is not unaware of the repeated attacks against the Republic of Senegal, the People's Republic of the Congo, the Republic of Zambia, the Republic of Zaire and the United Republic of Tanzania.

28. The objective of neocolonialism is quite clear: to recolonize Africa and to continue exploiting its riches. For this purpose the neocolonialists must place in authority their own men, their faithful servants. It is in this way that neocolonialism takes a particular dislike to the progressive régimes which want to be genuinely independent.

29. Nor does it hesitate if necessary to use organizations and even reactionary Governments in their sinister plan of recolonization. This is particularly the context in which tribal elements supported by foreign mercenaries, encouraged by neocolonialists, have committed aggression against our own country.

30. More than five months after the failure of the attempt at genocide organized against the people of Burundi, our Government had to depart from the course it had so rigorously observed up to then, that of confining the causes and consequences of the events of last May to the African framework.

31. Thus, thanks to our unswerving attachment to the OAU, we wanted to depict at the highest authority of that organization in Rabat last June the causes and effects of the storm which was unleashed over Burundi.

32. Heeding the appeals for African nobility, dignity and solidarity, we refrained from exposing certain direct or

indirect authors of the aggression against our people. Complying with the virtues of discreet consultation within Africa, we banked on the confession and repentance of those who from their own territories had sent elements instructed to participate in massacres of our people. This policy was respected to the letter, both in Bujumbura and by all our embassies abroad. Up to 5 October last—last Thursday in fact—the same silence we had preserved concerning the grievous guilt of one African country in the attempt to commit genocide in Burundi was going to be characteristic of our whole conduct throughout this session.

33. But, alas, since 5 October 1972 Rwanda has abused our full conformity and attachment to the ideals and approaches commended by the OAU. Confusing our recourse to calm dialogue with weakness, Mr. Munyaneza, the Foreign Minister of Rwanda, departing from all norms of African wisdom, believed himself to be charged with the task of hurling thunderbolts of condemnation against Burundi. Without doubt trusting to the ingeniousness of his own imagination, the spokesman for the Kigali Government counted on the same spirit of accommodation it had so long benefited from thanks to our great circumspection and our restraint, a gesture which is unique and peculiar to Rwanda, and, after having vilified the Republic of Burundi from this very rostrum its representatives hastened, through certain intermediaries, to commend to us moderation and indeed silence, and this in the interests of the OAU and with the purpose of avoiding hostility on the subject of problems which should be resolved within the context of our own continent. Now, it is precisely in order to safeguard the prestige of our continental organization that all our authorities within the country as well as those outside it have received orders to allow nothing to filter through about the criminal role played by Rwanda in the decimation of our people.

34. Thus arises the inevitable question of why the delegation of Rwanda, under the leadership of Mr. Munyaneza, and certain emissaries remembered the need to keep intact the image of the OAU after having themselves tarnished it by their particularly slanderous allegations against a member State of that organization.

35. This provocative act on the part of the Foreign Minister of Rwanda has made it possible for us finally to shed all possible light on the part played by the Kigali Government in the succession of attempts at coups d'état and acts of genocide against our people. In the course of the very day in which Mr. Munyaneza was reciting his charges against Burundi, our delegation was obliged to exercise the right of reply [2055th meeting]. Our statement addressed to Rwanda was not confined to a simple routine denial; it was based upon facts and overwhelming evidence against Rwanda, which, although it was the guilty party, actually dared to become an accuser. The massacres, which in his speech on 5 October, the Minister of National Co-operation laid to what he was pleased to describe as a feudal minority were imputable to the tribalist régime which it incarnates and which he represents.

36. From the Government to the party, including the National Assembly, all the political institutions of Rwanda are tribalized and come from fratricidal procedures, as is

shown by the most varied authorized sources, and I would venture to mention these. A report submitted to the sixteenth session of the General Assembly by the United Nations mission to Ruanda-Urundi says:

“In Rwanda, on the other hand, a Government has 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>1</sup>

It was also stated that the racial dictatorship of a single party had been established in Rwanda and the events of the previous 18 months had consisted in a transition from one kind of oppressive régime to another. That extension was encouraged, and it was to be feared that the Tutsi would find themselves incapable of defending themselves against abuses. It was to be feared that the Tutsi would think they had nothing more to lose and that their only hope of defence lay in recourse to violence, because any possibility of a solution of conciliation had disappeared once and for all. The problem of the Africanization of official jobs had become much more complicated because of the elimination of the Tutsi.

37. I should like to mention another source, a trustworthy source, to substantiate what has happened in that country, which certainly has no right to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries. I would venture to quote Radio Vatican, which described the last wave of genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda in 1964 as one of the most terrible and most systematic acts of genocide since the genocide of the Jews by Hitler.

38. There are still other sources. The tribalist inflation in Rwanda was condemned by René Lemarchand in his book *Rwanda and Burundi*,<sup>2</sup> in which he exposes the bloody revolution of Rwanda, stating that that of Burundi was accompanied by no bloodshed when the monarchy was overthrown in 1966. Romain Foucher, in the magazine *Esprit* of July-August 1972, echoed the universal indignation in the face of the virulent tribalism of Rwanda:

“The ethnic crystallization in fact began in Rwanda, where discriminations of this type were always more advanced and more extreme and the revolution which broke out there in 1959, with its sequels which lasted until 1963, established a ‘panhutu’ régime, which saw the violent disappearance of some 20,000 Batutsi (the most terrible genocide that had occurred since that of the Jews, as Bertrand Russell said) as well as the forced expulsion of 200,000 others. These refugees are still today in camps, as are their Palestinian counterparts. The Rwanda example was decisive with regard to the evolution of Burundi, to the extent that the Hutu putsch of 1965, which was also accompanied by massacres” of the Tutsi—children, women and old people—“in the Muramvya region, seemed to be bringing the country into the same vicious circle.”

But fortunately the authorities were vigilant.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes*, second addendum to agenda item 49, document A/5126, para. 296.

<sup>2</sup> New York, Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1970.

39. As the annihilation of our peoples was hatched with the complicity of Rwanda, the Foreign Minister of that country dares to state, in regard to the number of victims in Burundi, that "more than 200,000 innocent victims have been massacred" [2054th meeting, para. 22.]

40. This is the same number as was propagated from Rwanda and spread throughout the world. The Belgian newspapers *Le Soir*, *La Cité* and *Remarques Africaines*, in connivance with the Rwanda authorities, competed with each other in spreading and advertising this "made in Rwanda" product.

41. The number of targets was predetermined between Kigali and the exterminating agents, and without doubt Mr. Munyaneza is confusing his plan and the results actually achieved. Under that plan hundreds of thousands of Burundi citizens were doomed to systematic elimination. Nevertheless, some 25,000 assailants, which included a number of Rwandese, did not succeed in fully fulfilling their plan, for they met with the heroic resistance of the Burundi people, hence the crushing defeat inflicted on the attackers, which reduced to a quarter the number of targets which the Rwanda plan provided for in its first phase. Certainly the 50,000 Burundi citizens who were annihilated in the course of the first few days by the attackers represent a terrible calamity and a sad loss for our country.

42. This turn of events thwarted the diabolical consequences planned on by the Rwanda Government. We have already invoked the reasons why we made these great sacrifices, particularly in view of our wish to bring about the fraternization of the African continent. With the purpose of camouflaging its enormous guilt in these fratricidal crimes, Rwanda sent its Foreign Minister in June to foreign capitals in Asia and Europe. But it is more than high time that the country of Rwanda dispelled its own illusions, because Rwanda must be told that it does not possess the monopoly of the friendship of Asian and European Governments, which, contrary to the hopes of Rwanda, are very little disposed to believe naively everything it says implicitly.

43. The magnanimity of our Government towards Rwanda was not confined to keeping silent on the role of that country in the programme of extermination. While there were quite a number of Rwanda citizens among the 20,000 attackers who died on the battlefield, Burundi preferred reserve to open denunciation of Rwanda. Can any more convincing proof against that Government be asked for than the fact that the 300 Rwanda nationals who were captured were repatriated, except for 36 of them, who are still in the hands of the Burundi authorities? In the light of the mildness that our Government lavished on Rwanda in spite of its direct and flagrant participation in the plot designed to decimate our people, it is staggering to hear the Foreign Minister of Rwanda proclaim at once his innocence and his indignation. Certainly the nightmare which haunts him stems both from the overwhelming facts against his country in our possession and from the crushing defeat of his compatriots whom he sent to commit aggression against Burundi. According to the Rwandese thesis, the Hutu of Burundi are sunk in poverty and are exploited by the "Tutsi overlords". If Rwanda were to be tempted to fail to recognize the criminal role which it assigned to its

nationals, we would be reduced to asking it about the motives of the hundreds of Rwandese irregulars who were found on our Territory.

44. Let us admit for a moment the theory of the Rwanda régime that the Hutu in Burundi are in distress and those in Rwanda are wallowing in opulence. We still have to ask Kigali whether they sent the successive waves of Rwanda irregulars to our country to join in the martyrdom of the Burundi Hutu or to commit crimes.

45. Those irregulars, after having undergone intensive training in subversion, were sent to Burundi by stealth and clandestinely. Fearing that they would run into our forces of order from the very first moment they attempted to tread on Burundi soil under irregular conditions, the subversive agents coming from Rwanda infiltrated into Burundi through neighbouring countries, whose good faith they abused. Such fraud is liable not only to bring about open conflict between Rwanda and Burundi, but also to embroil the latter country with its neighbouring brotherly countries. The Foreign Minister of Rwanda was very ingenious in trying to condemn publicly the "systematic genocide" of which his own country was the principal organizer!

46. Mr. Munyaneza from this very rostrum repeated this imaginary number of 200,000 people massacred, a number which initially was waved around by Rwanda in order to arouse pressure abroad which would tend to make the guilty innocent. Could Rwanda reveal to us the genius thanks to which it was able to count the victims? While it is undeniably established that the Rwandese contributed to the massacres, it nevertheless seems impossible for their agents to know the number of victims, since the agents who came from Rwanda were, for the most part, mowed down in the course of battle or captured.

47. The Government of Burundi, for its part, was in a position to count the victims by means of all its military personnel, the Party, the national youth, the Union of Burundese Women and the Union of Burundese Workers, who were all mobilized in order to honour the mortal remains of their brothers and sisters who were immolated for this high ideal, namely, the indivisibility of the Burundese people.

48. All this is to the credit of the unity and determination of our people to struggle against invaders who want to import systems which have been condemned by history.

49. In the light of these facts and in such circumstances, how can Rwanda and those who have so ingeniously manipulated this random number be in a position to be better informed about the number of dead than the Burundi Government itself? We should like an answer to this question.

50. What are we to say about the hundreds of thousands of human heads which fell in Rwanda in the course of the genocide committed in the name of the Hutu tribe from 1959 to 1964? We do not hear the Rwanda Government decrying this holocaust which it caused in order to establish a Hutu State.

51. Leaving aside Pretoria, there is not in the world any country other than Rwanda with a régime that systematically excludes all other ethnic entities from the Government, from Parliament and from the Party.

52. In the event that Rwanda is inclined to contest this fact, the Government of Bujumbura on behalf of which I have the honour of speaking here, would be ready to have a mission sent—preferably from the OAU, or, if not, from the United Nations. That mission would go to our two countries in order to carry out an inquiry. In Burundi it would note that all of our successive Governments, ever since the reconquering of our independence in 1962, have included, without any exception, Hutu and Tutsi which were alternately majorities according to the criterion of individual abilities. The list of all the candidates and the elective posts were drawn up by the Union of National Progress [UPRONA], the mass party which, in the legislative elections supervised by the United Nations in 1961, obtained 94 per cent of the votes on the basis of the universal suffrage of all men and women 18 years of age and above, illiterate as well as literate.

53. However, the Rwanda system hermetically closes the doors of Government, of Parliament and of the Party to all its sons and daughters who, by accident of birth, did not happen to be Hutus.

54. Hitherto we have confined ourselves to drawing up a list of all the misdeeds and atrocities committed by the Rwanda political régime. It is time now to trace the causes. Indeed, the theoreticians of that *apartheid* à la Hutu advocated as long ago as 1959 the creation of South African-type “Bantustans”. In order to permit members to judge this, it suffices to read out the text of a telegram addressed in 1959 to the United Nations and to the Belgian Government by Mr. Grégoire Kayibanda, founder of the Hutu Party and the present President of Rwanda. It reads as follows:

“We Hutu represent 85 per cent of the people of Rwanda. We insistently call for racial peace with collaboration of the Belgian authorities and fear the worst for the whole country if they do not accept the geographical partition into Hutu zone and Tutsi zone. We Hutus declare furthermore that we wish to collaborate with the Belgian authorities as long as the democratization of the country, peace and progress require it for the Hutu emancipation movement. (Signed) Kayibanda.”

55. After the gloomy picture depicted above, what further proof is needed that Rwanda remains the most fertile breeding-ground of those forces which are determined to undermine and weaken the independence, sovereignty and racial harmony of Africa, forces which yesterday seriously threatened the integrity of Zaire, severed from Katanga, and which, immediately thereafter advocated the creation of a Biafra torn from Nigeria. And is it not that very same Rwanda which served as a haven for mercenaries whose claim to fame was the sowing of desolation in a sister republic, an influential member of the OAU?

56. The repeated participation of that country in genocidal plots successively organized against our people, its tribalization of all the political organs on the model of the

colonialist and nazi régimes, and its granting of refuge to a mercenary clique, constitutes a trilogy which in itself suffices to demonstrate that Rwanda is nothing less than a bridgehead of the recolonization of Africa, or rather a pocket of unrepentant colonialism.

57. The extreme gravity of Rwandan interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States and the low blows it struck in the unsuccessful attempt at genocide require redress by Kigali.

58. Moreover, any renewed attempt is liable to lead to dire results for which Rwanda will be fully responsible.

59. The obligation upon the Government of Kigali to renounce for ever its interference in the events and situations occurring in Burundi, on the strange pretext of universalizing Hutu militancy in a sovereign State, is necessary also in the case of the refugees.

60. Our Government has complied with the letter and the spirit of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, signed at Geneva on 28 July 1951 and with the Protocol on Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration of the OAU, to such an extent that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has, in his annual report ever since 1966, described Burundi as the “pilot country” in this area.

61. Thus, more than 100,000 Rwandan refugees have found refuge in our country in their attempt to escape from the genocide of 1959-1964 and have been, for the most part, settled in regions distant from the centre. The necessary measures have been taken to prevent them from adversely affecting the security of Rwanda and those measures have been and continue to remain quite effective.

62. At a time when every effort is made and all forces combined to consolidate the OAU in particular, at a time when all countries are busy forming great regional and continental groupings, it is imperative to put an end to the primitive conception of power which hampers the surge towards economic co-operation amongst peoples and the harmonization of relations among States.

63. Burundi, for its part, profoundly attached to the well-being of the human race, is determined to associate itself with the growing universal movement to bring about a general improvement in the economic and international monetary system.

64. Important events which have occurred recently have revealed the fragility, the disadvantages and the disappointments inherent in the international situation within the field of economic development.

65. The monetary crisis which broke out in August 1971 and its consequences have revealed clearly the need for a revision of the international monetary system. Developing countries, which are in no way responsible for that crisis resulting from an imbalance between developed countries, are obliged to be the sufferers today of the principal adverse effects of the uncertainties born of the collapse of the Bretton Woods system and the subsequent monetary readjustments.

66. A solution of the monetary crisis must not impose any additional burden on the developing countries, which have unreservedly co-operated in the efforts undertaken to maintain the stability of the international monetary system. Quite the contrary; special corrective measures should be taken to compensate them for their losses.

67. It is particularly important for the developing countries to make an effective contribution to the establishment of an international monetary system which would be most in keeping with their interests. The revision of the international monetary system should be studied with the effective participation of third world countries at every stage. It cannot constitute a preserve of the "Group of 10" alone. This revision of the Bretton Woods system should serve to bring about a solution of our development problems.

68. We note with regret that the position of the developing countries in the field of international trade, upon which their economy largely depends, continues to worsen.

69. Burundi endorses the idea that developing countries should not be kept out of the preparations for new world-wide negotiations on international trade which are to take place next year.

70. In the course of those negotiations, special arrangements should be worked out to give an important place to the developing countries. Those countries should be given the opportunity to participate fully, continuously, at every stage of the negotiations.

71. Our Government attaches particular importance to solutions which will be found to problems of commodities and all measures affecting access to markets, and price policies, including international machinery for the stabilization of prices, the effectiveness of existing international agreements on commodities, and any new agreements reached will be of the utmost importance to us.

72. The generalized system of preferences, in order to be more effective, should provide for the inclusion in its plans of all primary commodities which constitute the very basis of the economy of most developing countries.

73. We note with pessimism that government aid to the poorer countries is declining and that the burden of their debt is growing heavier. The recent devaluation of the dollar and the revaluation of other currencies resulted in raising the nominal value of the external debt of the third world, expressed in dollars.

74. There persists profound disagreement between developing countries as to the nature of measures to be taken to resolve the problems of indebtedness. The debates of the recent session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] confirmed this once again. We agree with the content of resolution 59 (III),<sup>3</sup> which calls upon the Trade and Development Board to institute within the framework of UNCTAD a special agency to find practical solutions to the problems which the developing countries face in the matter of debt-servicing.

<sup>3</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 1.A.

75. In view of the gravity of the situation in which the developing countries find themselves in regard to their indebtedness, it is highly desirable that the conditions upon which aid is provided should be reasonable.

76. The attainment of the objective of 1 per cent of the gross national product or a financial contribution of the target of 0.7 per cent for public assistance to development and the establishment of a link between the special drawing rights and additional financial resources for development, will contribute, we are convinced, to a resolution of the difficulties of a financial type which are encountered by the developing countries.

77. Burundi attaches great importance to economic co-operation and regional integration among developing countries.

78. The United Nations must pay particular attention to the long-term prospects of economic and social development, in order to view development within the broader framework of an indivisible world, in which all nations are interdependent. An over-all conception of development means that the United Nations should, here and now, assume greater responsibility in the achievement of economic development which would be better balanced at the international level.

79. In order to bring about an over-all development, it is important to recognize the role of regional co-operation. The regional economic commissions have already acquired great experience in this field and hence constitute, within the framework of the United Nations, a point of convergence of the national, subregional, regional and world development efforts.

80. An important question which is at the centre of our attention is the inalienable right of the developing countries to exercise their sovereignty over their own natural resources and to take all the necessary measures to develop those resources in the interests of the economic and social development of their people. All measures or economic or political pressures from the outside, prejudicial to those rights, constitute a flagrant violation of the principles of self-determination and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. That is why we support any measure which would provide for the creation of a revolving fund of the United Nations for the exploration and exploitation of natural resources.

81. We share the concern of most Governments at the sometimes nefarious role played by international companies in the economic and social development of certain developing countries and associate ourselves with those countries which call for an expert group to study the influence of international companies in the process of development, in order to formulate conclusions which would be taken into account by Governments when they set their development policies.

82. We understand the importance attached today to the problems of environment. However, we must agree that the problems of environment which face the developing countries differ from those which face the developed countries. That is why we must allot resources to the preservation and

improvement of the environment, while taking account of the particular needs of the developing countries.

83. At the present time we are witnessing great sympathy and international solidarity towards the developing countries that are the least developed. Our country properly appreciates and understands the measures contemplated for the benefit of that group of countries, to which we, unfortunately, belong.

84. In tackling problems of development the organs of the United Nations—especially the United Nations Development Programme—like certain bilateral donors recognize that the least advanced countries and the land-locked countries should benefit from measures which would make it possible for them to profit equitably from international development policies, and we should lay stress on some of these measures.

85. Technical assistance, including training, can increase the capacity for absorption of capital inflows to developing countries, especially the least advanced of them, and in this regard it is important to co-ordinate technical assistance efforts from all organizations, both multilateral and bilateral.

86. Economic regional integration and co-operation constitutes one of these measures to the extent that it can solve problems such as the smallness of domestic markets and the question of natural and human resources, as well as the problem of limited financial resources which these countries suffer from.

87. The most advanced countries among the developing countries can plan an important role in helping the least advanced. This assistance can be given both within and outside the framework of regional economic co-operation agreements.

88. Within the realm of trade policy, we must have special supplementary measures favouring the least developed countries. There is the possibility of reducing, for example, the quota restrictions applicable to the exports of the least-advanced countries and lowering taxes on tropical products, limiting non-tariff obstacles, identifying and eliminating restrictive trade practices, stabilizing the prices of tropical products and increasing the number of products to which the generalized system of preferences would apply so as to embrace products whose export is of particular interest and importance to the least-advanced countries.

89. The least developed of the developing countries, whose economy is based essentially on agriculture, cannot develop as long as their resources within the field of agriculture are backward. It is important, therefore, that special measures to improve the agriculture of the least-advanced should be adopted.

90. Our country also encounters difficulties because of the fact that it is land-locked. In order to meet these difficulties it needs technical assistance, particularly in order to improve its transport infrastructure.

91. Burundi will endorse any regional or subregional project in the transport field and will support any measures

designed to help the land-locked countries by special freight rates and by facilitating the transit of their goods through neighbouring countries.

92. Economic exchange and co-operation have always been the basis of the deepest links of the solidarity between men belonging to the same family, the same village, the same town and the same country; so why should international economic co-operation not play a unifying role for the whole world community?

93. The development of means of transport, radio, newspapers, international meetings are in the process of eliminating geographical barriers which separate or which formerly separated peoples, and promoting international economic relations. As is the case within States, economic mutual assistance should contribute to a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth among nations and put an end to the systematic exploitation of the poorest by the richest.

94. The elimination of injustice and exploitation among States is without doubt the most powerful factor promoting world peace, prosperity and the continued progress of mankind.

95. But all these objectives, all these noble goals which are contained in the United Nations Charter can be achieved only if all the peoples of the world join hands in an upsurge of solidarity and fraternity to rekindle the flame of San Francisco, which has stirred the hearts of all men of goodwill who have joined together against the great scourges of humanity.

96. It is in that spirit that we wish every success to this session of the General Assembly and happiness and prosperity for all peoples.

97. Mr. BORGONOVO POHL (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My first words are to congratulate you, Mr. President, most warmly on behalf of my Government and my delegation on having been unanimously elected President of the General Assembly, one of the most honoured and responsible posts in the United Nations. Your past activities and your guidance of this debate, as well as the very thought-provoking speech you delivered immediately after your election to the post, indicate most emphatically and objectively that this year we have a firm and widely experienced guide with an open, understanding mind capable of sorting out the difficulties and problems which loom over the present session of the General Assembly.

98. In years past my Government has defined its position with regard to many concrete problems of international politics. Hardly any of the matters which arouse interest, debate and even passions have been omitted from our analysis. Since my Government maintains an unaltered position on the items which appear on our agenda in one session after another, we need not this year reiterate those points of view and approaches which we have sufficiently explained and reasoned out. That silence, however, in no way lessens the due consideration which my Government gives to the many items on the approved agenda in plenary meetings and in meetings of the main Committees. We shall



have the time and opportunity to define the points of view of El Salvador regarding the new circumstances and the process of evolution of the old problems.

99. Unlike individuals, international organizations have no definite coming of age. It can be affirmed that the United Nations was born big, developed vigorous, as measured both by the Charter and by its numerous world-spanning technical services. And yet, the sum of experience is important to guide, reorient and sometimes readjust the programmes and policies which carry out these objectives, particularly in international organizations. In fact, while international organizations maintain the objectives which have been set, it is necessary to promote an adjustment to circumstances and to re-evaluate the complex set of initiatives and means of implementation and, in general, of executive policies. While the Charter is set and crystallized, the means to apply it and, more importantly, to make its purpose a reality are open to inventiveness, determination and the sense of responsibility of governments.

100. The United Nations came into being at a time when the need to rationalize international relations was obvious, and to some extent it responded to that idea so far as international peace and security were concerned. It was conceived, thought out, structured and endowed so that, on the basis of certain assumptions, which have frequently been lacking, it would guard world peace and security.

101. As intermediate activities which condition peace and security, the Charter listed the promotion of development, the observance of fundamental human rights, the reassessment of international relations by means of standards of justice. Withal, in the terms of the Charter, these objectives jointly condition and consolidate peace and security, which constitute the reason for the existence of the Organization.

102. On the basis of the Charter itself more emphasis could be placed on the aspects in which the United Nations could be more meaningful, since it is a matter of common knowledge that the basis of its incomparable strength in regard to peace and security has been weakened by antagonisms in the Security Council. Therefore we could reassess international relations from the point of view of justice and from that approach consider the problems of under-development and their solutions, the terms of trade, the transfer of technology and regional integration.

103. Although some problems can be solved if treated in bits and pieces very pragmatically, it would seem appropriate to undertake an overall study, at least at certain moments in the life of an international organization. That overall review would make it possible not only to reconsider programme priorities in connexion with the four or five basic objectives of the United Nations but also to analyse the viability of the policies adopted, the solutions applied and, in general, the whole structure, activity and internal and external co-ordination of the system.

104. That something has to be done to give strength and vigour to the United Nations seems clear; that the United Nations is undergoing a crisis of credibility in public opinion is recognized in official and private circles in many countries. But that the Governments which sustain this Organization have the firm and urgent duty to analyse the

course traversed and assess the degree of fulfilment of the Charter and in particular to examine the distance between the objectives collectively agreed to and the political events of recent years seems a measure of prudent governing. From being very pragmatic we are becoming immersed in detail; from being very positive, we lose sight of reality; from being so aware of the immediate problem we are forgetting that what is immediate is part of a lengthy process. If in national States we think for several years ahead, it is strange that international organizations should live from day to day and draft their agenda year by year with frequent repetitions and without defining the major goals which would make it possible to assess and evaluate administrative activities, technical assistance and political achievements.

105. The United Nations Charter registers the objectives and principles of conduct which are compatible with the survival of national States; but it is not a programme, nor does it present a strategy, and it is precisely there, in the programme and the strategy, that the executive powers have much to do. Through the global strategy and the programmes, the purposes of the Charter can be reconditioned and, by their interaction, we can reassess international relations on the criterion of justice. That reassessment on the criterion of justice, although veiled, is in the Charter; through the strategy and the programme we can make explicit what is implicit in the Charter and transform into reality what is now but a seed.

106. The two world systems of organization so far known—that of the League of Nations and that of the United Nations—came into being immediately after catastrophic wars and reflected the conditions prevailing at the time. Since every written régime becomes crystallized, the Charter has constituted a recourse for those who want to give a summary, scanty, restricted interpretation of the obligations contracted; but from the same instrument one can adopt an executive, broad, dynamic and even ambitious meaning, for which what is required is neither more nor less than a genuine political will. There would be an opportunity within a global, largely political, review of the existing system, and we urge that the will to do this be aroused among all so that they may agree on a global and dynamic plan of action.

107. Every agreement that is written into norms is a novelty at the time of its creation, but its later effectiveness depends on the way in which it is managed; then it becomes a force of containment, instead of being used as an instrument of progress. At the international level, in order to keep pace with the accelerating forces of change, proposals are frequently made to revise legal instruments, and then renegotiation is barred by fear—sometimes, indeed, by terror—at innovations, and in the present case with mistrust among the centres of power, which within the established system, represent the vested interests. Thus we observe the fate meted out here to the very praiseworthy proposal to amend the Charter; it is shrouded in purely procedural resolutions, with nobody so far, being openly opposed.

108. Parallel with the reform of the Charter, and without constituting either an obstacle or a proposed substitute, one can consider the bringing up to date of the United Nations

system by an overall review of intermediate objectives and purposes, programmes and services, and ultimate goals. The activities of the General Assembly are scattered and unconnected in annual programmes which meet episodic and passing circumstances. The agenda could contain the basic items of the strategy for the implementation of the Charter. For 27 years the United Nations has avoided an overall review of its activities and has refrained from drawing up a strategy which combines a sense of timeliness with the major objectives of the Charter: peace and security, international justice, development, human rights, regional co-operation.

109. The United Nations cannot attain its full relevance without a new disposition of power politics, not only in the strictly political field but also in the economic field. Otherwise it will continue to be the stage for the balance of the great Powers, with of course all the splendour required by the technological era. If there is a real desire to attain the ends, the proper means must be supplied, otherwise to desire the ends becomes a romantic or political recourse. The seriousness of declared purposes is measured by the adequacy of the means supplied.

110. It has been said that if the United Nations did not exist it would be necessary to invent it, which implies that without it the contemporary international community would be inconceivable. But we would add that were it to be re-created at this time perhaps it would be built with so much caution, so much mistrust, such a sense of rivalry, that its powers might be diminished. We agree completely with the proposals to amend the Charter. Such amendments must pursue a fundamental objective—namely, that of raising international justice to the level of a primary objective of the Charter with a status equal to that of peace and security.

111. We believe that this effort, although it is not destined to immediate triumph, will in time bring about results. The worst attitude would be one of conformity, that of giving in to an overwhelming, asphyxiating reality without a future, which tends to convert the mechanisms of the international community into a repetition of those which caused so much sorrow and so many irrational situations in the past. Knowing that in this case there is no immediate and definite expectation, we can only cross swords for what should be, for that which is in line with a constructive collaboration between States, for that which leads to a new world order based on collective security, and on relations measured by justice, for that which leads to an international social policy. It is a matter of urgency to reassess internal relations by criteria of justice, that is to say, to transfer to the international level, *mutatis mutandis*, the sense of justice with which national contemporary States have readjusted and carried out their functions and consequently changed their image, structure and significance.

112. Within this reassessment one would have to rethink completely—and from the very beginning—the problems of development and under-development on a world-wide scale, because it must be recognized that all the efforts and programmes, which are good in themselves, have fallen short of expectations and that all policies of technical assistance, trade, transfer of economic and technological resources, investments and loans, and so on have proved to be insufficient—although we do recognize that had such

programmes and policies been lacking the gap between the two groups of countries into which the international community is divided would have been far greater.

113. Since development became a conscious and rational objective of the international community—and it started with the United Nations system and the specialized agencies—several means of development have been attempted, among which it is worth while to recall the following: first, multilateral technical assistance, the most outstanding exponents of which are the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research; second, financial assistance through banks and funds on a world-wide, regional and even subregional basis; third, the mass transfer of science and technology; fourth, private and public investments; fifth, world-wide trade arrangements by way of UNCTAD, which is one of the most valuable forums for developing countries. Today we are being sold another means, birth control, which some countries refuse to buy.

114. Without prejudice to the validity of what has been done and said, thought and planned, the fact is that the gap between the developed and the developing countries is widening, and this indicates that the means chosen have been inadequate as compared with the objectives, probably because those means have fallen short of the needs. The problem of development has never won complete and unwavering understanding among the developed countries; and so when after laborious negotiations what is deemed appropriate is obtained, it is already insufficient. That is what happened, for example, with the famous 1 per cent transfer of the gross national product of the industrialized countries. Things have their time and their reason, and postponements make inadequate that which was calculated for circumstances which have since been superseded.

115. Some Latin American politicians, intellectuals and technicians have sponsored and disseminated a scheme for vertical regional development, which would mean that a group of industrialized countries would take charge of a group of under-developed countries so that both groups would be connected between themselves by means of exclusive tariff preferences and other benefits. This scheme, which would divide the world into vertical zones of close association between developed and under-developed countries, is conceived of as an alternative to find a way out of the deadlock in which this major question is being debated and in regard to which the development strategy of the United Nations has proved to be powerless. Within that theory a world-wide approach would be to some measure replaced by a regional approach.

116. This scheme has attractive points, but it is delineated within the means which have already been abundantly used to promote development and there is nothing to guarantee that if these means have been ineffective on a world-wide scale they would not be equally so on a regional scale. Furthermore, the distribution of the world into north-south sectors would increase the political dependence of the corresponding under-developed countries. The scheme could be freed from its political ambiguities if it were to go hand in hand with a profound revision of the machinery and habits of the exercise of power.

117. In the great world-wide interplay of interests the under-developed countries benefit from the existence of several power centres, with which they can alternately negotiate and in respect of which they will in some measure learn to benefit from their competition, not to say their dissensions. The bipolar structure of the last 20 years has offered less margin for negotiation than the quadripolar structure, which seems to be what is going to happen in the last decades of the twentieth century.

118. The disorderly and irrational use of technology requires that we think of the destiny of man on his planet. The world of the future must be international and to a large degree transnational; but as long as there is no basic revision of the mechanisms of world power, the under-developed countries will have to use legal and political methods which have been somewhat superseded by time but which constitute their means of defense. Thus, despite growing interdependence, they will have to work with national States, sovereignty, the legal equality of States and the host of principles and doctrines which represent the international strength of national States.

119. During this general debate the Assembly has heard the suggestion made at the 2050th meeting by the Foreign Minister of Mexico, Mr. Emilio Rabasa, that the under-developed world have a permanent seat on the Security Council, with the rights and the obligations provided for in the Charter. This idea should be retained and explored. Indeed, the under-developed world as a whole constitutes a considerable political force; its presence on the Council, with legal equality with the five great Powers, would introduce a healthy political balance in the United Nations. Some special rules could be examined: for example, the rotation of the countries designated, relatively lengthy periods of the exercise of that lofty position, and agreement on rules and criteria whereby the State representing the developing countries would make use of the prerogatives inherent in a permanent seat on the Security Council.

120. It is maintained today that we have to conceive of another model of development, very appropriate to the under-developed countries and different from that of the industrialized countries. This idea must be managed very cautiously because, while it might respond to the principle of being adjusted to the circumstances of time and place, which is very valuable socially, it could lead to the prolonged condemnation of a sector of mankind in regard to the advantages of the use of technology and deprive that sector of an active contribution to the great process of mastering nature and fully developing the potential capabilities of man.

121. Much may be said, but the fact is that the industrialized countries are only half convinced that the development of the less developed countries will objectively be of benefit to them. For that very reason the industrialized countries have not come to consider that problem as their problem. Of course this attitude is consistent with the division of the world into national States, and perhaps it can be penetrated with a new alignment of States in the regions which are integrated. Part of the assistance programmes has been subscribed to and maintained by not only political but also cultural and technical prestige and influence.

122. Growing interdependence is one of the dynamic characteristics of the contemporary international community, and some problems go completely beyond the capacity for decision and the power of national States, even of the strongest. One cannot create barriers and believe that indifference to what happens outside is in the national interest. There are no islands of prosperity, because problems transcend separatist and separating barriers and render any convenient indifference impossible.

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

123. A few hours' flight south of the megalopolis of New York, the political centre of the world because it is the location of United Nations Headquarters, under-development begins, with its entourage of frustrations and insecurities. It extends south on the American continent, and continues in Africa, Asia and Oceania. The causes of this phenomenon are not well determined and must remain a subject for studies on sociology, history, economics and politics. But as for its lasting character, one of the factors at stake—though not the only one—is the overwhelming attraction exerted by the great industrial cordon of the Northern Hemisphere, which, independent of the wishes and purposes of peoples and governments, increases and, within the law of social forces, is unfavourable to the weaker areas. Only an international social policy based on the sociology of the international community and directed by criteria of justice could reverse that trend.

124. World trade unduly reflects power relations, and the imbalance in the terms of trade is a consequence of those relations. It is therefore quite normal, indeed, necessary, for the under-developed countries to strengthen their negotiating capacity by means of consultations and agreements so as to present a united front to the industrialized countries. Thus, the meetings of the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination, better known as CECLA, the prior meetings of the under-developed countries in UNCTAD, the meetings of countries exporting coffee and other products—are all meetings which, like those on coffee, are devoid of any character of conspiracy and are alien to the purpose of organizing cartels. Nor do they intend to distribute markets among themselves or to exercise pressure on them. Their role is to bring about order and to defend themselves, and definitely tends to compensate for the negotiating weakness of one of the parties in order to restore balance of treatment in dealing with the industrialized countries, which daily raise the prices for their technology, machinery and services, but are alarmed when there is an increase of a few cents in the prices of the commodities they purchase from the under-developed countries. It can be demonstrated that over a 15-year period those few cents, which are very uncertain because they fluctuate, creating illusion and despair, are very much lower than rises sustained without any known decline in the cost of industrial products and technological services.

125. Furthermore, one must seriously consider an international division of labour and therefore the complementary character of regions so that each country will efficiently produce that which it is best fitted to produce. It should be left entirely to the under-developed countries to perform the economic activities for which their conditions are the best. Thus sugar and cotton, which some developed

countries produce, paying subsidies to do so, and which they use to keep world market prices artificially low, should be the first products to be completely in the hands of the under-developed countries.

126. International assistance for development has had a series of achievements, but also a number of deficiencies and gaps which it is time to evaluate. There has been insufficient emphasis on the human side—that is to say, on education and training. Europe was able to recover rapidly after the Second World War because it had highly qualified human resources. The Marshall Plan was a success in Europe because of that human base. The United Nations and the specialized agencies, while they have worked to that end and for that purpose, have created important services, but could place even more emphasis on, and devote more resources and efforts to, education and training. It is well known that administrative and management skills are lacking in the under-developed countries.

127. The under-developed countries do not know how to utilize their most valuable resources—human resources, which are undervalued today because of unemployment and low levels of knowledge and skill. Underemployment sometimes amounts to 50 per cent of the potentially usable labour force. That valuable resource, which is wasted in under-development, could to some extent be used in self-help programmes.

128. Local training in administrative and managerial skills on a scale suitable to raise efficiency levels in all public and private activities in the under-developed countries combined with self-help programmes, whose techniques would have to be disseminated on a broad scale, and with the assistance of the discovery and application of a methodology to provide incentives and motivation for the people, could generate the internal forces of development at an accelerated rate.

129. In the international community, which is ever smaller measured in relative terms because of faster communications, a phenomenon similar to development in national States occurs: absorbent areas make prosperity a privilege, even though it may be an undesired privilege, while at its expense the rest of the provinces vegetate. The provinces which vegetate continue to maintain the prosperity of the large cities and industrial centres, and the rural population, which traditionally lags behind industrial interests, pays its quota of sacrifices to maintain the cities. The under-developed areas of the world pay their quota in maintaining the high standard of living of the developed countries, even though that is not the result of deliberate policies or of any thought-out intention. Thus it is well-known that, among other things, the under-developed countries, with their squalid economies, help to pay for the unbridled and uncontrollable inflation of the industrialized countries; that monetary operations carried out without their knowledge or participation cause them serious disturbances; and that the policy of low prices for their export goods is one of the causes of their indebtedness, since they cannot maintain their programmes with their exports, in other words, with the fruits of their labour.

130. With the case presented thus, it is apparent that under-development is not a problem which can be dealt

with entirely at the national level, and that an international approach becomes indispensable. Under-development, influenced by the combined presence of different, closely linked economies, is a world-wide problem—one for the United Nations and the specialized agencies. What is more, as some countries evolve from one category to another, the situation for the remainder will become even more difficult, and the need for a world-wide policy will be pressing. If matters are governed merely by social and political mechanics, in all likelihood under-development will become the mandatory fate of a large part of mankind and the euphemism of new models will then be sought.

131. Trade will have to remain the major source of development-financing. This is definitely an improvement on indebtedness. This is not the case in unbalanced international trade, in which the unbridled inflation of the industrialized countries, which in some measure reflects higher salaries and better living conditions, has no appropriate counterpart. Therefore, it is really frustrating that, even if viewed with understanding, and although targets and wills were renewed, the third session of UNCTAD was little short of a failure.

132. It is time we gave thought to other ways of solving this world-wide problem by removing its causes and dealing with them and their consequences. I have in mind something which at this time of exacerbated pragmatism may appear to be purely Utopian, but of which much will be said in the future: international taxes. It may be predicted that one day such taxes will be paid on carefully selected productive activities, which will most patently show that many countries contribute to them, either by titular right, as in the case of the resources of the international sea-bed, or when businesses prosper and profits are earned with the contributions of many countries, as in the case of multinational companies. When we speak of marine resources we refer not only to those of the international sea-bed, but also to biological resources. And since we have to start somewhere, the sea appears to be the most appropriate object of taxation.

133. In opposing international taxes, arguments similar to those against national taxes will be used: it will be said that they raise costs, discourage production, etc., but the fact of the matter is that national taxes do exist. They will also have to exist in the international community, even though they may now appear to be shrouded in clouds of Utopia.

134. Some of the most acute conflicts of interest in the new régime of the seas could be attenuated if a really operative means of generalized co-participation could be devised in regard to these artificially distributed riches, since water, fish, plankton, tides, etc. recognize no boundaries. As the ocean is the main reserve of mankind, a coastal band could be drawn for the exclusive use of the coastal country, with some commitment to contribute voluntarily to an international development fund. There would then be an additional band for the exploitation of which a small mandatory contribution would be set, to be agreed upon between the coastal State and the international community. Finally, on what is called the high seas—which would cease to be the privileged possession of the first comer or of the strongest—a more complex régime of international co-participation would be established, and

contributory levies would be set up by general agreement among all States.

135. Since no world government exists, such a régime would function on the basis of treaties and, hence, through the centres which create international agreements, namely States; but as for management and administration, unless stagnation is the plan, a careful system of majority decision would have to be established—of course, without the right of veto—but by a well distributed and balanced majority.

136. These ideas are expressed within the framework of interdependence of interests and are therefore totally devoid of the concept of any gift. If it is really intended to organize the international community, one must observe the realities on which it is patterned. It is a matter of emphasizing education, training and skilled know-how, of studying motivation and incentive techniques, and of finding a reasonable international division of labour.

137. Even the best technical and human plans will be relegated to the sphere of speculation if the international community fails to establish a minimum of security. Principles and rules for peaceful coexistence among States have been agreed to; but now groups outside the context of States, but whose conduct influences inter-State relations, are making their own law: the law of indiscriminate and irrational violence. The international community must defend itself from terrorism, which is poisoning international relations and wants to substitute the pressure of fear for the persuasion of reason; threats for negotiation; and desperate, passionate and insensate acts for the evolutionary process of institutions.

138. The United Nations is a world forum of great resonance; but it is also, and should continue to be, an organizing brain and, in some areas, an arm to give force to the Charter, which, to a large extent, is a set of goals and a handful of contractual obligations to ensure co-operation.

139. The United Nations has its intrinsic limitations; therefore its negotiations require two elements: time and patience. Without these two elements, one of which is objective and the other mental, the complex negotiations which it undertakes would lack maturity. In the negotiating process haste sometimes means delay, and the distances covered are not measured by a dose of impatience nor by improvisations.

140. Essentially the United Nations is a great instrument for co-operation—in fact, the most complex and extensive which is compatible with the survival of national States. For the present there is nothing in the international community that can replace it. We are firmly in favour of strengthening the United Nations at the political, economic and legal levels. We enthusiastically participate in its work and in its programmes, and we realize that after several centuries of international relations governed by the law of force the process of institutionalizing the international community has to be comparatively slow. As Members of the United Nations, we take criticisms of the United Nations as criticisms of ourselves. The United Nations will go only as far as its Members really wish it to go. We are committed to a common task, called upon to influence decisively the lives of each and every one of its peoples.

That is why we reiterate our determination to work loyally and most actively for the attainment of the purposes of the United Nations. We do so in our desire for peace, motivated by our law-abiding spirit and our feeling of solidarity for and understanding of the problems and aspirations of the members of the international community.

141. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Sri Lanka): On 22 May of this year a change of historic significance occurred in my country: our political status was altered to that of a Republic. At the same time the name of the country, which under Portuguese occupation of the maritime provinces in the fifteenth century had been changed to Ceylon, was dropped and we resumed the name of Sri Lanka, by which my country was referred to in the ancient chronicles and in Valmiki's epic, the Ramayana. The change of name from "Ceylon" to "Sri Lanka"—or "the Resplendent Isle", to give it its closest English translation—was not merely a romantic evocation of the past: it was a recognition of the value of our cultural heritage and an affirmation of our cultural affinity with our neighbours in South and South-east Asia, where the Ramayana is a literary and cultural masterpiece of imperishable value. Therefore, today—for the first time—I address you, Mr. President, and this Assembly as the permanent representative of Sri Lanka to the United Nations.

142. The change of Constitution, which took place on 22 May and made us a Republic, severed our link with the British Crown—a link which had lasted for 157 years—but Sri Lanka remains within the Commonwealth and will continue to maintain and even endeavour to strengthen the friendly relations that have existed between our country and Britain. This is the spirit that Walt Whitman had in mind when he spoke of that fervent element of manly friendship that is more binding than treaties.

143. Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Sri Lanka and on my own behalf, I extend to you our cordial felicitations on your election as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. In congratulating your country and you, we are also congratulating the General Assembly on having selected a President who has already given ample evidence of his adroitness and ability in steering the work of the Assembly and especially in the delicate handling of highly contentious issues. A session that started in a tempest of dissension and acrimony has, through your able captaincy, been placed on an even keel. The weather may turn inclement once again, but at least we feel sure that we are in safe hands. My delegation will at all times be ready to extend to you without reservation its fullest co-operation.

144. As your predecessor we had an eminent Asian, Mr. Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, to whom we owe a word of deep appreciation for the manner in which he directed the work of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. That session witnessed the triumph of justice and reason over prejudice and partisanship with the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and thereby brought us closer to the ideal of universality, which is an indispensable condition for the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

145. For the first time after about nine years we are without the serene personality of U Thant, our former Secretary-General, whose shining attributes of compassion and unassailable moral and intellectual integrity captivated the minds and hearts of all those who had the privilege of being associated with him during his tenure of office. With an endearing humility of spirit and a total lack of ostentation, speaking with courage and acting with discretion and restraint as the occasion demanded, he made a lasting imprint on international relations.

146. We had an opportunity last year [2031st meeting] to welcome his successor, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose long experience in foreign affairs and international relations will prove an invaluable asset to the Organization. Mr. Waldheim has already demonstrated a sturdy independence, an unflinching initiative and an unfaltering determination to exploit to the limit the scope and authority of his high office. Anyone who displays a vigorous initiative in an organization of such diverse and conflicting interests and policies faces the risk of criticism, often of a captious and destructive nature. I am sure it will not take long for the Organization to realize that it owes as great a duty to the Secretary-General as the Secretary-General himself owes to the Organization, and that duty is to co-operate in a constructive manner in the pursuit of the high ideals to which we have pledged ourselves.

147. Since we last met, there have been many dramatic changes and developments in international affairs and international relationships which cannot but enhance the prospects of international peace and security and help mitigate or eliminate the tensions that have afflicted the world ever since the end of the Second World War. Along with the numerous speakers who have preceded me in this debate and who have made reference to those trends, we welcome the improvement in the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany on the one hand and Poland and the Soviet Union on the other, through the signing of the Warsaw treaty<sup>4</sup> and the Moscow Treaty,<sup>5</sup> and also the progress towards the establishment of a fraternal understanding between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. These measures, and the complementary stage of the same process that would be a conference on European security and co-operation held between the western and eastern parts of Europe and including the United States of America and Canada, an important element of which would be an agreement on a mutual and balanced reduction of forces in that part of the world, are a tribute to those national leaders who have worked tirelessly for their realization. We applaud these efforts and are gratified by the success that has so far attended them and express our sincere wishes for their final consummation, which would make Europe the envy of the rest of the world and an example worthy of emulation. We would only hope that, while justifiably and understandably concentrating on the improvement of relations between themselves, the architects of European security will not consider themselves relieved of any responsibility for assisting in the creation of similar conditions of peace and stability in other parts of the world and that they will do

their utmost to remove the causes of violent conflict and almost incurable enmity in the Middle East, to end the fratricidal war in former Indo-China and also to eradicate the vicious practices and repressive policies that are still pursued by white minority régimes and Governments in Africa and by the Government of Portugal in its African Territories.

148. In Asia, too, there have been developments in recent times which augur well for the future. The decision of the Governments of China and Japan to establish diplomatic relations with each other will erase the grim and sombre memories of past antagonisms and will, by bringing to an end 35 years of hostility and estrangement, provide the foundation for political, economic and cultural co-operation between two of the most powerful countries in Asia. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to the leaders on both sides for their bold and imaginative statesmanship and especially to the Government of China for its magnanimous gesture in waiving all claim to war reparations. History has shown that peace with penalty is only a respite for revenge. We are confident that in this instance the Chinese Government's decision will prevent a repetition of Europe's unhappy experience after the First World War.

149. Another development of profound importance is the declared intention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan to commence negotiations leading to a peace treaty between the two countries. The success of these negotiations must have a powerful impact on the political and economic future of Asia.

150. The leaders of China and the United States are to be congratulated on their endeavours to resume friendly contacts between their Governments and peoples—endeavours which were punctuated in dramatic manner by what I believe was the first visit of a United States President to China. Equally welcome and praiseworthy are the signs of increasing co-operation between the United States and the Soviet Union in spheres of common interest and especially in regard to the control of armaments.

151. The exchanges that have been taking place between North and South Korea through the medium of the Red Cross organizations of the two divided parts of that country will, we hope, be the starting-point in a process that will lead to a final composition of their differences and ultimately bring about the reunification of that country.

152. These moves towards reconciliation between former foes show a proper respect for the principles of the Charter and disclose a healthy attitude of enlightened self-interest on the part of those concerned. They will help promote conditions conducive to co-operation, stability and progress in Asia.

153. The Simla Agreement of 3 July 1972 between President Bhutto of Pakistan and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India contains the principal elements that can put an end to the mutual suspicion and sullen hostility that have separated India and Pakistan ever since the partition, provided the implementation of the Agreement accords with the spirit of its terms. Given such conscientious implementation of the Agreement, not merely will the risk of future armed clashes be avoided, but there will be a

<sup>4</sup> Treaty on the Bases for Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 18 November 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Signed on 12 August 1970.

definite assurance that any disagreement that may arise hereafter will be settled amicably and that lasting friendship and enduring co-operation will replace the implacable enmity of the last 25 years. Nothing, therefore, should be allowed to defer such a final implementation of the Agreement.

154. It is to be hoped that the same spirit will prevail so that a firm and lasting friendship may be established between Pakistan and Bangladesh. For our part we have, like the vast majority of Members of the United Nations, extended diplomatic recognition to Bangladesh and have supported its admission to the specialized agencies. We, therefore, support its application for admission to the United Nations [A/8754-S/10759]. We are, however, far from satisfied that the initiative taken to include this item in the General Assembly's agenda under the general title "Admission of new Members to the United Nations" [item 23] is in the best interests of Bangladesh, as it might have exactly the opposite effect from what the proponents of the item intended. The very procedure is of dubious constitutionality. Unfortunately, it is a mark of human frailty that the ends we seek to achieve are too often imperilled by the means we choose to adopt. The interests of Bangladesh would be best served at this juncture if the efforts of the international community were concentrated on removing the obstacles to the establishment of good relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh and on effecting a reconciliation between the two countries which must result inevitably in not merely the recognition by Pakistan of the existence of Bangladesh but also recognition in the full diplomatic sense.

155. We would draw particular attention to Security Council resolution 307 (1971), which "calls upon all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of the wounded and sick, prisoners of war and the civilian population". We trust that, if there are impediments, legal or practical or even political, which obstruct the implementation of the Geneva Conventions regarding the repatriation of the prisoners of war, they will be speedily removed, due regard being given to articles 118 and 119 of the third Geneva Convention.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, we hope that the 30,000 Bengalis who belonged to the Pakistan armed forces and the approximately 10,000 Bengali administrative personnel now in Pakistan will be permitted to exercise their option to build their future in Bangladesh and help in the reconstruction and development of that country.

156. We make these observations, not in any spirit of criticism, but from a desire to see peace and friendly relations established and maintained throughout the entire subcontinent. We are inclined to believe that this result could be achieved if the parties concerned were left to their own devices without any interference from outside other than encouragement and assistance in attaining agreement.

157. There are many here, we are aware, who treat the prisoner-of-war issue as the crux of the problem, rather

than the recognition by Pakistan of Bangladesh—however devoutly we may wish such recognition to be accorded. It would not be consonant with the spirit and the letter of the third Geneva Convention of 1949 to make the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan a condition of the release of the prisoners of war. The third Geneva Convention is patently clear on the conditions that should govern the release of prisoners of war. At the same time we must point out that the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations cannot be made subject to the release of the prisoners of war.

158. Our appeal to all the parties concerned would be to work for a settlement the principal and indispensable elements of which would be the release of all prisoners of war, excluding those liable to trial for crimes committed in the prosecution of the war, and the repatriation by Pakistan of the 30,000 Bengalis who were members of the Pakistan armed forces and of the approximately 10,000 Bengali civilians in Pakistan, most of whom are administrators, provided they wish to return. There is a third element, the mutual recognition of Bangladesh and Pakistan, which we would commend to them. If agreement is reached on these measures, if action to implement them is synchronized and if there are reliable guarantees against the breach of the obligations assumed under such an agreement, the main obstacle to the creation of peace and harmony throughout the subcontinent would be removed. The Simla Agreement has already provided a favourable climate for a final solution, and other outstanding issues such as the question of assets and liabilities, which have been satisfactorily resolved in the past on the Indian subcontinent, should present no insuperable problem.

159. The war in Indo-China continues—a war without mercy and a war without end—heaping misery and devastation on an area already bled white by more than 30 years of continuous warfare and ruined and devastated by a policy of relentless bombing surpassing in scale anything experienced during the Second World War. Is it not possible to profit by the lessons of history and to accept the reality that the human spirit, in the defence of what it considers to be its legitimate rights, is indomitable and indestructible and that no weapon has yet been discovered that can reduce it to submission? An entire people may be flattened into eternity, but that spirit will survive. We hope reason and realism will prevail.

160. Although the world had been led to believe that a search for a military solution had been disclaimed, it does not appear to have yet been abandoned. What is needed is an immediate cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a fully representative Government of national unity which will have both the political will and the capacity to repair the havoc of war and release the people of Viet-Nam from the terror that has haunted them for three decades.

161. We in Sri Lanka view with increasing anxiety and concern the present state of relations between the Soviet Union and China and the lack of progress towards a reconciliation between China and India. The misunderstandings that separate these nations, whose cordial relationship with one another once offered the brightest hope for Asian progress and unity, must be overcome without the least delay, not merely in the interests of the Asian continent alone, but in the greater interest of international

<sup>6</sup> Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, p. 135.

peace and security, thereby releasing the energies and resources of their peoples for the more constructive task of economic development.

162. In the Middle East a tenuous cease-fire has been rudely disturbed by a sudden eruption of acts of terrorism and violence directed against innocent persons and these acts have served as a pretext for savage reprisals no less grotesquely brutal and terroristic than those which they seek to punish. The United States Secretary of State, Mr. William Rogers, showed admirable statesmanship and fair-mindedness in his treatment of this explosive question when he addressed the General Assembly [2038th meeting]. His objectivity and perceptiveness were in luminous contrast to the approach of others to a problem that should take both humanitarian and political factors into account.

163. There are too many inclined to imagine that terrorism began in Munich. We have no hesitation in condemning terrorism, irrespective of those who resort to it, but if we are genuinely interested in putting an end to terrorism, and not merely in seeking in a spirit of partisanship to make political capital of acts of terrorism, we must examine, and strive to extirpate, the causes of terrorism and the situations which drive men to such acts. The causes are despair and frustration—despair at ever getting justice from the Organization chiefly responsible for the injustice. Despair of this type is no different from lunacy and finds expression either in melancholy brooding or in insensate violence. The several hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who have lost their homes, who daily witness the demolition of their houses and the expropriation of their property with meaningless offers of compensation and without the dimmest hope of proper restitution, have been forgotten by the Organization responsible for their fate and their plight.

164. As Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, I have been deeply disturbed by the attitude of many Members of this Organization when the reports of the Special Committee are considered, Members who think it fair and proper to abstain in the vote on draft resolutions protesting unmistakable and proven violations of the human rights of the population of the occupied territories, but who suddenly find themselves roused out of their torpor by the senseless savagery displayed at Munich and at the Lod airport. Had this Organization acted in a responsible manner, the events at Munich and Lod would not have stained the pages of contemporary history. To the credit of the Secretary-General, it must be stated that at the first opportunity he did bring the question before this Assembly [A/8791 and Add.1], but the record of the voting at the 2037th meeting on the eminently fair, reasonable and objective amendment moved by the representative of Saudi Arabia [A/L.673], which chose to put the problem in its proper perspective and to focus attention on the causes of terrorism rather than on the condemnation of individual acts, clearly shows that what is still needed is a more widespread sense of impartiality and justice in the treatment of this problem. Thanks to the representative of Saudi Arabia, we shall now be able to go to the root of the problem and to deal with it in a manner which we hope will prevent future Munichs and Lods.

165. We have already referred to the vicious practices of *apartheid* in Africa and Portugal's ruthless suppression of the freedom movement in its African territories. There are disturbing signs that on the most specious of pretexts, but prompted solely by material considerations of economic advantage, certain Western Powers, in reckless and unconscionable disregard for moral principle or legal obligation, are providing encouragement, solace and support to the régimes and policies of the white minorities in Africa, which have been universally condemned. Nobody could have taken seriously the argument that a denial of foreign investment to South Africa would only injure the interests of the black Africans.

166. We have on our agenda again this year the items relating to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [item 35] and a World Disarmament Conference [item 26]. In addition, we have a new item assigned for discussion in plenary meetings and entitled "Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons" [item 25].

167. The Secretary-General's report [A/8775 and Add.1-4] does not disclose any original suggestions from any State regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, nor has the Security Council itself so far succeeded in presenting a report on performance, though drafts have been presented which are no more than a restatement of our obligations.

168. As for the World Disarmament Conference, we do not object to the participation of all States in the discussion of this vital subject, but it is an admission of the failure of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, after all these years of its existence and after an enlargement of its membership, that it is now considered necessary to hold a world conference on disarmament. The approach to disarmament continues to be materialistic rather than moralistic: the approach of reducing armaments and outlawing certain types of weapons of mass destruction rather than examining the circumstances that impel countries to engage in an arms race and the causes of war and making an effort to eliminate them. Yet another preposterous fallacy is that nuclear testing is regarded essentially as a matter of pollution; hence the excitement displayed at the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment over atmospheric tests. We work ourselves into ecstasy over the two super-Powers' treaty limiting the number of anti-ballistic missile systems that they may retain and their agreement on limitations on strategic offensive weapons. The limits that those Powers still permit themselves for the development and the further sophistication of nuclear weapons will not reduce in the least the threat of annihilation that faces the world as long as nuclear weapons are held by any State or States. Possessing the capacity to destroy each other and even the world several times over, the super-Powers cannot expect the world to be overwhelmed with relief over agreements which merely curtail the multiple lethal capacity that they already possess. We would suggest that what we need is a world conference on the removal of the causes of war through the total elimination of injustice and the adoption of positive measures for the removal of social and economic inequalities between nations. That is the true meaning of peace and progress.



169. As regards the materialistic approach to disarmament, we have consistently maintained that the only guarantee of the avoidance of a nuclear war lies in a programme of action to which all nuclear Powers would be irrevocably committed and which would comprise the following measures: in the first instance, a categorical undertaking by the nuclear Powers not to use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States, combined with an unequivocal and total renunciation of the right to use nuclear weapons; second, the conclusion of a complete or comprehensive test-ban treaty by the prohibition of underground tests; third, the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the freezing of the existing stockpile of nuclear weapons; and fourth, the gradual dismantling of the total apparatus of nuclear terror.

170. We have no right to condemn any country which conducts atmospheric tests, especially if it has only an embryonic nuclear armoury, while we leave others free to conduct underground tests to add to an already existing nuclear armoury of phenomenal proportions.

171. We must express our disappointment at the failure of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to produce a draft agreement on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their elimination from the arsenals of all States. We recall that there was an implied assurance on the part of those major Powers that were pressing for the adoption of the Convention on bacteriological weapons last year<sup>7</sup> that, if it was adopted, we could expect to be rewarded with an agreement on the banning of chemical weapons this year. We cannot but help observing that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has not kept faith with the General Assembly.

172. Our general approach to the question of international peace and security and to disarmament, which is that it must seek to remove the causes of war, dictates our attitude to the question of the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. There is an appealing touch of idealism in the contention that if the question of the non-use of force calls for prohibiting the use of weapons of all types, all States will be in a position of equality and none will receive unilateral military advantages. We cannot but agree with the proposition, as stated in the Soviet memorandum regarding the inclusion of this item in the agenda [A/8793], self-evident as that proposition is, that the prohibition of the use of both nuclear and conventional weapons is fully in keeping with the principle of ensuring an equal measure of security for all States. But it appears to us that in the conditions that exist in the world today such an approach is lacking in realism. We very much wish that the assumptions underlying it were justified. Those who advance this proposition must ask themselves, why is it that States wish to arm themselves either with nuclear or conventional weapons or both, and how could the prohibition of the use of such weapons be reconciled with the right to produce and possess them and, further, what exactly is meant by an equal measure of security for all States? We can exhaust all

the resources of rhetoric in the discussion of such questions on such premises and assumptions, but we forget that, even if all men are supposed to have been born equal, all nations are not, and never can be, equal in power or capacity.

173. We feel a sense of dismay that countries which appeal to us to refrain from the use of force in international relations—and the overwhelming majority of us here have never used force in international relations—find it difficult to agree to the one positive and constructive proposal that could promote international peace and security even in the absence of high-sounding declarations, and that is the creation of zones of peace. The fact that at the 2022nd meeting only half the members of this Assembly voted in favour of the 13-Power draft resolution—which became resolution 2832 (XXVI)—presented last year on the initiative of my delegation and the Tanzanian delegation for the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace shows how remote we are from reality when we welcome anti-ballistic missile agreements and the limitation of strategic offensive arms, but view with suspicion and apprehension a proposal for the exclusion of a sizable section of the world from the arms race, a proposal which seeks to free that area from the military presence of the powerful nations.

174. We shall do our utmost at this session to secure some progress in regard to the proposal for declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and hope that those who have a genuine interest in the strengthening of international peace and security will support our endeavours.

175. At the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Georgetown, Guyana, in August this year, which was attended by 59 countries as members, a Declaration was adopted in which the Foreign Ministers, noting with satisfaction the adoption by the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, “considered that this initiative of third world countries and non-aligned states was a significant contribution to the strengthening of international security and that its implementation would greatly reinforce the emerging structures of world peace and help create conditions for progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament. Moreover, they were of the view that the implementation of this Declaration would strengthen the conditions of peace, security and co-operation in an important region of the third world”, and agreed to co-ordinate their action at this session of the United Nations.<sup>8</sup>

176. The Georgetown Conference also noted that “the Mediterranean is increasingly becoming an area for the display of rival military forces” and “welcomed the initiative taken towards convening a conference of non-aligned Mediterranean countries and those anxious and ready to work towards making the Mediterranean a sea of peace and co-operation among the peoples of the area”.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction (resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex).

<sup>8</sup> See the Declaration adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries at Georgetown, Guyana, on 12 August 1972, para. 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Idem.*, para. 13.

177. So far as the proposal for declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace is concerned, our ultimate objective is the removal of all foreign bases from the territories of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean; but our first step must be to secure the exclusion of great-Power rivalry and the great-Power military presence from the Indian Ocean, without denying any littoral or hinterland State the right to maintain a military potential that would satisfy the minimum requirements of its security and guarantee it freedom from external interference.

178. Along with other non-aligned countries present at the Georgetown Conference, we expressed our satisfaction at the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of 27 November 1971 by five South-east Asian countries, which "expressing their determination to secure recognition of and respect for Southeast Asia as a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, free from any form of menace or interference by outside Powers . . . welcomed this move as a positive development and called upon all States to respect these objectives".<sup>10</sup> My Government supports the Kuala Lumpur Declaration without reservation.

179. Let me now turn to those problems that affect the daily lives and the general well-being of our people, namely, the problems of trade and development. The most significant event of the year was the third session of UNCTAD, held in Santiago, Chile. Once more the hopes of developing countries to secure from UNCTAD, in pursuance of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], specific and positive commitments from the developed countries to measures and policies designed to improve the trading prospects of developing countries and the volume, conditions and terms of financial aid for their development were disappointed.

180. The address to the third session of UNCTAD by Mr. Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank<sup>11</sup> —the first occasion on which he addressed such a conference—contains some illuminating, if depressing, statistics. The President drew pointed attention to the fact that in the poorest countries of the world, those with a *per capita* gross national product of less than \$200 but comprising 67 per cent of the population of the world, *per capita* income during the First Development Decade grew at a rate of only 1.5 per cent annually and that, although the developed countries, in adopting the Strategy for the Second Development Decade and in order to meet the targets for growth, agreed that external aid to be provided in the form of official development assistance should reach 0.7 per cent of the gross national product by 1975, the contribution from the wealthiest nation in the world, the United States, whose gross national product is roughly half of the total gross national product of the developed countries, showed a steady decline from above 0.5 per cent in the early years of the last decade to 0.31 per cent in 1970, with the prospect of a further fall to about 0.24 per cent by 1975. The President of the World Bank came to the disturbing conclusion that the total flow of official development

assistance for the first half of the Decade was likely to reach approximately 0.35 per cent of the gross national product, or only half the target for the Decade.

181. Other statistics quoted by the President of the World Bank demonstrate even more startlingly the gaping chasm between the standards of living of the developed countries, with a quarter of the world's population, and the standards of living of the remaining three quarters of the world's population that live in the developing countries. The average *per capita* income in the developed countries, as the President of the World Bank pointed out, is approximately \$2,400 per annum compared with the figure of \$180 in the developing countries; by 1980 the *per capita* income in the developed countries is expected to rise by approximately \$1,200 compared with an increase of less than \$100 in *per capita* income in the developing countries, even given the attainment of the growth target set for the Second Development Decade. The President of the World Bank also pointed out that at constant prices the total gross national product of the developed countries is expected to rise from \$2,000 billion in 1970 to \$3,000 billion by 1980 and that if the developed countries have to raise the present level of official development assistance, which stands at 0.35 per cent of their gross national product, to the target of 0.7 per cent which they have set themselves, they need transfer to the developing countries only 1.5 per cent of the increase in their gross national product, or \$15 billion, leaving the balance of 98.5 per cent of the increase, or \$985 billion, to meet their own internal needs. It is almost like an excess profits tax or sumptuary tax of 1.5 per cent, which they can comfortably afford and the benefit of which they will receive as the purchasing power of the beneficiaries of their aid increases.

182. Those statistics, even if the figures of assistance reflect only official development assistance, show how far removed promise is from fulfilment. The developing countries must rely overwhelmingly on official development assistance, as private development assistance does not always favour the social aspirations or appreciate the economic policies and political problems of the recipient countries.

183. It is in the light of these realities that the achievement of the third session of UNCTAD must be judged. The question of stable prices for primary commodities, on which the majority of developing countries depend to a disproportionate extent for their earnings of foreign exchange to finance their development schemes, received cavalier treatment at that session. Some slight success was achieved in regard to the scheme of supplementary financing to provide facilities better, more dependable and more timely than those existing at present through the International Monetary Fund in order to rescue the development plans of developing countries from the dislocation and disruption that could be caused by unforeseen declines in their export earnings. With the support of the United Kingdom, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, the developing countries secured a resolution which calls for the preparation of a scheme, including an assessment of its cost, which would enable the international community to agree to provide the resources to finance the scheme.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Idem.*, para. 15.

<sup>11</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. Ia, part one, *Summaries of Statements by Heads of Delegations* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.Mim.1, part one), pp. 324-328.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), annex 1.A, resolution 84 (III).

184. The third session of UNCTAD also failed to achieve any real progress in regard to the proposal for establishing a link between special drawing rights and aid for development or in regard to the acceptance of the principle that the major share of the next issue of special drawing rights should go to the developing countries. Once again, the United Kingdom's more progressive attitude helped to secure a recognition from the Conference of the need for the subject of the link to be given the most serious attention, and for the International Monetary Fund to be requested to study and report as early as possible, with a view to the possible implementation of a viable scheme. As I remarked in a different forum, I hope this will not go down in history as the missing link.

185. In regard to the reform of the international monetary system, some slight satisfaction was obtained by the developing countries—like a crumb from the rich man's table—in the form of the representation of the developing countries in the group to which the task of making proposals for the reform of the international monetary system was entrusted, the Committee of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues.

186. To sum up, the third session of UNCTAD gave the developing countries some little hope, but no help. In approaching the future the developing countries would do well to take serious note of the fact that the contemporary economic scene is dominated, and will for some time be dominated, by four economic giants. There is the new phenomenon of the international economic cartel, regionally organized and best exemplified by the European Common Market, which as from January 1973 will grow in size, capacity and influence with the accession of the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland. The other three giants are the world's most powerful economy, that of the United States, the formidable economy of Japan, with new prospects opening up to it through improved relations with its most powerful neighbours, and, at the other end of the scale, the closely-knit, State-controlled economies of the socialist countries members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Those which are left are the developing countries, known as the "Group of 77" but actually consisting of about 95 countries, with little prospect or means of co-operation except in their appeals to the developed nations.

187. Sri Lanka's experience in regard to the problem of commodity prices and the maintenance of a proper equilibrium in its terms of trade is almost without parallel. For nearly two decades we have suffered a steady and persistent deterioration in our terms of trade, which fell from an annual average of 142 for the period 1952-1956 to an average of 88 for the period 1968-1970. While at first the deterioration was due chiefly to the rapid rise in import prices accompanied by stagnation in export prices, the problem has been accentuated more recently by a sharp drop in rubber prices. As regards our foreign reserves, the average deficit rose from 69 million rupees for the period 1952-1956 to an average of 1,003 million rupees for the period 1968-1970. It is little comfort to us to be told that we must tighten our belts. What we need is the means to tide us over our difficulties and the external finance to keep

our industrial sector operating to full capacity so as to prevent increasing unemployment.

188. Foreign assistance in appropriate quantities on easy terms and at the moment of need is vital to our survival. The most striking example of such assistance and one which on behalf of my Government I must acknowledge with profound gratitude is the munificent aid received by my country at a critical period last year from the Government of the People's Republic of China, which gave us a freely convertible foreign-exchange loan of \$25 million, free of interest, with repayment spread over 12 years after a grace period of three years. The features of this loan taken together make it unique in the history of foreign aid. Again this year, during the course of the state visit to Peking of my Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Government of the People's Republic of China gave further and convincing evidence of its generosity and good will towards developing countries and its determination to adhere to the policy of foreign aid which it commended to the participants at the third session of UNCTAD.

189. While singling out the People's Republic of China for special mention, and that for good reason, I should like on behalf of my Government to express our sincere thanks to the members of the Aid Ceylon Consortium and others who do not belong to it for the help that they have given us in the past and continue to give us. We are not unmindful of the official assistance given to us on very liberal terms by Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom—a true mark of Commonwealth solidarity that transcends all other differences.

190. During its spring and summer sessions the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction succeeded in making sufficient progress, especially through the adoption of a list of subjects and issues [*A/8721 and Corr.1, para. 23*] to be brought before the third United Nations conference on the law of the sea, to justify the General Assembly in preparing for the contingency of a formal inauguration of the conference some time next year while the General Assembly is in session and to ask the Committee to utilize the provision made for two sessions in the spring and summer of 1973 to advance its preparations for the conference.

191. Discussions in the Committee during the past two years have made it transparently clear that agreement on the various issues which will come before the third conference on the law of the sea will be attainable only if there is a willingness to revise the archaic interpretation of the existing doctrine of the freedom of the high seas, which does not provide for equality of opportunity in fact, but only in theory, and if the extent of the demand for the adoption of the concept of an economic zone or patrimonial sea is appreciated. Inflexible adherence to the practices hitherto permitted and the privileges hitherto enjoyed by a relatively few major maritime Powers under their anachronistic interpretation of the doctrine of the freedom of the high seas will need to be replaced by a more just and equitable adaptation of that doctrine to suit the economic realities of the modern world. The conference should become not a confrontation between the major maritime Powers and the rest of the world but rather an

occasion for the mutual accommodation of their interests and needs, subject to the paramount consideration of reducing the existing economic disparity between the developed and the developing countries.

192. We do not want the weak to inherit the earth. All that we ask is that the powerful should help the weak to build a world in which an increasing measure of social justice between nations can be realized, so that in the remaining years of this century the United Nations can succeed in redeeming the bleak record of its first 27 years.

193. Mr. AHOUANMENO (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, representing my country once again in the General Assembly of our Organization, it is a pleasant duty for me to express to you my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. This honour done to your personal qualities is also a tribute to the great country you represent for its indefatigable contribution to the cause of peace. And there is no reason to conceal the fact here that Poland itself has recently given evidence of its attachment to peace when its leaders agreed a little more than a year ago to settle peacefully an old frontier quarrel which rendered precarious a true normalization of the situation stemming from the Second World War. The Treaty of Warsaw, concluded and signed on 18 November 1970 between the People's Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany,<sup>13</sup> can in itself justify the confidence we have in your country, through you, in organizing and conducting the proceedings of this session. With its acute sensitivity to measure and balance, the heritage of a culture drawn from the sources of the Europe of classicism, the people of Poland has always set an example of moderation and justice in its relations with the rest of the world. This people, which was divided more than once in the course of its history, has preserved its unity thanks to its genius and the force of its persevering and enduring nationalism. This nobility and this breadth of soul of your countrymen, together with your personal qualities, which are familiar to us all, allow us to predict that your election to the presidency of this Assembly will inject new life in the Organization, which will truly make of it a centre for the search for peace and international security.

194. Permit me now, Mr. President, to pay a particular tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, for his great competence, tact and courtesy in conducting the proceedings of the twenty-sixth session.

195. It is in the nature of things that any human enterprise from time to time requires an injection of new resources of invention and ingenuity to ensure its normal progress and to improve its results. Our new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, about whom you will allow me to say a few words, has already showed that he measures up in more than one respect to the task that faces him. His many trips to Africa, Europe and more recently to Asia have been the occasion for broad diplomatic action whose impact on the international situation will be very important for the future of our Organization. His efforts to improve the financial situation of the Organization cannot be overlooked because they have already yielded appre-

ciable results. We must recognize that in such a short time our Secretary-General has performed some positive tasks in the service of the Organization. For that alone he deserves our warm congratulations and admiration.

196. Everything suggests that Africa will be for a long time to come the sick continent of the century and the most long suffering one of our planet. With the multitude of problems which beset it on all fronts and the procession of misfortunes and frustrations which have afflicted entire generations in this world which is supposed to be so modern and civilized, we are entitled to wonder whether men have not reached a point of resignation where they take a kind of gloomy delight in witnessing the contrasts constituted by liberty and unconcern. The passivity with which some people view the repeated violations of fundamental human rights which manifest themselves in the form of a cruel racial discrimination in southern Africa and the atrocious wars of reconquest in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) calls into question the whole international code of ethics which gave birth to this Organization. But if there are nations which still believe in the validity of the purposes and the objectives of the Charter then the time has come for them to take a stand in choosing between a new awakening for the construction of a better world for everyone and a return to a quite recent past when the right of might prevailed over the might of right. We should like still to hope that the reasons of the heart and of morality will succeed in replacing the cold logic of material interests which the folly of men has tended to place in the position of highest priority.

197. Some striking facts of contemporary political affairs in recent months do justify some hope. The meetings of the Security Council in the African city of Addis Ababa in January and February of this year was the occasion for us to convince the great Powers of the rightness of our cause and to bring to the attention of world public opinion the fact that our struggle against racial oppression and colonialism perpetrated against a large portion of our continent is a just one. In spite of the reluctance of the administering Power and of some others to associate themselves with the Security Council resolutions on Rhodesia, the conclusions of the Pearce Commission<sup>14</sup> have made it quite clear that henceforth there is no point in trying to decide the destiny of African peoples without their own participation. This is a lesson which should be pondered, particularly by the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese Governments.

198. Furthermore, the agreement recently reached with the South African authorities for the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General for Namibia constitutes a step forward, for which we wish to congratulate our Secretary-General. Nevertheless, I should like to make it clear that for us the final goal still remains self-determination and independence for the people of Namibia.

199. The tragic internal conflict which rent the Sudan for almost 17 years has just been brought to a happy end thanks to the mediation of the African Conference of Churches and His Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of

<sup>14</sup> See *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, Cmnd. 4964 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

<sup>13</sup> Treaty on the Bases for Normalization of Relations.

Ethiopia. This is a great victory for the people of the Sudan and its leaders, who brought about the triumph of tolerance and wisdom in order to make national reconciliation possible. I should like to take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General our appreciation for his efforts on behalf of the United Nations to render assistance to the Government of the Sudan and to help it in rehabilitating the people of the southern region of the country.

200. The state of affairs in the Middle East has remained stagnant since our last session in this same hall, and one might wonder with some concern whether this "no peace, no war" situation will persist for a long time to come. On both sides of the cease-fire line, armed enemies in possession of the most advanced and sophisticated forms of human and material destruction are in a state of confrontation. All the efforts of our Organization to persuade the parties to proceed from declarations of intent to the actual negotiation of a true and lasting peace have not yet met with any success. However, in spite of all the difficulties which still persist in bringing about a peaceful settlement of this conflict, we continue to believe that reason will finally triumph on both sides and that external influences will be brought to bear in the direction of safeguarding peace rather than that of maintaining a precarious order dictated by mere material interests. It is to this end that we very much hope that there will be continuation of negotiations under the aegis of the Secretary-General, and we would request all peace-loving nations to give him their support.

201. Our optimism as to the possibility of bringing about a peaceful situation in the world has just found some justification in the direct contacts which have recently taken place last May between South and North Korea. Thus, on its own initiative, Korea has found its own path towards reunification without foreign intervention thanks to the wisdom and determination of its leaders. We take great pleasure at this happy course of events and hope that all the members of the international community will refrain from adopting any position which might jeopardize what has already been achieved and will endeavour to encourage the two parties to persist in their search for a restoration of peace.

202. Another date which will go down in the history of international relations is that of 3 July 1972, on which the leaders of India and Pakistan decided to let bygones be bygones and sat down at the negotiation table at Simla. The Indo-Pakistan agreement on bilateral relations based on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter was brought about thanks to the wisdom of the heads of the Governments of the two countries, who thus affirmed their faith in the virtues of dialogue for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

203. The difficult heritage of the past cannot be swept away at a single stroke. But what counts is the will of all parties to hold themselves ready for the discussion of problems that are often quite acute. This will was clearly expressed by the two Governments, and we want from this rostrum to express to them our admiration and our pleasure, as well as our hope that there will be rapid agreement on the fate of the prisoners of war and displaced persons in accordance with the wishes expressed by the Security Council.

204. Our Organization is now at the crossroads. The entry into the United Nations on 25 October 1971 of the most populous nation on earth is in itself a sign that a new era has begun for the great family we form in this Assembly. If we have welcomed that admission as the prelude to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, we are entitled today to express our gratification at another event that will inevitably have a beneficial effect on the evolution of international relations. The historic visit of the Chief Executive of the United States to the People's Republic of China at the beginning of this year was for the whole world an illustration of the essential truth that differences in ideology are not incompatible with the search for peace and coexistence. It is for that peace and peaceful coexistence that we should be happy one day to see the Chinese of Peking and the Chinese of Taipei sitting around the same table, animated by the same desire to bring about the normalization of a situation which more than 20 years of history have imposed upon China.

205. Still within the framework of détente and international security, the nine-day visit of the President of the United States to the Soviet Union after a quarter-century of cold war marked a decisive turning-point in the process of détente and disarmament. Indeed, the great success of that visit will be the agreement on the limitation of strategic arms.<sup>15</sup> Although in practice this agreement constitutes nothing but the freezing of the number of missiles in the nuclear arsenals of the two super-Powers, it does permit the hope that discussions with a view to general and complete disarmament will have a favourable outcome.

206. Thanks to the sustained efforts of the international community, many agreements have now been reached in the field of the limitation of arms and, indeed, in the field of the prohibition of nuclear tests. We would with the Secretary-General express the hope that those efforts will go on and rapidly bring about the necessary political decision for the final conclusion of an agreement on the total prohibition of nuclear tests.

207. An opinion often expressed from this rostrum—as also in the course of many international conferences—is that total disarmament would be the surest guarantee of international peace and security. We should like to reaffirm that, and to make it clear that the allocation of the tremendous resources devoted to the manufacture of military devices to the needs of the third world would be the noblest and most effective form for the international co-operation humanity requires in order to assuage substantially the poverty and tribulations of the "have-nots" in both the developed and the developing countries.

208. In the economic and social field, all efforts converge towards the search for balance, and all nations are trying to overcome the numerous difficulties they face by incessantly increasing co-operation and assistance.

209. In spite of all these efforts the United Nations still remains powerless to solve the great problems of development faced by the third world.

<sup>15</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 at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

210. In the realm of trade, the efforts of certain industrialized countries to apply an appropriate policy of access to their markets in order to increase the export earnings of the developing countries are certainly substantial. But the process is slow, and the products concerned often represent only a small proportion of total exports, particularly so far as concerns processed products. That is why my country notes with infinite regret the failure of all attempts to find appropriate solutions to the principal problems raised at various international meetings.

211. Thus, at the third session of UNCTAD, held at Santiago, Chile, with regard to the primary problems, the search for solutions which might have given rise to some hope for the third world came up against the opposition of the rich countries, whose concern to avoid undertaking commitments of a general kind became even clearer than it had been at previous conferences. In fact, everyone preferred to make use in his zone of influence of concessions as instruments of pressure. It is, incidentally, remarkable that in actual practice in the last decade the elements of inequality and domination in relations between rich and poor countries have been intensified. Consequently, the least we can ask of the affluent countries is that they refrain from aggravating a situation that is already extremely alarming. Furthermore, we think it is urgent for general agreement to be reached on the stabilization and improvement of commodity prices.

212. Furthermore, the present monetary situation has aggravated the deterioration in terms of trade and the various readjustments made necessary by the situation have even further increased the indebtedness of the developing countries. Our Organization should without further delay contemplate compensatory measures for the countries of the third world and associate them with all negotiations on reforming the international monetary system in the light of the influence any reform will inevitably have upon the economies of the developing countries.

213. As far as concerns assistance, the objective of the International Development Strategy is, as we know, that of bringing to at least 6 per cent the average annual rate of growth of the gross national product of developing countries. We are therefore entitled to hope that the new Decade will see a qualitative increase in assistance from the rich to the poor countries. Unfortunately, in this regard it is regrettable that the means advocated by the third world in Santiago have not won the total support of the donor countries.

214. For its development, the third world fundamentally needs capital, as also technical expertise and the practical abilities necessary to use such expertise. The success of this development requires that the transfer of this capital and technology take place without overwhelming the recipient countries by exorbitant repayment schedules and without placing them in a situation that prevents them from controlling their own economic priorities and their own social structures.

215. In spite of the great concern aroused by the conduct of the affluent countries in the face of the problems of development confronting the third world, my Government appreciates the resolutions adopted in Santiago in favour of

the least advanced countries and hopes that the special measures to be taken will rapidly be made effective in order to reduce the enormous lag of those countries.

216. From all the speeches that have been made from this rostrum there emerges the unanimous and constant will of all States to live in peace, to rid themselves of the threats facing humanity, and to ensure coming generations of a better future, a future of greater justice and dignity. We are convinced that the United Nations can and must be the instrument of our actions if we want to meet those aspirations. We issue an urgent appeal to countries large and small to strengthen the means available to our Organization with a view to permitting it rapidly to triumph over its difficulties and meet the hopes reposed in it by all the peoples. Let us join our efforts to make of the United Nations a real, effective source of solutions to conflicts and of the improvement of the standards of living of hundreds of millions of human beings who still live in need and poverty, because the objectives of peace must be based, to quote Seneca, "on a common mode of existence, on a way of living for others, if we really want to live for ourselves".

217. Let us together, then, solemnly undertake to translate into fact those wise words of Seneca so that the Second United Nations Development Decade can be the decade of peace and a better future for everyone.

218. Mr. ATTARD KINGSWELL (Malta): Mr. President, may I first of all be allowed to offer my sincere congratulations, and those of the Government and delegation of Malta, on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly? Your election to this high office is not only an honour to your great country, Poland, with which my country is proud to share many ties and common aspirations, but is an eloquent tribute to your own statesmanlike qualities. Those qualities have already been amply demonstrated during the short time you have graced the President's chair, and I am convinced that under your continued wise guidance, and with the co-operation of us all, this twenty-seventh session will prove to be one of the most fruitful in the history of the United Nations. As far as my delegation is concerned, you may count on our fullest support and co-operation in the discharge of your onerous duties.

219. I should also like to offer a warm tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General, since this is my first opportunity to address the Assembly following his unanimous election. As we all know, Mr. Waldheim is well fitted, by temperament, experience, dedication and ability, to serve this Organization with the utmost distinction. To him, too, I pledge the fullest co-operation of my delegation in the performance of his duties.

220. Every year the leaders and spokesmen of the world's nations gather here from the four corners of the world, and for several weeks these halls resound to the most mellifluous oratory, the most persuasive pleas, the most passionate denunciations—all directed towards the most pressing problems facing humanity today. Whether these problems affect some or all of us, whether they are old or new, lasting or fleeting, intractable or seemingly easy of solution, they are all important and must be tackled. That is what this Organization is for.

221. Sometimes, perhaps, one may be forgiven for wondering whether, after the ritual speeches are over, after the annual crop of resolutions are adopted at the end of the General Assembly's annual session, the world does not go about its business as if nothing had taken place. This, unfortunately, is an image which has gained ground in recent years and which all of us here, who presumably believe in the United Nations and all that it stands for, must do all we can to combat. But the most effective way to restore the image of the United Nations is also the most difficult: it is, simply, to reach agreement on differences which we have so far been unable to reconcile; it is to place the common interest of mankind before national self-interest; it is voluntarily to surrender some tiny part of that cherished sovereignty which this very Organization is dedicated to uphold. In short, it requires a genuine change of heart, a fresh direction to national wills, and a realization that the world is fast changing. This change is often the result of events which are unplanned, uncoordinated and largely unpredictable in their effects. Such a realization will in turn bring about the inevitable conclusion that the old, time-worn responses are no longer adequate and that nationalistic concepts must be reset in an international framework, as befits an intelligent race whose main preoccupation ought to be how to ensure the common survival on this small planet of ours.

222. And yet, some encouragement can surely be derived from the events of the past 12 months. These events, some of which at any rate have their roots in the activities of the United Nations, may hopefully signal the first faint beginnings of a new world order based on trust and international co-operation.

223. Almost a year ago, in this very hall, we took the historic decision that brought the People's Republic of China to its rightful seat [1976th meeting]. Events followed swiftly upon each other, with the historic visits of the President of the United States of America, first to China and later to the Soviet Union. Those visits, and the official declarations to which they gave rise, were a clear indication that the world's largest Powers were moving away from the sterile postures of years of confrontation to a new era of genuine coexistence and co-operation. The reverberations of that historic breaking of the ice have not yet died down, and its effects will continue to permeate the atmosphere of international relations in the years to come.

224. Also during the past 12 months the world has seen the United States and the Soviet Union conclude an agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms—an initial step, soon, we hope, to be followed by more substantial achievements leading towards eventual disarmament. The entry into force of the treaties signed with the Federal Republic of Germany by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and by the Polish People's Republic, together with the conclusion of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971 and the current moves aimed at normalizing relations between the two German States—both of which, I hope, we shall soon be able to welcome to this Organization—have all contributed to a relaxation of tension in Europe. The next move in this context will be the forthcoming preparatory talks soon to be held in Helsinki leading to a full-scale conference on European security and co-operation.

225. While we fully support all genuine efforts towards stability and security in Europe, it is our conviction that European security will not be completely achieved unless it is extended to the entire Mediterranean basin and accompanied by economic co-operation with all the countries of the region.

226. In other parts of the world, we have thankfully seen the end of the bloody fighting on the Indian subcontinent and the emergence of the new nation of Bangladesh. Although conditions in that part of the world have not yet returned to full peace and stability, the necessary foundations have already been laid by the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan, and it is the hope of my delegation that the next few months will see the way clear to the admission of Bangladesh to this Organization.

227. Elsewhere in Asia, the continued and growing contacts between North and South Korea afford reasonable grounds for optimism that there, too, the legacy of the cold war has been finally laid aside and the goal of genuine peaceful reunification set up in its stead. It is a matter for regret that, for the second year in succession, this Assembly will not be discussing Korea during this session. My delegation had hoped that by joining debate in this forum, the United Nations could have added its positive contribution to the bilateral efforts of the parties directly involved.

228. No reference to the Far East at this particular time would be complete without mentioning and welcoming the successful visit of the Head of the Japanese Government to Peking. After so many decades of estrangement it is of the utmost significance that the most economically advanced nation in Asia and the most populous nation in the world should have embarked on the path of peaceful co-operation.

229. If this brief review of positive achievements gives rise to a feeling of optimism, let me say at once that this is overshadowed by the continued persistence of conflict and explosive situations in other areas of the world. In the Middle East, the deadlock which has prevented all efforts for a political solution continues unabated, and the prescription for settlement which is to be found in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) remains unimplemented. My Government reaffirms its conviction that a just and lasting peace in the area can be established only within the framework of that resolution, applied in its entirety; and while we cannot condone the continued occupation of territories by force of arms, we also recognize that each State in the area must have satisfactory guarantees to ensure its independence and territorial integrity. It is indeed sad to have to record that any faint hopes we might have entertained last year have, as a result of recent events, receded into the background. We continue to urge, however, that no effort be spared on the part of all concerned to reactivate the mission of Ambassador Jarring. My country is ready to do all it can, in any way acceptable to the parties to the dispute, in order to promote this objective.

230. In Indo-China, the horror of a war which has raged for decades continues to devastate the countries of that area. Is it too much to hope that here at least the lessons of

the past will be taken to heart and those positive steps taken which alone can lead to a just solution? Lest there be any misunderstanding of Malta's position on this matter, we repeat our call for the cessation of all bombing and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the area so that all the peoples concerned can freely exercise their right to self-determination and, with their industriousness, wisdom and inexhaustible patience, be enabled finally to turn their talents to the immense task of reconstructing their long-suffering countries.

231. I turn now to Africa. It is humiliating for this Assembly to have to acknowledge that, despite all the resolutions which have been passed, despite all the obeisances made to the principles of the Charter, millions of people are still groaning under the yoke of colonialism and *apartheid*. The progressive forces of the world will not for ever tolerate such an iniquitous situation and, if an explosion is not to occur, the consequences of which will be as devastating as they will be unpredictable, the chains of bondage which have been fashioned by the minority racist régimes and which weigh heavily on the conscience of the whole world must come asunder. We accordingly join our voices with those of others who have appealed from this rostrum for the United Nations to give a renewed lead to the cause of eradicating colonialism in all its manifestations from the world scene.

232. The solution of the political problems to which I have briefly referred will not of itself bring prosperity to the peoples concerned. Political independence of itself is largely devoid of meaning unless it is accompanied by economic independence. My country, in common with other developing countries, has reason to have learned this lesson well. The efforts of this world Organization must continue to be bent towards the creation of a world order which ensures a fair distribution of wealth. The many programmes of the United Nations family which are geared to tackle, on a multilateral basis, such major economic problems as those which relate to trade and development, international monetary stability, the environment, and the equitable exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed must be pursued with vigour and imagination.

233. Two events which took place this year merit particular attention. The first was the third session of UNCTAD which was held in Santiago in April and May, the other was the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in June.

234. It is regrettable that the meagre results which emerged from UNCTAD's third session disappointed many of the expectations of the developing countries. The attitude of some of the more affluent nations was unfortunately coloured by considerations of self-interest, narrowly conceived. Such an attitude hardly conforms to the objectives of the International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. It is no wonder that the poor and the under-privileged are increasingly pointing to the growing gap between intentions and performance, a gap which is ever widening under the pressure of a fast-growing technology. The third session of UNCTAD did, of course, have its positive achievements, notably in the field of international monetary policy, where agreement was reached to associate the developing countries in the negotiations to

take place under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund, as well as in the agreement to accord special assistance to the least developed of the developing countries. On the other hand, no solution emerged to the burning problem of ensuring easy access for the manufactured products of the developing countries to the markets of the developed world and to the question of stabilizing commodity prices. This lack of progress on such fundamental issues cannot but engender a feeling of frustration in the third world, and it is certainly no consolation to know that the passage of time can only compound the problems, especially as the inexorable march of technology will tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

235. In Stockholm, the issues posed by the threat to the human environment for which this same modern technology is so largely responsible were taken up. Malta was one of the first countries to refer to the problems of pollution in relation to the marine environment when it first raised the issue of the sea-bed in this Assembly some years ago. As such, Malta could not fail to take a keen interest, and to participate actively, in the deliberations of the Stockholm Conference. That Conference recognized that different degrees of development pose different threats to the human environment. In the affluent countries the threat to the environment derives from a high level of industrial activity accompanied by a high standard of living, with all its concomitant demands. On the contrary, in the developing countries the threat to the environment arises from conditions of poverty and under-development. It is therefore important that the aspect of development should not be divorced from the continued consideration of the problems of the environment.

236. In the Mediterranean, an area with which my country is intimately concerned, the problems of pollution derive from each of these two threats. Last July, Malta took the lead in convening a meeting of Mediterranean States<sup>16</sup> to discuss matters of common concern affecting the Mediterranean, not least the problem of pollution. It is hoped that that initiative will be followed by other concrete steps to strengthen regional co-operation in matters relating to the human environment within the global strategy which was endorsed at Stockholm,<sup>17</sup> among others.

237. One of the recommendations made by the Stockholm Conference concerned the establishment of a 54-member Governing Council for Environmental Programmes and the creation of a secretariat to service it. The delegation of Malta, on that occasion, offered the capital of my country, Valletta, as a possible site for the environment secretariat. Today, I should like to repeat that offer.

238. Another field of United Nations activity in which Malta is keenly interested concerns the question of the sea-bed. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, in the work of which my delegation has participated actively, now approaches a crucial point in its

<sup>16</sup> Four-Nation Conference on Co-operation (Italy, Libya, Malta and Tunisia), held at Valletta, Malta, from 3 to 4 November 1972.

<sup>17</sup> Action Plan for the Human Environment. See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chap. II.



existence. The General Assembly at its present session must review the work of the Committee and decide whether the conference on the law of the sea, tentatively scheduled for 1973 in accordance with resolution 2750 C (XXV), should be convened.

239. While the delegation of Malta cannot express full satisfaction at the rate of progress of the Committee's work, it recognizes the complex causes, both substantive and organizational, that have made slow progress almost unavoidable. Although progress in the Committee has been slow, we believe that it has been sufficient to justify the convening on schedule of the conference on the law of the sea, particularly in view of the adoption by the Committee at its last session of a list of subjects and issues which will form the basis of discussion at the conference.

240. The positions of States on many questions relating to the law of the sea continue to remain far apart; yet we cannot afford to delay the forthcoming conference, for technology is advancing rapidly and the possibility is increasing that options will be closed and solutions imposed by those who have superior financial resources and technological capability.

241. If there is to be an early conference on the law of the sea, the United Nations sea-bed Committee must give its attention not only to negotiation of outstanding issues and to the preparation of draft treaty articles, but also to issues relating to the organization of the conference itself. This will require a broadening of the Committee's mandate, a step which we hope the General Assembly will take at its present session.

242. One of the items on the agenda of the present session concerns a review of the Charter of the United Nations [item 89]. My delegation is aware of the strong feelings aroused in many quarters by this item, and, to be quite frank, we do not believe that the time is ripe for the Charter to be profitably amended.

*Mr. Gabre-Sellassie (Ethiopia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

243. If the provisions of the present Charter are consistently violated, it would be naive to expect that an amended Charter would command greater adherence. Different or even improved procedures provide nothing more than a suitable framework for the interplay of national forces. As has been repeatedly stated, what is needed is not new procedures but a new "political will". Procedures in themselves will not function without the willingness to make them work, and, given such willingness, any procedure can be made to work well. None the less, it is pertinent to observe that certain provisions of the Charter not only appear to have outlived their purpose, but could even conceivably be invoked in support of gross violations of international peace and security. This is surely the case with Article 107 and, to a large extent, Article 53 of the Charter.

244. Another item on our agenda this year which has already engendered considerable feeling is that which our Secretary-General has proposed in connexion with international terrorism [item 92]. The Government and people of

Malta, as befits a civilized country, condemn every act of blind violence, every manifestation of hatred between peoples, every recourse to killing and bloodshed. We are also aware, however, that violence and terrorism are frequently symptoms of a disease. We cannot, therefore, seriously expect that by denouncing or condemning these acts, however deplorable they may be, we shall be making any useful contribution towards the more desirable objective of discovering the cure that will eradicate the disease or even prevent the recurrence of further outbreaks of violence.

245. Unfortunately, the question of international violence has become entangled with such burning political issues as the conflict between the Arab States and Israel and the struggle against colonialism. In view of what happened recently in Munich and its aftermath, the issue has assumed even more the aspect of an extension of the Middle East dispute, a dispute from which Malta has kept scrupulously aloof and one which we have always deplored as a conflict between our friends. In the circumstances, much as we condemn acts of international violence and terrorism, we do not feel that we should be contributing towards a solution of this problem by denouncing either one side or the other. The road my Government has mapped out for itself does not lead to any denunciations; it only points towards a possible role of mediation by which the two sides may be brought together in search of a just and lasting solution.

246. In the field of disarmament, progress remains slow and halting, although perhaps there are grounds to hope for more concrete achievements as the spirit of détente gains momentum. Malta certainly welcomes the agreement on the limitation of strategic arms that has been concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union. We hope that this beginning will soon be followed by more significant achievements as a result of continued negotiations between the two Powers. The opening for signature of the new international Convention banning biological weapons signalled another landmark—not so much because of the nature of the weapons that have been banned as of the historical significance of a treaty which for the first time unconditionally bans certain weapons and which for that reason may be called a real disarmament measure.

247. On the other hand, I should be less than frank if I failed to express the disappointment of my Government that, despite all the efforts of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament throughout the year, no tangible progress has been recorded on what is widely regarded as the next front that has to crumble if disarmament is ever to have a chance of becoming reality: I refer to a complete ban on all nuclear testing and to the prohibition of chemical weapons. In the view of my delegation, progress on this front is essential if the proposed world disarmament conference is to be assured of a reasonable prospect of success. Similarly, the proposal before us for a declaration on the renunciation of the use of force and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [A/L.676], however appealing it may appear, can hardly be meaningful unless there is a break-through on the important questions of a complete ban on nuclear testing and the prohibition of chemical weapons.

248. I have left to the end of my statement a brief reference to the policies of the Government of Malta and its preoccupations. In pursuit of its fundamental objective of friendly relations with all States, irrespective of ideology, my Government has during the past 12 months dispatched and received emissaries to and from a large number of countries, with all of which we seek to promote on a bilateral basis a form of collaboration that will be of mutual benefit to our respective peoples. All this is being done with scrupulous adherence to the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, while at the same time promoting greater international understanding. Especially in the Mediterranean, our relations with all the littoral States are excellent, and we for our part shall continue to strive for their further consolidation. If I single out for mention the very warm relations which Malta enjoys with its immediate neighbours to the north and to the south, Italy and Libya, it is by no means to belittle others but mainly because, apart from the practical and valued co-operation with these two countries, their symbolic geographical position, as viewed from Malta, portrays our keen interest in promoting a dialogue between Europe and Africa which inevitably embraces the Mediterranean.

249. Last year, from this rostrum [1965th meeting], I spoke of Malta's dedication to the cause of peace in the Mediterranean and expressed our unhappiness at the fact that cruel economic necessity forced us to continue to make available the use of our facilities for military purposes. Since that time there has been a radical change in the contractual basis on which such facilities have continued to be made available. Apart from ensuring adequate compensation for the benefit of our economy, it is important to emphasize, first, that these facilities do not extend to fleets of either of the two super-Powers, which we consider extraneous to the Mediterranean. Secondly—and this is of great significance—under no circumstances will such facilities ever be used for offensive purposes against anyone, least of all against our Arab friends. Finally, as my Prime Minister has repeatedly and publicly made clear, the presence of foreign forces in Malta is not intended to last for more than the period stipulated by written agreement, which will come to an end in 1979. By that time we hope to have progressed sufficiently in the restructuring of our economy to be able finally to do away with the necessity of having to host foreign forces under the pressure of sheer economic necessity. To help us achieve that goal, we confidently look to our friends in Europe and elsewhere and in particular to the European Economic Community, with which we are already associated, for the necessary moral and material support.

250. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise the right of reply.

251. Mr. NKUNDABAGENZI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Rwanda is embarrassed, as we are compelled to have a debate in opposition to the delegation of the sister Republic of Burundi. As head of my delegation, I thus find myself in an extremely difficult situation but one which I face with serenity.

252. This leads me to contradict the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi, who was a childhood friend and who this afternoon betrayed our

common cause of the truth. He brilliantly developed what his permanent representative, Mr. Nsanzé Térance, stated on 5 October, at the 2055th plenary meeting. In their statements both of them endorsed the philosophy of Voltaire: "Lie, lie; some of it will always remain."

253. Both representatives of Burundi have attacked Rwanda and, in particular, my Minister for Foreign Affairs. As everyone here heard, those two representatives of Burundi did so with brutal language and a lack of good taste, to which we are unaccustomed in this forum.

254. In the exercise of my right of reply as the representative of the delegation of Rwanda, I propose to raise the level of the debate and free it from passion, so as to avoid offending the canons of courtesy, as the enlightened diplomats and political men which we all are should do. But we do not intend to betray our mission to speak the truth and say it out loud, and above all to unmask errors. My delegation will accordingly do so firmly and resolutely.

255. Rwanda is unflinchingly attached to the spirit and letter of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of the charter of the OAU. It is called upon to defend a clear and particularly easy case before the world. The representative of Burundi affirms most categorically and solemnly that his country has never interfered in the internal affairs of another State, although in the case of Burundi any man with a heart would be somewhat justified in asking that Government—recognizing that it did not provoke them—to put an end to the massacres, as the authority responsible, (at least supposedly) for maintaining order and the security of all its citizens, in its country. Rwanda has therefore never interfered in the internal affairs of Burundi. Why should we do so today since we did not do so when we had a case of legitimate self-defence to exercise as Burundi mobilized subversives on our frontier for the purpose of setting them up against their own homeland?

256. I see the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi smile when I repeat what his country has done against mine. That is perhaps because of the irony of the situation, but when one mocks ironically important matters one betrays one's conscience somewhat, a conscience which every responsible man should have.

257. I should like to recall a painful episode. Perhaps I would not do so if the President of Burundi were now the head of the present delegation here because of the respect I owe him. It so happened that I did meet him face to face. It was in 1966 at the conference of the OAU—first at the Conference of Ministers and then at the Assembly of Heads of State. He was Prime Minister at the time. Each of us stated the case of our country, but always courteously. So I was pained to hear the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi, whom I believed to be a serious man, attack my Head of State. Hence I will not act the same way in regard to his Head of State. I respect him if only because, if one believes his Permanent Representative to the United Nations, he has had particularly wretched economic and social conditions, since, according to that same representative, he has had to share his meals with a lowly person. I am quoting the exact words uttered by his Permanent Representative. Be that as it may, we have been moved to regret that that same Head of State, who must be

considered to be responsible, was able to keep silent when he himself intended to put those commoners—and how many of them! —to death without trial.

258. Burundi tells us that 50 of its nationals died and that they killed the attackers whom the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi numbers at 25,000, a higher figure than the one given by Mr. Térence. Let us grant this. But we are curiously surprised to see a Government which is powerless to defend its own citizens against foreign attackers. As for prisoners of war, Minister Simbananiye of Burundi told us earlier that he only knew of 36. That is strikingly grotesque. Out of 25,000 who attacked a sovereign country only 36 were made prisoners of war. Now, just imagine that all those prisoners of war were of the same nationality: they were Rwandese. As for the rest, I accept Mr. Simbananiye's magnanimity. He stated that the other 300 Rwandese were repatriated, but I accept it subject to an inventory. I am grateful, but I repeat that his statement is subject to an inventory.

259. Therefore, if it had been appropriate for us to intervene it would have been whenever Burundi saw fit to launch mercenaries armed by Burundi against us, to perpetrate crimes on our frontiers. I engage in no debate. Rwanda accuses no one. But I unmask the errors of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi.

260. My delegation, and doubtless several other delegations, was profoundly shocked by the heated and manifestly thoughtless words that he and his Permanent Representative used. I do not intend to be lacking in respect to anyone and fall into the same pit, but I must say things as they are. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi and his permanent representative, Ambassador Nsanzé, betrayed a certain degree of irresponsibility, since they did not take the trouble to measure the consequences of their words on relations with neighbouring States, such as ours.

261. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi, fresh come out of prison, where he was placed by that same Government, which he thinks he serves today by setting that Government against the Government of a neighbouring country, my Government. As an aftermath of such statements I fear somewhat for his fate, the fate which would be reserved for him by that Government for setting it against a neighbouring Government.

262. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi, going back to the statements of his own Permanent Representative—and I mean his Permanent Representative because that is not what the people of Burundi think—and in endorsing the statements of his Permanent Representative, has maliciously sought to involve Rwanda in events which the authorities of Bujumbura themselves have directly and deliberately provoked in their country. It appears that they have assassinated children in schools, patients in hospitals, mothers in maternity wards. They know it, but they defend themselves. I defend nothing; I am simply enlightening world public opinion.

263. It is curious to hear the representative of Burundi state for the first time at the United Nations that Rwanda

has always been involved in the massacres which Burundi has suffered. It is particularly astonishing. Those two representatives forget that from 1961 until now Burundi has built up a record of political assassinations. They have assassinated four Prime Ministers, and I shall mention their names: Mr. Cimpaye, who was brutally overpowered; Mr. Rwagasore, killed in 1961; Mr. Ngenyanyumwe, in 1964; and Mr. Banina. All were Prime Ministers. To top it all, they have just assassinated their Head of State, Prince Charles Ndizeye. Can Mr. Simbananiye tell us where the four Prime Ministers are? They were young, like him, and most of them, like me, went to school with him. But they are gone.

264. Do you remember, Mr. Minister? We shall not talk here about all the other blood-baths in that poor country until the recent events which shocked the universal conscience. What is striking is that, instead of showing the real share—if it exists—of my country in those tragic events, the representatives of Burundi have contented themselves with endorsing the opinions of certain terribly old newspapers. Are they incapable of forming their own opinions on the world surrounding them, in which they live? They quote newspapers in order to support their point of view, to prove that what they have done is a good thing. There was a political revolution in Rwanda from 1959 until 1964—and we are proud to represent our people here—a popular revolution which I recognize was accompanied by some deaths, as always happens in a revolution. But, Mr. Minister, do you bring up the past in order to justify your thesis? Do you want to imitate us after an interval of eight years? It is a grotesque error; you should rather imitate what we have done in eight years to make Rwanda peaceful and prosperous without any disturbances.

265. But we could not help but be pleased to hear the Foreign Minister of Burundi pay a tribute to the stability and soundness of our political régime. The proof of that is that since 1964 there has been no incident of any kind, either on the frontier between us and Burundi or even within Rwanda. As for us, we accuse him of very recent incidents which have caused thousands and thousands of deaths. I must express regret at one thing: in 1959, or even in 1962, when Burundi was already represented here, the delegation of Burundi did not have the courage to say out loud what we are now reproaching it for.

266. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi said that we have a stable régime. I recognize that, and I am grateful to him for saying it. But he forgot to say that we have a democratic régime. We hold elections. We do not content ourselves with referring to the elections of 1961, which were supervised by the United Nations in both countries. We do not content ourselves with referring back to 1961, when we were not yet sovereign. The elections of 1961 were the only elections ever held in Burundi, but in Rwanda we have had elections at regular intervals.

267. Can Burundi say that it has a parliament? And yet it calls itself democratic. It is difficult for us to believe it. He said that our party holds exclusive power. That is true, but that is because it wins the elections. I must ask him, How many political parties are there in Burundi? Mr. Térence has said that the Governments of Burundi have always respected the balance between the ethnic groups—I am

quoting from his own text. I regret that he falls into a flagrant contradiction when he tries to make us believe that there are no ethnic groups in his country but then adds that there have always been some.

268. His Minister for Foreign Affairs has told us this afternoon that there has been foreign intervention, particularly from Rwanda. I should like to put a question to him. He had the audacity to say that Rwanda had intervened by sending 300 persons to his country. I should like to ask him, Where did the 24,700 others come from? And I should also like to know their countries of origin: Were they stateless? Men without countries? I feel it is my absolute duty to put this question to him so that we can know where the 24,700 others came from and what were their nationalities. None of them were made prisoners, since Burundi, he claims, has only 36 Rwandese prisoners. Since you arrested all of them, all these persons, why were they all not made prisoners? Or did you exchange them? How did you release them? Was that the occasion for you to complain to the United Nations? Why did you not do so before? Was it my Minister for Foreign Affairs who gave you an opportunity to unburden your sorrows, to divert the attention of world public opinion? We have unmasked this tactic.

269. You will remember, Mr. Minister for Foreign Affairs, that the interventions in your country came from the southern part. There, in the southern part, we have no common border with Burundi. Would you not want to specify the place of origin of the 25,000 men who crossed your borders. Where was your Government? Unless it is claimed that it is non-existent. My country, for its part, really cannot engage in a violent debate on this. We are calm—we are serene; we have no cause to defend here, unless it be that of the universal conscience, which was shocked by the negligence of your Government, which did not defend its own citizens and which—allow me to say—was an accomplice, if it was not directly the author, of those assassinations.

270. Mr. President, you may rest assured that I shall not heat up this debate. I have on several occasions defended my country's cause, even against Burundi. I have never been afraid to face a debate with that country or with its representatives, at whatever level. The problem which has been mentioned here by Burundi is not on our agenda. I do not wish to dwell on this. But if the delegation of Burundi were to do so in any way, I would say to it that the Government of Rwanda, with all its delegation, is prepared to face any debate. Having said this, I wish very solemnly to warn the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi not to attack my august Head of State. We know that Heads of State are sacred. I should like to bring my friends from Burundi back to moderation and wisdom. I do not wish to say anything about their own ministers or Head of State—except, as I have said, to recognize that the latter has fraternized with the masses of the people. It is true that that was in the past and I am bound to deplore today that that past died in a holocaust, on the altar of racism and tribalism.

271. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): At this stage of the debate I shall not allow myself to abuse the goodwill of the Assembly. I shall keep my

word, that is to say, I shall refrain from pouring forth condemnations, simply following the promptings of the heart and its feelings, and from thus neglecting the requirements of universal reason.

272. After the exercise of the right of reply by the representative of the Republic of Rwanda, what is there to say? We must note one contradiction. The representative of Rwanda has affirmed that he had no intention of interfering in our internal affairs, that his country had never had that desire, or at least had never done so. Yet, once again before this Assembly he has just proved the interference of his country in the internal affairs of Burundi.

273. Indeed, he took the statement which I made today as a declaration which does not reflect the policy of my Government. And further on, he called the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Burundi my Permanent Representative. I would like to point out to the representative of the Rwandese Republic that here, again, he ignores the principles which are recognized by all States represented here. If we were to consider that every time the representative or the head of a delegation of a country speaks on its behalf he is the personal representative of another person, what would become of our debates, our statements, since they would all be personal? Therefore, at this stage of the debate I feel that we are not on the same wave length and I do not feel able to enlighten you fully, as my opponent in the debate is off on another course.

274. Nevertheless, I would not wish to disappoint you. For my part, I consider the previous speaker to be the representative of the Republic of Rwanda unless his Head of State or his Government were to decide otherwise. In other words, I do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of his country, a neighbour and sister republic.

275. Nor do I wish to go into details because this would detain us too long. What is important, first of all, is that relations between the two countries should be relations between States.

276. I had wished to shed some light on the case which he has presented because the matter is not closed. As Minister for Foreign Affairs I have often travelled to Rwanda. I have had talks with my colleague. I have had audiences with the President of the Republic of Rwanda, always in connexion with these problems of good neighbourliness.

277. As far as Burundi is concerned, we have solved these problems. We have had refugees who were chased away from Rwanda after the massacres and the genocide which are known to have taken place. When in 1967 at Goma in the Republic of Zaire, the three Heads of State met—that is to say, the Heads of State of Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi—the problem of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States was on the agenda. You are bound to note that, in so far as my country is concerned, everything has been done to comply with the Geneva Convention on the status of refugees. We have done everything to establish relations of good neighbourliness between the two States. This, however, was not done by the Republic of Rwanda. I said in my statement this afternoon that it is time for the Republic of Rwanda to apply the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees at

least to what it calls "refugees"; that is to say, those people from Burundi who are on its territory. This is one of the official requests of my country. This means that at no time in the future will my Government accept with impunity that rebels from Rwanda again come and massacre innocent populations in my country.

278. The representative of Rwanda asked some questions: since there were 300 rebel Rwandans, how was it that almost all of them were released and that only 36 of them kept and they are still in the power of the authorities of Burundi? The representative of Rwanda put questions as to how those rebels were captured, how they were repatriated, etc. I think that in this case he can get all the information from his Embassy in Bujumbura, Burundi. The records are perfectly clear; I shall not burden the debate with the details. In any event the records, which concern what the Embassy of Rwanda in Bujumbura describes as irregulars--that is, people who entered our country clandestinely--should be dealt with thoroughly. In any case, Rwanda's guilt is clearly established.

279. With regard to other points, when the representative of Rwanda speaks of mercenaries, for example, he puts many questions. I would simply retort that he knows that this problem does no honour to his country. He knows how his country has been the refuge for mercenaries who brought bloodshed to a neighbouring country. I do not wish to dwell on this, because the representative of Rwanda has all the details, but they do no honour to his country. It is up to each country to decide what values are a source of honour to the people it represents.

280. I believe the representative of Rwanda put certain questions regarding heads of government who died in our country. He mentioned them in order of importance from

his point of view, apparently: a certain Cimpaye, who participated in the massacre of innocent people. Consequently he was tried by the courts of our country; sentence was pronounced and carried out. So there is no cause for grief.

281. The trial of Prince Rwagasore is well known. When the Prince won the elections in 1961 the colonialists could not swallow such a striking victory. The trial is well known. I can give the representative of Rwanda the complete file on Prince Rwagasore.

282. He spoke also of Ngenyaniyumwe, who was assassinated, and assassinated by a Rwandese.

283. He spoke of Prince Ndizeye. Well, he was at the head of the mercenaries, which certainly could not guarantee his security when he invaded our country. Of course, if he had been in another country, such as Rwanda, at the head of mercenaries, he might have found the same refuge and security as Schramme.

284. I do not want to prolong the debate but I consider it important to give a warning to that Government: first of all, it must not interfere in the internal affairs of our country; secondly, it must observe the status of refugees as provided for in the Geneva Convention; thirdly, it must ensure that there is no further invasion of our country from its territory.

285. Finally, I simply hope that our northern neighbours in Rwanda will observe the principles of the OAU, the principles of the United Nations, as regards good-neighbourliness and respect for the conventions approved by this Organization and by the OAU.

*The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.*