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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. LARAKI (Morocco) (*translated from French*):
Madam President, allow me on my own behalf and on behalf of my Government to join previous speakers in conveying to you our warm congratulations upon your election as President of the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session. Our satisfaction is all the greater since the unanimous confidence displayed in you by the Assembly at a time when the international situation is particularly difficult and complex is not only a well-deserved tribute to your many personal and political qualities and to your vast experience of the problems of the United Nations, but also an honour for your continent, which has always fully assumed its responsibilities and demonstrated its firm determination to work for peace and international co-operation. I can assure you, Madam President, that my delegation will always be very happy to afford you its full support and collaboration in the discharge of your high functions.

2. I should like on this same occasion to express our sorrow and condolences in connexion with the death of Mr. Emilio Arenales, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala and President of the General Assembly at its last session. My delegation will always remember the determination and courage displayed by Mr. Arenales when he decided to continue in office despite the serious operation he had to undergo in the middle of the session. We wish to pay from this rostrum a tribute to his memory and to express our deep sympathy to his country and his family.

3. Despite the remarkable space exploits accomplished this year and the great promise they hold for mankind, we note with regret that the international community is still confronted with very serious problems. Many armed conflicts and crises of all kinds continue to affect various regions of the world. The General Assembly will thus have to contend with a particularly disquieting situation and will be called upon to discuss all the questions in dispute and to

give serious thought to appropriate solutions. We are all aware of the obstacles in the way of attaining those objectives, and we are all conscious that the United Nations is today facing a severe test, in which its authority, prestige and future are at stake. We sincerely hope that each of us fully realizes that the United Nations is at a decisive turning-point and that we shall take the necessary steps to enable it finally to solve the world's problems.

4. In our opinion, the General Assembly should devote particular attention to the explosive situation in the Middle East. As we all know, tension has been rising in this region since the Zionist aggression of June 1967. For more than two years Israel, by its daily raids against civilian targets in neighbouring countries, has been gradually turning its expansionist designs into deeds and its aggressive instincts into a fixed policy. There is no need to demonstrate that its systematic air bombardments and brutal military attacks are, as it has carefully planned, gradually paralysing the economy of the Arab countries, terrorizing their populations and forcing their leaders to capitulate and accept imposed solutions.

5. In the occupied territories, where violations of human rights are greatly increasing, the Israeli authorities are subjecting the population to a rule of terror. Once again the purpose is clear: they wish to dismantle the economy of those territories and change their specifically Arab character.

6. In Jerusalem, Israel is using the same methods with even greater cynicism and obstinacy. It has no scruples in proclaiming the annexation of the Arab parts of the Holy City and in applying measures to change the City's legal status, notwithstanding the repeated unanimous condemnations of the Security Council. The burning of the Al Aqsa mosque has confirmed, if there was any need for confirmation, the real threat that the Zionist occupation represents for the security and future of the Holy Places. His Majesty the King and the Moroccan people, who were greatly indignant when they learned of the heinous crime committed against that holy place, have vigorously condemned the violation of the religious rights of Moslems and Christians in the Holy City. My Government is gratified in this connexion to note the spontaneous expression of support and active solidarity throughout Islam, and the indignation aroused throughout the world by the sacrilege of the criminal burning of the Al Aqsa mosque.

7. After this atrocious act, no attempt at propaganda by the Israelis can conceal the reality. Pushing its arrogance and its crimes beyond all limits, Israel still refuses to apply the Security Council resolution of November 1967 [242 (1967)]; it is blocking the Jarring mission, preventing agreement among the four great Powers, rejecting the

warnings and condemnations of the competent organs of the United Nations and opposing any settlement whose terms and conditions it has not dictated. The situation that now prevails in the Middle East seems to us more serious and more explosive than in June 1967.

8. In contrast with Israel's intransigence, the Arab countries most directly concerned are displaying great patience and are busy seeking a solution capable of ensuring peace in the region. Most of them have accepted the Security Council resolution of November 1967 as a basis for settling the conflict, even though it has been shown not to accord with all their legitimate interests.

9. The anxiety felt for peace in the Middle East, where there is a danger of a wider confrontation, impels the world, which wishes to see justice done, to condemn the Israeli aggression and to demand the restoration of the usurped territories to the Arab peoples. It is high time, therefore, that the United Nations also accepted its responsibilities, since the present worsening of the crisis is due in large measure to its failure to implement its own resolutions. It is therefore bound to halt the Israeli aggression and thus take up the challenge which threatens to compromise its prestige and authority. Any negative attitude on its part will only further encourage the Zionist State to pursue with impunity its attacks, which are increasingly assuming the proportions of veritable genocide.

10. My Government denounces this practice, which is unworthy of our age, and firmly believes that the true solution to the tragedy of the Middle East is to attack the root causes of the problem. Refusal to recognize this reality would only uselessly delay settlement of the crisis, which in my Government's view, cannot be settled fully unless the Palestinians are closely associated with the solution. They cannot accept indefinitely the denial of their rights and the alienation of their personality by the presence of foreign usurpers in their homeland. The Moroccan people salute with admiration the heroic struggle of the Palestinians and recognize the legitimacy of their fight for national liberation. Henceforth, any final settlement of the problem is inconceivable without the participation of this people, whose rights must not be sacrificed or ignored. Thus there can be no concrete solution to the Middle East crisis that does not truly meet the Palestinians' aspirations and fall within the precise framework of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

11. As is well known, the Moslem countries, aware of the highly dangerous situation which threatens to engulf that region once again and anxious to see peace restored there, have just taken at the close of the historic Conference of their Heads of State and Government at Rabat¹ a series of decisions concerning both the future of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the situation in Palestine and the Middle East. On behalf of more than 600 million Moslems, deeply affected by the sacrilegious act that seriously damaged the Al Aqsa mosque, the 25 Moslem States unanimously affirmed that the continuing threats to the sanctuaries of Islam at Jerusalem were direct consequences of the occupa-

tion of the city by the Israeli forces. Their Governments are equally determined to reject any solution of the Palestine problem that would not guarantee the return of the City to its status preceding the Israeli aggression of June 1967. They also expressed their desire to see all Governments, particularly those of the four great Powers, consider the deep devotion of the faithful of Islam to the Holy City and their solemn vow to fight for its liberation.

12. Confronted by the Middle East problem and the steady deterioration of the situation in that region, the Rabat summit conference also decided to launch an urgent and anguished appeal to the international community to make every effort to bring about the prompt withdrawal of Israeli military forces from all the occupied territories, pursuant to the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, which reject any acquisition of territory by military conquest. Having considered the Palestine tragedy, the Conference expressed its firm determination to give its full support to the Palestine people in its struggle for national liberation and the restoration of its usurped rights.

13. His Majesty's Government sincerely hopes that the important contribution thus made by the Governments and peoples of Islam in the search for a peaceful and equitable solution to the problems of the Middle East will win the widest possible measure of understanding and support from all countries that desire to preserve peace and safeguard security and justice in the world.

14. As in the Middle East, there has been little or no improvement of the situation in the colonial territories of Africa. The people of these territories continue, as in the past, to be oppressed and to suffer harsh and implacable foreign domination. The anachronistic policy of colonialism and racial discrimination is one of the most flagrant violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

15. Thus in South Africa the behaviour of the Pretoria régime, based on a denial of racial equality, is considered so serious as to endanger peace and security in Africa and throughout the world. This same concern applies also to Namibia. There too decisions taken by the Security Council have been ignored and scorned by the Pretoria leaders; and it is regrettable that the decisions of the United Nations have not been backed by any effective measures.

16. In Southern Rhodesia the minority régime of Ian Smith also continues to subject the indigenous population to the most inhuman acts of repression and discrimination. It is even trying to consolidate its hold by imposing on the Zimbabwe people a régime based on an illegal and anachronistic constitution designed to perpetuate the concept of the racial superiority of the white minority. The development of the situation since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 confirms the ineffectiveness of the economic sanctions advocated by the United Kingdom and approved by the United Nations.

17. In any event, the African countries must become deeply aware of the serious threat to their sovereignty and independence posed by the consolidation of racist minority régimes in Africa.

¹ First Conference of Islamic Heads of State, held at Rabat from 22 to 25 September 1969.

18. Portugal is relentlessly pursuing its policy of occupation and violence against the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). My country has always condemned that policy of force and deplored the assistance which Lisbon receives from its NATO allies. Determined action should be taken against Portugal in this connexion, so that the principles of self-determination, freedom and independence may be applied without delay in the Territories under Portuguese occupation, in accordance with the purposes and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

19. Before concluding this sorry account of colonialism, I have something to say on a question of direct concern to my country. I should like to inform this Assembly of developments in the territorial dispute between Morocco and Spain. During this year the Moroccan and Spanish Governments have engaged in direct, frank, friendly but none the less difficult negotiations which have led to the conclusion of a treaty on the return of the Territory of Ifni to the Kingdom of Morocco.² The settlement of that problem, under which we conceded certain advantages in our desire to facilitate implementation of the relevant recommendations adopted by the United Nations, has confirmed and strengthened the two countries' desire to resolve their problems by peaceful means. My Government wishes to take this opportunity to express its satisfaction and thanks to all the competent organs of the United Nations, and in particular the Committee of Twenty-Four, for the positive role they played in the search for a satisfactory settlement of that problem.

20. Since that part of the dispute was thus settled, my Government hoped that the Spanish Government would also, in the same spirit of goodwill, take appropriate steps to apply the General Assembly's recommendations concerning the Sahara. It was all the more convinced that this objective could be attained because the Spanish Government had given its full support to the relevant General Assembly resolutions at the 1967 and 1968 sessions [*resolutions 2354 (XXII) and 2428 (XXIII)*]. Unfortunately that hope was to be dashed by events. The economic, political and military measures taken by the administering Power indicate that the course being followed is in no way leading to the emancipation of the Territory. Public opinion is even becoming concerned about the scope and consequences of some of these measures, particularly those aimed at strengthening the military potential of so-called Spanish Sahara, the intensification of pressures and preparations for the unilateral organization of a referendum, the publicity given to speeches and official statements in the Spanish *Cortes*, and pressing appeals for foreign financial assistance in exploiting the mineral wealth of that Territory. My Government, which has always placed great hopes in the self-determination of peoples, is surprised by this behaviour, which runs counter to the obligations devolving upon the administering Power.

21. Nevertheless, my Government, aware of the Spanish Government's interest in the work of decolonization and taking into account its approval of the United Nations resolutions, continues to hope that an appropriate settle-

ment of this problem will soon be reached. For our part we remain convinced that, in the light of the understanding, wisdom and sincere friendship uniting our two Heads of State, His Majesty King Hassan II and His Excellency General Franco, our two countries will continue their efforts and their dialogue with a view to strengthening their historic ties of friendship and promoting fruitful co-operation between them in all fields.

22. With regard to the situation in Gibraltar, my Government fears that continued tension in the relations between Spain and the United Kingdom concerning the future of that Territory is likely to postpone a peaceful settlement of the problem. It hopes that, in the interest of peace in this particularly sensitive area, the parties concerned will resume their dialogue, with a view to implementing the relevant United Nations resolutions on the decolonization of the Territory.

23. The African continent is once again being sorely tried. For more than two years our brother country Nigeria has been threatened by an attempt at secession. This crisis affects it painfully and causes us Africans deep concern. My Government believes that the decisions taken by the summit conference of the Organization of African Unity in an attempt to restore peace, effect national reconciliation and preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria are likely to pave the way to a peaceful and just settlement of the problem.

24. Similarly, in Asia a cruel war has been going on for over 20 years in Viet-Nam. My Government has never failed to deplore this grave situation and at the same time to express its hope of seeing peace restored in that afflicted area. Thus, while sympathizing with the courageous people of Viet-Nam, my country last year welcomed in this Assembly the step taken towards peace by the cessation of the bombings of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the opening of the Paris negotiations. My Government therefore fervently hopes that the process of peace already started will be quickened, so as to enable the people of Viet-Nam to achieve its aspirations by freely determining its future without any foreign interference. We are convinced that with the restoration of peace and security in that country the prospects for solving other problems in Asia and in the world will be more promising.

25. If peace is restored in this area and elsewhere, it will be possible to view the fundamental question of disarmament with more optimism. We cannot ignore the increased intensity of the arms race. We are all agreed that the past year has not brought any notable progress towards disarmament. The Secretary-General, whose sustained efforts in this field we greatly appreciate, pointed out in his message to the Committee on Disarmament that there has been no halt or even slow-down in the arms race. On the contrary, total military expenditure has reached a record level of over \$200,000 million a year. My country, which has recently had the honour of becoming a member of the Committee on Disarmament, realizes the capital importance and extreme complexity of the problem. It is convinced that positive results can be obtained only if all parties show proof of their political will and make sustained efforts. For our part, as His Majesty King Hassan II stated in his recent message to the Committee on Disarmament,

² Treaty on the return of Ifni to Morocco, signed on 4 January 1969.

"We . . . have made [*disarmament*] a constant element of Our foreign policy and We have supported unremittingly every initiative designed to limit and reduce military potentials, whoever may promote or possess them."³

26. Conscious of its new and important responsibilities as a member of the Committee on Disarmament, my country will give this question its undivided attention and will participate in all efforts to achieve positive results.

27. Although we are fully aware of the difficulties in the way of general and complete disarmament under international control, we must pursue our efforts in fields where agreements—even partial agreements—are possible. This process has already yielded significant results in the conclusion of several treaties.

28. Despite these efforts we are still faced by other problems, including the total prohibition of nuclear tests, demilitarization of the sea-bed and ocean floor, and the prohibition of chemical and biological weapons. In this last matter my country will continue to support, as in the past, any decision promoting the universal application of the Geneva Protocol of June 1925.⁴ In any event, His Majesty's Government will support any initiative guaranteeing a just and lasting peace for the international community.

29. The questions which we have just examined are not, however, the only ones retaining our interest and attention. Other problems, such as the limitation of offensive and defensive strategic weapons, the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] and co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy are considered by my delegation to be extremely important. We shall have occasion to deal with them in detail in the appropriate committees.

30. We are convinced that these complex problems can only be solved by frank international co-operation, which is also essential to ensure a balanced development of our society. Whereas in 1967 the world economy was marked by an almost general stability, in 1968, on the other hand, there was a rather remarkable upsurge. World production increased marginally in all regions, whether of market or planned economies; and the rate of international trade was double that of the previous year. This led to a general increase in national income, both for the developed and for all the developing countries.

31. However, this favourable situation, far from reducing the gap between these two groups of countries, has only deepened it further. Strange though it may seem, the gap between the wealthy and the developing countries is constantly widening, in periods alike of difficulty and of abundance. Thus a considerable decline in international exports began during 1968 to the detriment of the developing countries and has now become regular and permanent. This quantitative inequality is particularly alarming since it is accompanied by a qualitative inequality

which increasingly affects the purchasing power derived from those exports. We are therefore faced on the one hand with unstable and declining prices for products from developing countries supplying raw materials, and on the other, with a steady increase in the price of capital goods supplied by industrialized countries. This imbalance adds to the difficulties of the third world, which is confronted with a steady worsening of its trade balance and becomes less and less capable of satisfying its requirements for capital goods.

32. It is thus clear that, as a result of the international trade structures and terms of trade imposed by the rich countries, the operations of developing countries are steadily contracting. The bulk of the profitable transactions are therefore carried out in a closed circuit among the industrialized countries; and the developing countries enter the picture only as suppliers of raw materials at prices unilaterally determined by the industrial purchaser.

33. In the world of finance, for more than a year the international community has been following with some concern the upheavals in the international monetary system. The calm of the last few months is not sufficient to eradicate the deep-rooted causes of the deficiencies of the system now in force, despite the pragmatic remedies which have been applied here and there. We attach particular importance to placing the system on a sounder footing and to stabilizing currencies. This is why we are following with some apprehension the negotiations of the international monetary clubs; and we hope, as a developing country, that the decisions taken by these bodies will not ignore our lawful rights to participate in any attempt to reform the international monetary system. In our view, the international community should henceforth act in such a way that the contribution which each member of the community is able to make is taken into consideration. While we recognize that small meetings might be technically more effective, we must not forget that any solution devised without the participation of those concerned will be doomed to failure.

34. So far as the development of the more backward regions of the world is concerned, we have noted that in 1968 the international community made greater efforts on their behalf than in 1967. Thus there was an increase of 14 per cent in the flow of capital from the industrialized countries invested in the developing countries either through bilateral channels or through multilateral agencies. Last year in this Assembly [*1683rd meeting*] I expressed the hope of seeing the insufficiency of public aid offset by an increase in private investment. The trends recorded in 1968 do indeed show an upturn in private-sector activities in the third world. However, it is not yet possible to assess from the component elements of this activity the effectiveness of the inflow of capital into the development sector. The main effort made in this connexion seems to have been in aid to exports, which has increased by about \$700 million, representing almost 25 per cent of private-sector activities as a whole. While recognizing the effectiveness of this effort, we nevertheless note a very significant drop in public aid, which has decreased by a further 8 per cent in relation to 1967 and by 11 per cent in relation to the average for the previous years. This downward trend is continuing to worsen at the expense of the developing

³ See ENDC/PV.427, para. 4.

⁴ Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed on 17 June 1925.

countries, since aid as a whole has decreased considerably in relation to previous years.

35. Despite the appeals that have been made for several years to set international co-operation on a proper footing and thus make it possible to define a new development strategy, no progress has been made in modifying the structures of world trade or the nature of development aid. The only matter for satisfaction as far as we are concerned is the commitment made by the World Bank Group to increase its activities in the years to come. We are all the more encouraged by the fact that Africa seems to have been given its proper place in the developing world.

36. We believe that it is impossible to envisage a new development strategy without a candid and fair political decision by all the parties concerned.

37. In stressing the need for more active international co-operation, and aware of the difficulty of implementing the development policy, my delegation would like to see every opportunity used for that purpose. It is clear that the major responsibility for the efforts to be undertaken in pursuit of that end must lie first and foremost with the developing countries themselves. It is for this reason that the activities of the Government of His Majesty King Hassan II have always been aimed at mobilizing the full domestic potential of the country and, for this purpose, at carrying out planning adapted to the specific situation in Morocco. This planning has yielded all the expected results, since in the first two years of its implementation the forecasts have been fulfilled, both in the public sector, where programmes are all-important, and in the private sector, where planning is only indicative.

38. These results have been achieved by the mobilization of all the State's resources and the policy of local co-operation with all our bilateral and multilateral, public and private partners. Our Convention of Association with the European Economic Community, the efforts being made at the Maghreb level and the interest shown in our policy by the World Bank Advisory Group are all encouraging factors for us. That is why we believe ourselves to be on the right road and hope to see the confidence placed in us by our partners serve as a basis for our international relations, in the interest of a sound and comprehensive development.

39. As we have already stated, the General Assembly must assume increased responsibilities in the present international situation. The Charter calls upon it, in such circumstances, to take all necessary decisions for the maintenance of peace and security in the world. I should like on this occasion to remind the Assembly, above all, of its primary duty to find an urgent solution to the serious problem of the Middle East. Time is of the essence, and my Government fears that the situation will only deteriorate further and thus escape from all control. We urge the States Members of the United Nations to take cognizance of this danger and to co-operate fully with the Organization in order to enable it to discharge its obligations and apply suitable decisive measures to restore peace in that grievously troubled region. Convinced of the justice of this cause and with every confidence in the future of mankind, Morocco still hopes to see the ideals of peace, freedom and justice finally prevail in this troubled world.

40. Mr. WEI (China) (*translated from Chinese*): Madam President, permit me, on behalf of my Government and people, to extend to you our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly. Your election to that high office is a fitting tribute to your great country, to the continent of Africa and to the increasingly important role women have been playing in world affairs. Above all, it is an expression of the high esteem in which you are personally held by your colleagues in the United Nations.

41. I wish also to pay a word of tribute to your eminent predecessor, the late Emilio Arenales of Guatemala. Like a valiant soldier, he never swerved from the path of duty even when he was seriously ill. His untimely death was a grievous loss not only to his own country but also to the United Nations, both of which he served with courage and distinction.

42. The year 1969 will always be remembered as the year in which man succeeded in walking on the moon. This historic feat has injected a sense of achievement into all mankind. It is a dramatic demonstration of what man is capable of doing once he has set his goal.

43. It is sad to reflect, however, that the science and technology that have enabled man to explore the heavens have not enabled him to solve his problems on earth. Hunger, disease and ignorance continue to be the lot of an overwhelming majority of the world's peoples. To these ancient evils has now been added the new perplexing problem of the population explosion. The scourge of war, for the abolition of which the United Nations was founded, remains stubbornly with us. The war in Viet-Nam goes on, notwithstanding the efforts of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam and its allies to bring about a negotiated settlement. Violence and bloodshed on a massive scale are taking place in the Middle East and in Africa. The Chinese Communist régime in Peiping has not been slow to take advantage of the turmoil and confusion of our times to stir up the so-called "people's war" on a global scale.

44. As regards the war in Viet-Nam, my delegation sincerely hopes that the brave people of the Republic of Viet-Nam, who have suffered so much and for so long from external aggression, will soon be able to live in peace and security. I wish to take this opportunity of reaffirming my Government's belief in the inherent right of all peoples to choose by their own will their own form of government and way of life. Our profound sympathy goes out to the Government and people of the Republic of Viet-Nam in their firm stand to preserve their national independence. We note with appreciation the valuable assistance being given by those Governments which have supported the Republic of Viet-Nam in its valiant struggle against subversion and aggression. By so doing they have contributed to the cause of peace and security in South-East Asia. Their sacrifices will not have been made in vain.

45. In order to bring the bloody conflict in Viet-Nam to a speedy end, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam and its allies have put forward at the Paris talks a series of constructive proposals. These proposals, as all the world knows, call for the accomplishment of two basic objectives, namely, the withdrawal of all non-South Viet-Name

forces, including, of course, those of North Viet-Nam, from the Republic of Viet-Nam and the holding of free elections for all the people of South Viet-Nam. If Hanoi is genuinely interested in a political solution of the Viet-Nam problem, these proposals constitute a sound basis for further negotiations. So far, however, the response from the other side has been consistently and totally negative. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that, as far as Hanoi is concerned, the Paris talks are just another form of warfare fought with political and psychological weapons rather than with military hardware. The policy line seems to have been based on a simple assumption: political pressures both at home and abroad would sooner or later force the United States to accept a settlement on Hanoi's own terms.

46. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the numerous overtures, initiatives and proposals made by the United States to de-escalate the war and to call a halt to the slaughter have met with rebuffs; nor has the death of Ho Chi Minh opened up new avenues to peace. Nevertheless, I believe that, with firmness and patience on the part of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam and its allies, Hanoi will sooner or later come to the conclusion that there is nothing to gain from dilatory tactics of the kind it has been pursuing at the Paris talks. Only then can there be hope for peace in Viet-Nam.

47. The tragic events in Viet-Nam are of immediate concern to the countries of Asia. To them what is at stake is more than the freedom and independence of the Republic of Viet-Nam, important as that is. What is at issue is whether communist aggression and expansion are to be allowed to succeed, thus giving further impetus to aggression and expansion in other parts of Asia.

48. In Thailand, communist-inspired terrorist attacks in the north and north-east provinces continue to cause serious concern. Thanks to the timely and effective counter-insurgency measures carried out by the Government of Thailand, the situation seems to be under control.

49. In North-East Asia, tension along the 38th parallel in the Korean peninsula has persisted. In the past two years the North Korean régime has stepped up its subversive and terrorist activities against the Republic of Korea. Obviously, the situation is fraught with ominous possibilities. The hostility and aggressiveness of the North Korean régime towards the Republic of Korea have made the continued presence of United Nations forces a necessity. These forces serve as a stabilizing factor in that part of the world. It is not surprising, therefore, that those who support the aggressive and expansionist thrusts of the North Korean régime clamour for the complete withdrawal of what they call "foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations".

50. Let me now turn to another area of the world where events are moving towards one of those alarming climaxes with which we have become familiar. Three times within the space of twenty years Israel and the Arab States have resorted to the force of arms to settle their differences. Each time they have succeeded only in deepening the wounds. All United Nations efforts at establishing a just and enduring peace have led to no positive results.

51. For a time shortly after the June 1967 war there was a glimmer of hope that the United Nations might be able to bring some semblance of quiet and tranquillity to the Middle Eastern scene. Security Council resolution 242 (1967), calling, among other things, for the "withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict" and the termination of the state of belligerency as well as the right of every State in the area to "live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries", seemed to offer the kind of formula acceptable to the parties involved in the conflict. The situation, however, has deteriorated. United Nations efforts have failed to hold in check the arms race in the Middle East. Violence and counter-violence have been intensified in the current year. Along the hundred-mile Suez Canal cease-fire line armed hostilities have been continuing with increasing intensity for some months. The danger of a repetition of the June 1967 conflict can no longer be discounted.

52. It seems to my delegation that if there is anything to be learned from the history of the Middle East in the past 20 years it is the futility of war and violence. We fully appreciate the complexity of the situation. We are aware that the fear, suspicion and mistrust that have divided the Arabs and Israelis are too deep-seated to disappear overnight. We see no reason why a climate conducive to the eventual settlement of the problems cannot be created. If there can be no total solution of all problems at any one time, substantive efforts should be made towards the solution of certain specific issues. This calls for statesmanship and restraint on the part of both Israel and the Arab States.

53. In the course of the general debate, mention has frequently been made of the Communist régime on the mainland of China. I deem it my duty to point out here that this régime represents the greatest threat to international peace and is the primary source of Asia's troubles.

54. The Chinese Communist régime adheres religiously to the doctrine of force and violence. In its view, "seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of issues by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution". Mao Tse-tung believes that we may say that "only with guns can the whole world be transformed".⁵ In the new Party Constitution adopted at the Ninth Party Congress in April this year,⁶ the Chinese Communists have committed themselves "to overthrowing imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at its centre, and the reactionaries of all countries".

55. The régime's role in the Viet-Nam war is too well known to need further elaboration. Let it suffice to say that besides supplying Hanoi with arms and ammunition and a wide range of other materials, Peiping has left no stone unturned to deepen and prolong the Viet-Nam conflict. Indeed, had it not been for the influence exerted by Peiping, the war in Viet-Nam would not in all probability have arisen.

⁵ *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1966), p. 63.

⁶ Held at Peking from 1 to 24 April 1969.

56. The Chinese Communists, as is known, have never ceased to cast a covetous eye on Thailand. In January 1965 Radio Peiping announced the establishment on the Chinese mainland of a so-called "Thai Patriotic Front". In January 1969 Peiping's official news agency reported the formal establishment of a "supreme command" of the "Thai Liberation Army". This can be regarded as the initial phase of a "people's revolutionary war" against the legally constituted Government of Thailand. The Chinese Communists have also been training dissident elements from Laos, Burma and other Asian countries in the art of insurgency and guerrilla warfare.

57. Yet, there are those who seem to think that the threat posed by the Chinese Communists to world peace has been exaggerated and that for all their bellicose rhetoric, their actions tend to be cautious. I seriously question whether the Chinese Communist strategy of world domination can be dismissed in so light-hearted a manner. The encouragement, training, financing and equipping of guerrillas is no less of a threat to the independence and freedom of the emerging countries than even direct military assault. In all these countries there are dissident elements who, with encouragement and aid from abroad, are ready to play the role which the Viet Cong has been playing in Viet-Nam.

58. In this connexion, let me quote a significant passage from Lin Piao's political report to the Ninth Party Congress:

"The revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world and of the people of various countries is vigorously surging forward. The armed struggles of the people of South Viet-Nam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India and other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are steadily growing in strength. An unprecedented gigantic revolutionary mass movement has broken out in Japan, Western Europe and North America, the 'heartlands' of capitalism."

Let no one dismiss what he has to say as an empty threat.

59. The bellicosity in Lin Piao's political report has recently been echoed by Chou En-lai, the supposed moderate among the Chinese Communist leaders, when he said, at a reception in Peiping:

"The 700 million Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung Thought and tempered through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, are determined to fulfil better their proletarian internationalist duty and, together with the people of the whole world, carry the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction through to the end."

60. Ironically, the régime that has promoted subversive activities against all established Governments and has sought to impose its order of things upon all mankind now finds itself in the grip of an unprecedented crisis. The forces set in motion by the cultural revolution have not ceased to operate. The large-scale purges of the past three years have failed to strengthen Mao's confidence in the future of his régime. He continues to call for vigilance against so-called "renegades, special agents, unrepentant capitalist hoarders and class enemies". Significantly, Peiping frankly admits

that anarchism now stalks across the land. This is from the joint editorial of *People's Daily*, *Liberation Army Daily* and *Red Flag*, of 24 August 1969.

61. It is thus abundantly clear that the Ninth Party Congress merely marked the end of the first round of power struggle. The second round has just begun. The purge of Liu Shao-chi has not eliminated his latent influence both in the armed forces and in the ranks of the party. In the new Central Committee a large number of military men have become members, but the army is no longer a homogeneous entity; it is unlikely that the various factions will be able to act together in time of crisis. This cannot fail to have serious implications for the future of the régime.

62. The makeshift power structure put together to replace the one shattered by the cultural revolution has not worked well. The so-called revolutionary committees in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions are for the most part dominated by the military which are now directly involved in the new power struggle. This means that the military have become such a potent political force that Mao and his supporters have characterized them as having established "independent kingdoms".

63. In such circumstances, in order to ensure his own political survival, Mao, willy-nilly, is forced to go ahead with more and more purges. Real or potential enemies must be ferreted out. This will create more confusion and unrest and could hasten the collapse of the régime.

64. Far more serious than intra-Party power struggle as a threat to the existence of the Communist régime is the anti-Maoist and anti-Communist movement that has gathered strength in the wake of the cultural revolution. Resistance to the régime has been growing. Bloody conflict has flared up in 17 of the 21 provinces. The official communist press has to admit that "unreformed landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements and rightists, as well as hidden counter-revolutionaries", unreconciled to their defeat, now "try to sabotage socialist ownership, corrupt old and new cadres and the youth, whip up the evil wind of counter-revolutionary revisionism to disrupt socialist production, use religious superstitions to undermine unity among the various nationalities". This is from the joint editorial of *The People's Daily*, *Liberation Army Daily* and *Red Flag*, 24 August 1969. In the province of Shansi, for example, "class enemies" are said to have "committed series of grave counter-revolutionary crimes" through "struggle by violence". They not only incited workers and peasants to struggle against the authorities but also carried out "attacks on People's Liberation Army organizations and units". This is a quotation from the directive of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee of 23 July 1969 on "How to cope with struggle by violence in Shansi province". Obviously, not all is well inside the Chinese mainland.

65. Those who champion the Maoist cause in the United Nations speak of the 700 million Chinese people as if the Chinese people and the Communist régime were one and the same. Nothing can be further from the truth. The fact is that of the 700 million people only a minuscule minority—a little over 2 per cent—are Communists. Now, even this tiny minority is torn by factional strife. The overwhelming

majority of the Chinese people are anti-Mao and anti-Communist. Twenty years of regimentation and brain-washing, 20 years of torture and terror, have failed to make them accept the Communist régime as anything but a transient tyranny. They have never ceased to thirst for freedom and to struggle against their oppressors. They continue to hold dear the values of Chinese cultural heritage which Mao Tse-tung and his gang have tried so hard to eradicate. Only after the overthrow of the Communist régime can the Chinese people make full use of their cultural heritage to contribute to the cause of world peace.

66. The Chinese people are determined to be the masters of their own destiny. It is not too fantastic to believe that the Communist régime will in time be swept away and remembered only as a nightmarish episode in the history of modern China. Today the régime is no longer in effective control over a large part of the Chinese mainland. Certainly, the long-suffering masses of the Chinese people will not cease their struggle until it is overthrown. When that day comes, the world will have removed one of its greatest threats to peace.

67. The right to determine the future of China belongs to the Chinese people alone and no one else. In their struggle for freedom the Chinese people ask for no help from other nations. This is an internal matter for the Chinese people to resolve. At the same time, they have the right to expect that no one should give aid and comfort to their oppressors.

68. In the midst of the internal chaos and power struggles, Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao persist in calling for the militarization of all aspects of life on the mainland, for the intensification of war preparations and for the stepping-up of war hysteria. It seems that turmoil at home may well incline the Chinese Communists to embark on a more aggressive and more reckless course of action towards their neighbours, whether to the north or to the south, in order to divert the people's discontent and hostility from the pressures of internal tensions with which the régime is more deeply troubled than its strained relations with other countries.

69. In less than a year from now, the United Nations will have completed the first quarter of a century of its existence. On the eve of its twenty-fifth birthday, it may be useful to take stock of its failures and achievements, as well as to assess and define the direction of future developments.

70. It is, of course, no secret that the United Nations has not been effective in its efforts for peace. You yourself, Madam President, in your opening speech called attention to "the gradual decline of the United Nations in the eyes of public opinion" [1753rd meeting, para. 47]. I believe your observation is shared by a large number of representatives in this hall. It is not to be denied that the United Nations has played but a marginal role in world affairs. When momentous problems are at stake, it is more often than not either bypassed or ignored.

71. This highly unsatisfactory state of affairs has led to the belief that the Charter no longer adequately meets the vital needs of our time and must be so revised as to be responsive to the aims and aspirations of Member States. It

seems to my delegation that, in so far as the machinery and methods of operation are concerned, there is undoubtedly much to be said in support of this point of view. Indeed, it was in recognition of the growing importance of the Afro-Asian States in the United Nations that Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter were amended in 1963. It must be admitted, however, that the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of peace depends not so much on the letter of the Charter as on the spirit in which its provisions are carried out. It is difficult to believe that the ills that at present afflict the United Nations can be cured merely by Charter revision, however desirable that may be.

72. It seems to my delegation that the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter represent the highest and noblest ideals ever conceived by man. If there is a gap between Charter goals and reality, the reason is that it is not always easy for man to live up to his most cherished ideals. But this does not mean that he should stop trying. On the contrary, the effective functioning of the United Nations demands urgent and serious efforts on the part of its Member States to make a reality of the aims of the Charter. It is the failure of Member States to make good their commitments to the Charter that is responsible for the state of frustration in which the United Nations now finds itself.

73. The United Nations is facing critical times. Its effectiveness and even its *raison d'être* have been called into question. Yet there are those in the Assembly who are ready to strengthen the forces of lawlessness and aggression by adding to United Nations membership a régime which has nothing but contempt for the purposes and principles of the Charter. If they are allowed to have their way, the future of the Organization will be bleak indeed. Let us hope that the disaster which overtook the League of Nations in the 1930s will not be repeated by the United Nations today.

74. Mr. CALVANI (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): Madam President, please accept our warmest and most sincere congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. It is a just recognition of your personal qualities and of your long and distinguished career in the United Nations. It is also a well-deserved tribute to womanhood and motherhood, and to a continent which played an important part in forming the people and national character of Venezuela. We have already had occasion to appreciate the intelligence, tact and firmness with which you direct our discussions, thus ensuring that the work of the session will be orderly and fruitful.

75. We should be failing to pay a well-deserved tribute if, at this time, we were not to recall your predecessor, Mr. Emilio Arenales. Mr. Arenales afforded us an unforgettable example of dignity and strength of spirit in the way in which he directed the work of the past session while afflicted with great physical suffering.

76. I have the honour to address the General Assembly for the first time as the representative of the Government presided over by Mr. Rafael Caldera who, in keeping with the constitutional and democratic tradition of Venezuela, has been entrusted by the people of Venezuela with the difficult task of leading the country along the path of

progress. On his behalf, I reaffirm Venezuela's support for the United Nations and for the principles of the Charter which provide a basis for its activities.

77. The Government of Venezuela is determined to remain faithful to the principles on which international peace and co-operation are based. We do not, however, consider it sufficient to adopt a purely static approach, since the problems facing the international community, far from remaining static, are increasing in gravity and complexity faster than means can be found to solve them. The Venezuelan Government wishes to make a determined effort to join in the concerted and dynamic action that the times demand.

78. However, efforts do not always produce the desired results unless they are carried out as part of a coherent plan laying down the goals towards which they should be directed. These goals are, in our view, international social justice and universal well-being.

79. As we all know, the early stages of the industrial revolution produced the most inhuman conditions of poverty for large masses of the population within each country. As the differences between the haves and the have-nots became more accentuated, an event occurred which was to have far-reaching consequences: the have-nots became aware of their own poverty and rebelled against it. Fatalistic resignation to subhuman living conditions gave way to a belief in collective responsibility for the well-being of every member of the community, a responsibility directly proportional to the capacity and wealth of each individual.

80. There thus emerged a new view of the ideal of justice, namely, social justice, justice as a regulating principle restoring the balance between the haves and the have-nots, between the strong and the weak, between the rich and the poor and between employers and workers. In its name a fight was waged to counter the abuses of the powerful, to change the concept of society and its structures. As it was considered that those who have more should contribute more, the weight of the tax burden began to fall on the wealthy. As employers and workers, too, were not in the same situation, social legislation to protect workers was evolved in order to put an end to the domination of the socially weak by the socially strong. But this is something that is so well known that there is no need to dwell on it further. This process took place within each nation, at different times but along the same general lines. The poor became aware of their own poverty.

81. Today it has taken on a new dimension: it has become international in character. The under-privileged peoples of the world have become aware of their state. They are realizing the extent of their under-development, which cannot be concealed by such euphemisms as "developing countries" or "relatively less developed countries".

82. The spread of literacy, the press, radio, cinema, television, easier and increasing communication between peoples, and the very attitude of the developed countries in their relations with the developing countries have led the developing countries to realize that there is a section of mankind which is over-endowed. The resignation of former

years has given way to the desire to work for an end to this unjust situation in international relations. And today, nations, as individuals did in the past, look to international social justice as an ideal to inspire and guide their activities.

83. At the national level, marked economic, social and cultural inequalities give rise to tensions and disturbances of various kinds, and, at the international level, make peace an illusion.

84. The exploitation of man by man undoubtedly generates violence. How then can the exploitation of one country by another engender peace on earth? How, I also ask, could we describe the exploitation of one country by another as anything but a situation of domination and subjection? How indeed can we describe the relations between the developed nations—whatever banner they fly—and the developing nations except in terms of domination and subjection?

85. The policy of blocs and the concentration of world power around two great Powers have caused serious defects in international assistance.

86. Under one system, economic domination inevitably leads to political and cultural penetration. Under another, political and ideological domination also implies economic control and exploitation. Both systems, though their emphasis and methods differ, result in what can only be called an objective situation of subjection.

87. Development financing is, in fact, subject to many conditions. Disinterested donations are the exception. In one case, the "beneficiary" country is a victim of the developed country's desire for profit and has to repay what it has received with interest and to compromise its economic freedom. In the other case, the so-called beneficiary country is a victim of the developed country's desire for ideological penetration and sees its structures invaded and its political freedom removed. The actual words used convey the underlying ideas. Reference is made to "aid" to the under-developed countries, thus apparently attributing generosity to the donor. In point of fact, generally speaking, the provision of resources either represents a straightforward commercial transaction or pursues ideological or political goals; in neither case does it warrant the connotation of the word "aid".

88. What is more, in the developed countries the tax systems—whatever form they take—generally place the burden of taxation on those who possess most. These nations believe this is a logical system where their own countries are concerned, and this is so, since it is in accordance with social distributive justice. Why, I ask, is not this same principle applied to international relations? Why are there two weights and two measures? Is it not the same social justice transposed to the level of relations between countries? Why is a principle operative in national economies not operative in the world economy? The result would be radically different, since something which is an obligation could scarcely be described as "aid". The wealth of the developed countries has its roots in the poverty of the developing countries. Thus, on the international plane, the developed countries have—in all justice—certain duties towards the developing countries. It is therefore a matter not of concessions, but of obligations.

89. This might seem somewhat exaggerated. Let us remember, however, in this respect the serious problem of the constant deterioration in terms of trade and its important role in the "vicious circle of poverty".

90. In his Introduction to this year's annual report, the Secretary-General states that "development is the long slow road to peace" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 84]. The distance we have travelled along this road is frankly unsatisfactory, and it will continue to be unsatisfactory so long as no effective efforts are made by the more developed countries to support the efforts of the United Nations. The praiseworthy efforts of UNCTAD and its Secretary-General, our distinguished compatriot Mr. Manuel Pérez Guerrero, can achieve nothing concrete so long as the States that have the resources, far from using them to promote a more reasonable and just international economic order, continue by their behaviour to aggravate the present unacceptable situation. The deterioration in the terms of trade, the growing cost of financial resources and the increasingly difficult access to technological advances are daily widening the gap separating the developed countries—which are a true international oligarchy—from the rest, which in increasingly difficult situations are struggling to ensure genuinely human conditions of life for their peoples.

91. I have one further observation to make. The lack of any criterion of social justice in the policy of development aid frequently has the effect of strengthening inequitable structures in the developing countries.

92. Moreover, man's landing on the moon opens up new horizons for human existence. The earth is no longer the only sphere of man's activities. Man has reached outer space, and thus gives a vital new dimension to life. This fact, which has still not been sufficiently assimilated, sheds a new light on the concept of "mankind". As the earth grows smaller and smaller, men feel closer and closer to each other. It is easier to understand, or rather to feel, the solidarity that is needed among nations.

93. It is obvious that participation in the international community cannot be based on the selfish and negative idea of the benefits to be derived from the political domination and economic exploitation of other countries. This is so obvious, that, as can clearly be seen, the peoples of the developing countries feel the need to unite against an unjust international order, just as the under-privileged within each State feel the need to unite against those who are responsible for their deprivation.

94. Thus there has emerged—although still in an imprecise form—the idea of a universal common good that demands the support of all the peoples of the world. International structures must be adapted for the purpose of achieving this universal common good, and to this end the mistaken and harmful concept of selfish nationalism must be superseded by a concept of sovereignty and patriotism based on solidarity among nations and applied in the light of the values of international social justice. Consequently, we must move from an international order based on bilateral agreements between Governments towards one founded on multilateral institutions established by the peoples. We must move from national autarchies to the creation of a supra-national society through successive processes of in-

tegration. In short, we must work towards an international order aimed at the universal common good and based on international social justice.

Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

95. Having described the foundations which, in my Government's view, are indispensable for the attainment of lasting and fruitful peace for the full development of man, we wish to express our most fervent hope that violence will be banished from the world. The most obvious form of violence—war—still persists in Asia, Africa and the Middle East in all its tragic manifestations: the dead and the wounded, hunger, destruction, poverty and the shipwreck of man's dignity. We are shocked and deeply disturbed that efforts to achieve peace have ended in failure.

96. But armed struggle is not the only form of violence. Colonial oppression that prevents nations from choosing their own destiny is also a form of violence. The historic tradition of Venezuela, bequeathed by the Liberator, Simon Bolívar, compels my country to support all measures designed to eliminate the detestable colonial system, whatever form and characteristics it may assume.

97. There is another form of violence in our world which it is our duty to combat, namely, degrading and cruel racism. Racial persecution is a serious threat to world peace and a burden on the conscience of every free man. The blood of three races which runs intermingled in the veins of the Venezuelan people makes us particularly sensitive to this absurd form of hatred among men. When these practices, instead of being combated by Governments, are institutionalized by them and proclaimed as official policy, they constitute an intolerable mockery of the very bases of the international community.

98. To these forms of violence we should add one other: religious discrimination. We had thought that it was something that belonged to the past, but we see with concern that it is re-emerging in various parts of the world and that it, too, constitutes a threat to understanding among men.

99. In this general debate we have refrained from explaining in detail our position on specific agenda items. Our delegation will express its views on each item as it is discussed. We should like, nevertheless, to take this opportunity to make a few general comments about the Organization.

100. We are concerned at the loss of authority and prestige suffered by the United Nations, which in our opinion is still the international community's best instrument for achieving peace and justice in the world. There are complex reasons for this weakening of the United Nations, which many speakers have described in the course of this general debate: non-compliance with its resolutions by certain Member States; the lack of a sense of realism on the part of delegations that are more interested in adoption of draft resolutions than in the actual possibilities of action by the Organization; the unjustified refusal of other delegations to support specific measures for the implementation of principles and standards generally accepted by the international community; the excessive number of meet-

ings, documents and words; the dispersal of efforts; the limitations of the Charter, and so on. All these reasons have undoubtedly affected the state of affairs, but in our view the root of the problem is the lack of a general political will to work within the framework of the United Nations and actively to promote the principles and purposes of the Charter.

101. There is clearly a tendency for the great Powers to leave the United Nations to one side in considering the main international issues. We other Member States encourage this attitude, which is gradually undermining the very foundations of the Organization, through inactivity and our inability to work together and make our contribution to the study of those items.

102. While the policy of a balance of power among nations, among the great Powers, was incapable of ensuring peace in the past, the possibilities of creating a just international order today on the basis of that same system are remote indeed. It might be argued that this balance of power has prevented a world conflict. We cannot forget, however, that we have been on the brink of the abyss on more than one occasion. Moreover, the maintenance of this precarious balance entails the investment of vast sums on the acquisition of complex and costly systems of attack or defence. In any event, the balance of power did not prevent the armed conflicts that have broken out in various parts of the world since the end of the Second World War.

103. A new international order must be based on recognition of the unity and indivisibility of mankind's destiny and of the inherent dignity of human beings, and should be aimed at the development of the whole man and of all mankind.

104. In examining all these problems, we think of the heavy burden borne by our Secretary-General, U Thant. We know his devotion to the cause of peace, his spirituality and his will to serve, all of which constitute a guarantee of patient and fruitful action. We congratulate the Secretary-General on his positive efforts and we offer him our support and our co-operation.

105. Next year the United Nations will have been in existence for a quarter of a century. That will be a magnificent opportunity to make a clear and realistic analysis of its structure and effectiveness and of the role that it is destined to play in a rapidly changing world.

106. In this analysis we must obviously assess the real results that have been achieved. But this in itself is not enough. In a constructive spirit, we must ask ourselves whether our peoples still believe in the United Nations as an effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and for the promotion of the necessary economic and social development.

Miss Brooks (Liberia) resumed the Chair.

107. Moreover, the post-war generation must receive our special attention. Animated by praiseworthy concerns and impelled by a tireless energy, this generation can and must be a positive and decisive factor in contemporary history. But we must likewise ask ourselves: will this generation

retain its faith in the United Nations? If we can ensure that our most precious resource, youth, participates in the activities of the United Nations, we should be taking a great step forward towards the future realization of the great hopes born at San Francisco.

108. Mr. NSANZE (Burundi) (*translated from French*): Seven years have passed since Burundi achieved national and international sovereignty. The prominent part which you, Madam President, took in our country's progress to independence will never be erased from the memory of the people of Burundi, since it was under your enlightened guidance that a United Nations mission, operating in Burundi in complex and hazardous conditions, found the Burundi nation irrevocably determined to entrust its destinies to its own sons and daughters.

109. Despite the obstacles you encountered in your task and despite the traps set along your road, you resolutely accomplished your important mission and led the United Nations to grant to Burundi its inalienable right to govern itself.

110. The decisive role which you undertook in the accomplishment of independence for our country extended beyond Burundi and took on a larger significance in the United Nations during the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, which raised our country to the rank of a free nation [*see resolution 1746 (XVI)*]. Thanks to your irresistible influence and to the far-seeing recommendation in your report on the determination of the people of Burundi to end their dependent status, the Fourth Committee, under your masterly and serene chairmanship, recommended the grant of independence.

111. For the decisive role you played in enabling us to achieve our sovereignty, Mr. Micombero, President of the Republic of Burundi, and the Government and people of Burundi have instructed my delegation to pay a tribute to you, Madam, on your election as President of the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

112. The achievement of independence by our country was only a prelude to the further affirmation of our sovereignty by the proclamation of the Republic on 28 November 1966. This independence, to which you made so active and effective a contribution, has also given Burundi an impulse towards development and a larger international role. In fact, you seem to identify yourself personally with the destiny of Burundi, which yesterday, with your help, became again master of its fate and has today had the signal honour of being nominated by the Organization of African Unity as Africa's candidate for the organ which is the guarantor of universal peace: the Security Council. Just as our country's political resurrection was accomplished in 1962 in the Fourth Committee under your skilled leadership, so you, Madam President, are taking the Chair in the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session at the moment of Burundi's selection as the African candidate for the Security Council. We are thus led to conclude that the part you have played has largely contributed to Burundi's international as well as its national good fortune. We combine the expression of our gratitude with our fervent wishes for the full success of this session. Needless to say,

you have an absolute right to our fullest collaboration, however modest it may be, in making those wishes come true.

113. My delegation takes this opportunity to associate itself with the condolences expressed by previous speakers to the family of Mr. Arenales and to the Guatemalan Government in connexion with the sudden death of the former Guatemalan Minister for Foreign Affairs, who presided over the previous session with devotion, zeal, understanding and diligence.

Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

114. My Government feels under an obligation to pay a tribute to U Thant for his immense contribution to the solution of world problems and his constant quest for lasting world peace. The manifest interest which our Secretary-General takes in the viability—and, what is more, in the complete success—of the Organization of African Unity assures him of the gratitude and affection of all the members of that Organization. We must again praise his integrity, which commands the esteem and admiration of all those in contact with his work.

115. The Republic of Burundi remains an untiring champion of peace among the nations. Since 28 November 1966, when the Republic was proclaimed, our Government has been carrying out a carefully planned and far-reaching reform intended to give all citizens more security, more comfortable living conditions and more happiness. It is doing its utmost thereby to safeguard and consolidate national freedom, concord and harmony. During the past three years our new leaders have endeavoured to secure the future of Burundi in the midst of all obstacles, both internal and external.

116. These obstacles, in spite of all the skill and power of those who have raised them, have been removed by the unfailing vigilance of the people of Burundi, and its innate dislike of discord. Those who have repeatedly attempted to disturb the established order have strained their ingenuity to disguise their attempts in various ways, but the plans of these trouble-makers have been revealed.

117. Despite the Republic's earnest desire to treat every citizen according to his merits, objectively and according to criteria based on capacity, despite the unprecedented success attained by the Republic in allocating the most senior posts, in both numbers and quality, some of those in a commanding position long for chaos, which remains invariably their guiding motive. Through malice or blindness these hardened trouble-makers do not hesitate, under foreign instigation, to become unscrupulous saboteurs and destroyers of their own nation. Blinded by evident bad faith, these groups behave in a way which gives rise to the belief that they have resolutely undertaken the task of systematically destroying their own country. Unable to rise to the top by their individual worth, they have the temerity to arrogate to themselves sole right over life and to get rid of their compatriots by exterminating them. Their conduct is a denial of the most fundamental human rights and a flagrant violation of the principles and ideals of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations.

118. Since, however, our nation has been able to pass through this storm without losing its personality and to express its unmistakable determination to maintain its unity, ensure order and guarantee peace; since it has, in a word, kept its head at critical moments, how much more will this reinvigorated nation now be able to foil the plans of those who gamble on its discomfiture, disintegration and disappearance?

119. In its firm determination to extirpate all causes of national regression and all selfish and separatist elements aiming at extermination, the Government has resolutely set itself to create and consolidate a State and a society composed not of mutually exclusive but of complementary ethnic groups.

120. Such a concept of State policy and of the exercise of power is proving the soundest and the most beneficial policy both national and international, with due regard to the role which the Republic of Burundi is called upon to play. The political path which our country has mapped out for itself conforms to the reply given by Solon the wise, who replied to the Greeks who asked him what would be the "best constitution": "Tell me first for what people and in what epoch."

121. Situated at the cross-roads of Africa, the Republic of Burundi seems destined for a key role in the centre of a united and prosperous continent. In this Africa of fabulous opportunities, it is a natural link between English-speaking East Africa and French-speaking Central Africa; and it endeavours to fulfil with generosity and determination its natural vocation as an ardent defender of peace and friendship among its immediate neighbours and among all members of the Organization of African Unity.

122. At first sight, for those who are not fully familiar with Burundi realities, this resolve of my country's authorities may seem beyond our powers. In answer to these doubts we must affirm that the country has been able to make a manifest contribution to understanding among African brother States. Burundi, with a population of 4.5 million, is among the medium Powers of Africa, since only some 15 countries have a larger population. It is thus in the fifth population category.

123. It must, however, be emphasized that the effectiveness of the role played by States is not necessarily derived from the demographic and geographical criteria I have mentioned. Objective minds agree that a country's status and importance derive neither from size of territory nor from number of inhabitants, but on the contrary from the intrinsic value of its people, the spirit that moves them and dictates their action, and the lofty ideals which inspire them.

124. His Excellency Michel Micombero, President of the Republic of Burundi, has devoted all his energies to creating a climate of political brotherhood among the States surrounding our country. His statement of 28 November 1967, when the first anniversary of the Republic's establishment was being commemorated, clearly showed that the Head of the Burundi State and his Government regard peaceful relations with its neighbours as one of their prime tasks and as an indispensable stage on the road to

continental unity. At that memorable ceremony President Micombero said:

“Our Government’s first concern continues to be the strengthening of the friendly relations which we have endeavoured this past year to establish with neighbouring countries. The presence among us of experienced statesmen from the great nations surrounding us is striking evidence of the full success of this policy, which began on 28 November 1966 . . . For our part, we are convinced that the unity of Africa will not be achieved while causes of friction divide neighbouring African States. With that idea in mind, since 28 November 1966 we have spared no effort to settle the dispute which has marred the friendly relations of long standing between us and our sister Republic of Rwanda.”

125. The African political doctrine set forth in the above statement has not remained confined to the realm of pious wishes. Facts and achievements eloquently testify to its faithful application: conferences and meetings have been organized at various levels for representatives of the Governments in our region; our Government has operated settlement programmes for about 100,000 refugees and has taken steps to prevent political activities likely to prejudice relations between the States concerned. Thus the refugee problem, which used to be a source of friction, has at last been solved. The official visit made by the Head of the Burundi State to Rwanda two months ago ratifies his own and his Government’s efforts to create a healthy political climate for all relations with our brother States. This historic visit preceded by a few weeks the establishment of diplomatic relations between Burundi and its northern neighbour Rwanda with the appointment of ambassadors.

126. I now come to the doctrine of co-operation. A readaptation of international co-operation with a view to ending economic stagnation in the under-developed world is an immediate necessity.

127. A large number of speakers from this rostrum have expressed their deep concern at the under-development in which most members of the Organization are engulfed. The pressing dangers of economic inequality have been described and its causes analysed. The efforts undertaken by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and its subsidiary organs, including more particularly the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Labour Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, clearly show the gravity of the situation and the overriding concern of these bodies to remedy it. Despite this concerted effort of the international organizations to improve economic conditions in our countries, substantial changes for this purpose will be possible only if a new and more objective approach is made to the conditions of international co-operation.

128. The delegation of Burundi deems it essential that the present system of co-operation among States should be readapted. If this new orientation is to concord better with the appropriate means of development, it must deal with the machinery set up by the suppliers of economic and technical assistance.

129. The bitter disappointment caused by the failure of the first United Nations Development Decade has been sufficiently expressed in this Assembly and there is no need to dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on the eve of the Second Development Decade, it is imperative to guard against the difficulties and shortcomings which were the root cause of the failure of the first. To avoid the same reverses during the next 10 years, the wealthy States will have to make major concessions to their economically less favoured partners. The task which will have to be carried out first is to rectify the concept and purpose of assistance.

130. My Government thinks that the first and last aim of assistance should be merely to provide for an interim phase enabling nations in search of development to achieve technical, professional, administrative and economic self-sufficiency so that they can gradually, but as rapidly as possible, free themselves from dependence on mainly external resources. In other words, assistance from outside agencies, whether on a bilateral or multilateral basis, should be nothing more than a launching operation, a “take-off”, so that the infant economies of the new States can rise to industrial heights.

131. Criticism of aid in general applies also to its corollary, technical assistance. If they are to succeed fully, they must both be decolonized and “depoliticized”. It is certainly not our intention to gainsay the importance, or indeed, the need of technical assistance; but there are principles dear to the heart of every recipient State and disinterested technical assistance must be adjusted to them. Assistance must not be regarded as an end in itself but as a period of development, a formative stage whose objective is to prepare technicians in all fields to take over. Viewed from this angle and governed by this principle, technical assistance would no longer reserve for aided countries unskilled persons who cannot cope with their duties because they are unfamiliar with the problems they are supposed to tackle. “Experts” with only a fragmentary knowledge of the fields to which they are assigned are a double drawback: they are a financial burden and they cannot give nationals the necessary training and knowledge of modern techniques; since, as the Latin tag puts it, *nemo dat quod non habet*—nobody can give what he does not possess.

132. This Assembly fully understands the right of recipient countries to ask, not for supernumeraries, but for the cream of experienced officials and experts. In brief, technical assistance without any ulterior motive means qualified personnel with no desire to take control or to interfere with domestic policy. It is meant to stimulate the internal development and to power the economic growth of the assisted country.

133. In April last, during the second session of the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade, of which Burundi is a member, I thought it my duty to show how some kinds of economic and technical assistance could be refined means of domination and appropriation. I said:

“The generosity of the wealthy countries is not always disinterested. Action by the large industrial countries for the benefit of the proletarian nations is still mainly based on political motives. Thus the volume and nature of gifts

are determined by tactical considerations rather than by the desire for development. Aid and assistance are often no more than weapons for fighting one's adversary and disputing territory with him . . .

"In the present stage, assistance by highly-qualified technicians is essential. But we must stress that the intervention of experts or of foreign officials is in the nature of an exception, which can be justified only as a measure of first aid until qualified national personnel can take over. The international co-operation sector which, by definition, should be the most neutral, since it relates to strictly technical activities, is sometimes politicized: that is, involved in the calculations and rivalries of the donor Powers. In the system as described 'tied aid', the main motivation for technical co-operation, is also still political. Thus technical and financial assistance becomes both a tool in the service of diplomacy and a weapon against a rival competitor. In view of such a paradox, assistance to under-developed countries is rarely effective in attaining its objectives."⁷

This political bargaining is undoubtedly a major obstacle to the success of co-operation.

134. Today the Government of Burundi, through its delegation, wishes to stress once again the urgent need to free aid and assistance from the disabilities which I have mentioned and which were stigmatized by Mr. J. M. Albertini, who said:

"There is an element of hypocrisy in 'giving' or 'lending' money when every day, through the trade and strategy of the large international firms, the assisted countries are deprived of their substance. The transfer of public capital thus becomes an insurance premium for the maintenance of domination.

"It is somewhat cynical to 'assist' in such a way that the 'assisted' peoples become, in their needs and their behaviour, a mere pale reflexion of the dominant parties, docile and perpetual beggars."⁸

135. The Government of the Republic of Burundi expresses its ardent hope that the Second Development Decade, which is to begin during the twenty-fifth year of the United Nations, will apply in its development strategy the true doctrine of genuinely disinterested and therefore more productive economic aid and technical assistance.

136. *Apartheid* and colonization are monstrous obstacles to economic expansion and a shameful dehumanization of African society. On 28 November 1967 President Micombero, in a statement on the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa, described the policy of Burundi in the following terms, which underline the strength and sincerity of the commitment assumed by the Government of Burundi:

"We are formally resolved to support the Organization of African Unity, to intensify the struggle against

colonialism, and to encourage by every means at our disposal those who fight for the liberation and independence of the territories still under foreign domination. We regard the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Namibia as our struggle. We are at the side of the people of Zimbabwe and the population of South Africa beneath the yoke of régimes shamelessly practising the most systematic discrimination."

137. During the past three years I have outlined in the Security Council and the General Assembly the factors and causes which distinguish the parallel aims pursued in Africa by the Governments of Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury. My statement in the Security Council on 23 June last contains the following paragraph:

"Now, the painful rebuff with which the Rhodesian settlers have just repaid the tender solicitude of the mother country, the sordid contempt with which they have just responded to its very maternal treatment, the immeasurable danger posed by the twin régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury—all these are so many compelling reasons for shaking off that blissful optimism which has lulled certain Governments to sleep."⁹

138. In fact, the treatment of the African peoples in the Portuguese colonies does not differ greatly from that of the so-called "coloured" people in Namibia and South Africa. In the last analysis the Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury axis has a single goal: to perpetuate its despotism over the indigenous peoples and its monopoly of the fabulous resources of their countries. Hence any effort to dissociate the objectives which these régimes have set themselves would be erroneous and misleading.

139. Only the method of approach differs slightly: the exponents of South African and Rhodesian *apartheid* have armed themselves with the weapon of racial separatism the better to despoil the non-whites, whereas the champions of Portuguese subjugation rely on the notorious assimilation process. For the rest, do the three régimes not claim to perpetuate and accentuate the subjugation of the African peoples, upon whom they have the divine mission of conferring the benefits of the "sacrosanct civilization"?

140. On 12 December 1968 in the General Assembly [1739th meeting] and on 23 June last in the Security Council [1480th meeting] my address, which was buttressed by abundant documentation and by irrefutable facts, demonstrated the need for a universal coalition against *apartheid*, the sickly child of Hitler's nazism alike in its ideological foundations and its expansionist aims. I also gave evidence that the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon trio is sowing the seeds of a war likely to reach far beyond the frontiers of Africa.

141. Today, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the ideals and principles of which are to defend the freedom of man and safeguard peace, my delegation deems it appropriate to appeal once again to the trading and military partners of those régimes to put an end to this situation.

⁷ See A/AC.141/SR.12.

⁸ J. M. Albertini, *Les mécanismes du sous-développement*, Paris, Editions économiques et humanisme—Les éditions ouvrières, 1967, p. 296.

⁹ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fourth Year, 1480th meeting.

142. The eradication of racism and colonialism is an essential factor in ensuring that international co-operation with Africa shall assume its true proportions and its authentic character of mutual development among free and brotherly nations.

143. It is certain that the mutilation of the African peoples by *apartheid* in Rhodesia and South Africa and by Portuguese domination has not only impaired the relations between the Western countries and Africa but has also seriously jeopardized any fruitful co-operation between them in the future.

144. In view of the dehumanization brought about by such systems, the South African and Rhodesian racists and the Portuguese colonialists should recognize the damage they are inflicting not only on Western culture but also on the most fundamental values and on human dignity itself. A completely objective analysis reveals that any sound policy claiming constructive long-range goals must recognize that the servitude imposed on non-whites by South Africa will dangerously compromise future relations between the continents.

145. The delegation of Burundi considers that the principal States of the Atlantic Alliance can also avoid that monstrous evil which, if not exorcized now, is likely to draw a permanent demarcation line between the future generations of mankind.

146. How can the supporters of Pretoria deliberately call down upon their heads the curses which will overwhelm them for their guilt in opening an eternal gulf between future generations of mankind? How can they envisage without fear and trembling a human race which would be called upon tomorrow to pay the price of the prodigious folly committed by the present idolaters of *apartheid* and colonial tyranny, and a situation in which the non-white world would be unleashed in reprisal against its white opponents?

147. Concerning decolonization, an editorial in the review *Eurafrica* for 5 May 1959 stated: "Too many caricatures of democracy mask and dissemble in Africa a real and inexorable control by foreign Powers." The Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa, which has just been endorsed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity,¹⁰ is a charter which could help and guide the United Nations to decolonize southern Africa and eliminate *apartheid* from it.

148. As for the powder-keg in the Middle East, the Government of the Republic of Burundi places the conflict in a triple context: world, regional and African. Under this heading Burundi, which has irrevocably devoted itself to peace, can remain neither insensitive nor indifferent. The size of the problem reflects its seriousness and demands an immediate solution.

149. The frequency of the bloody combats in which the belligerents engage is among the obstacles to the settlement of the conflagration. A study of the present situation

reveals these uncomfortable facts. The parties to the conflict have at the moment completely irreconcilable positions: Arab Governments are pleading for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories; and Israel is insisting on direct negotiations as a prerequisite to guarantee the security of its frontiers and to conclude treaties giving mutual guarantees. In the meantime the situation remains unchanged. The all-too-frequent interruption of relative truces in this region suggests that it should be called a continual state of war and a powder-keg ready to explode at any time and to take on new proportions.

150. My Government certainly recognizes the right of Israel to exist. Its attitude is deduced rationally from the creation of that State by the United Nations. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the Governments of Burundi and of Israel shows the normal relations between our two countries. Nevertheless, Burundi cannot approve of the invasion and occupation of Arab territories by force of arms. War entails its own condemnation.

151. The information we possess predicts that, if the occupation troops were evacuated, positive results would follow. It is in the interests of peace, therefore, that the Israeli leaders both radical and liberal should realize the need to withdraw their armies from the Arab countries. What is more, the Tel Aviv Government can surely not sacrifice peace to its own detriment and link it to direct negotiations, which, as Israel knows full well, are incompatible with the existing psychological climate and the presence of forces in the area.

152. The repatriation of the Israeli commandos would not directly imperil the country's present security, and such concessions would be justified, since the restitution of the conquered areas would be a prelude to peace. In the last analysis the United Nations must not allow itself to forget the lot of the Palestine refugees, for whom it is responsible, since it undertook to guarantee their security and their property. My Government is well aware of the decisive role the great Powers are called upon to play in putting an end to this war which threatens to become world-wide. That is why we welcome the efforts made by the four great Powers in the Security Council, which in fact have both the duty and the ability to enforce in full the resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)].

153. In regard to China: guided by its policy of effective non-alignment, the Government of Burundi considers that no country should be excluded from the United Nations on the ground of its ideology. Respect for the domestic affairs of States is one of the principles enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations itself.

154. Faithful to the fundamental ideals and principles governing our Organization, my Government is deeply convinced that the time has come to cease the ostracism to which the People's Republic of China has been subjected for 20 years. This attitude of Burundi is not based on any hostility towards any Power at all, nor is it the result of any foreign pressure. It arises from our policy of defending the universality of the United Nations and unlimited peace, and from our firm opposition to secessionist forces acting within national entities.

¹⁰ Sixth session of the Assembly, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 9 September 1969.

155. So long as China is kept outside this Organization though it satisfies the requirements for admission to the international community, the universal character of the United Nations and world peace will be irrevocably confined to the realms of Utopia. This truth is indeed recognized by the States Members of the United Nations, both large and small, which have established diplomatic relations with China.

156. In conclusion, the delegation of the Republic of Burundi makes a fervent appeal to all Members of this Organization, and more particularly to the great Powers, to concert and combine all their efforts to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations in a world atmosphere of peace and security. The maturity of our Organization is being tested. It is high time that more effective measures and more active participation should be exercised by every State in its own sphere and according to its possibilities, so that the pious wishes for peace become living realities. This aim will be attained once the armed peace described by Jean Jaurès in the following meaningful terms has been renounced:

“It would seem—and the Heads of State themselves proclaim it—that all peoples want peace and that human

progress is tending towards that end. But that peace, so universally desired, can be guaranteed only by a maximum amount of universal armament. Let all peoples pour out thousands of millions to cover themselves with thick armour-plating and to bristle with bayonets! Let all budgets be overburdened with military expenditure. That is the prerequisite of peace. It is a strange comment on human reason that a peace desired by all cannot be maintained without putting the rifle and the sword in the hands of all.”

157. I thank the Assembly for its kind attention, and the President for her understanding attitude towards me and towards the delegation of Burundi.

158. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of Miss Brooks I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Ministers for Foreign Affairs for Morocco, China and Venezuela and, most particularly, the Permanent Representative of Burundi to the United Nations for the compliments they have paid her.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.