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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MUNYANEZA (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation joins with those delegations that have preceded us on this rostrum in conveying to you our warmest congratulations on your brilliant election to preside over the work of this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We do this with all the more pleasure and happiness since you come from Poland, a country with which Rwanda maintains very friendly relations.

2. I should also like to express once again the great appreciation of my delegation to the outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik, for the impartiality and the great sense of diplomacy with which he guided the work of the twenty-sixth session.

3. Moreover, this Assembly is entitled to a special word of gratitude from my delegation since it has elected our country to one of the posts of Vice-President. Rwanda is highly honoured at this special mark of confidence, and, consistent with its traditions, commits itself to make its total contribution to the complete success of the work of this session.

4. In all of its foreign policy Rwanda is guided by the principles of the Charter of our Organization and by the need for co-operation among nations to safeguard peace, to create security for all, and to promote the best living conditions for the popular masses of all countries.

5. At the time of my country's admission to this Organization, 10 years ago, our Head of State, Mr. Grégoire Kayibanda, the father of our country, said the following:

"The Rwandese Republic will be found in the ranks of those who have already worked so hard for true decolonization, which leads to better conditions for development and progress. We stand beside those who are striving for an equitable distribution of the benefits deriving from progress, in the various forms of technical and financial

assistance. We stand beside those who seek the abolition of methods based on discrimination and violence. We stand beside those who are endeavouring to create or strengthen, realistically, joint organs for co-operation among nations. We stand beside all those who seek every peaceful means of guaranteeing and promoting the fullest exercise of fundamental freedoms. [1122nd meeting, para. 103.]

6. That commitment expressed 10 years ago still reverberates in the hearts of the Rwandese people, and there could be no more resounding echo of this solemn act of faith than the following wise words pronounced, again by our Head of State, on the occasion of the New Year's celebration of 1972:

"We hope that collaboration between countries will increasingly take as its basis brotherhood among men and that this approach will facilitate any negotiations that may become necessary. We hope that in all countries the various efforts to promote development will be faithfully co-ordinated and that they will be crowned with success for all of our peoples. We would like to see diplomatic and technical missions all over the world make a real contribution to true understanding between groups and countries and to a more equitable distribution of labour and goods."

7. Both at home and abroad Rwanda, therefore, is working for peace and the happiness of peoples, inspired by the principles set forth earlier in this statement.

8. At home, thanks to the dynamism displayed by its people, which has withstood all tests, Rwanda, through the popular revolution of 1959, has been able to throw off the feudal ties formed by the Tutsi ethnic group, which was deeply enched in its barbarous customs and traditions and which, through manoeuvres and intrigues of all kinds, mercilessly exploited the Hutu ethnic group, although that group represented the overwhelming majority, 90 per cent, of the population of the country. The popular masses of Rwanda, after having thrown off these tyrants, now enjoy true peace and real public tranquillity which are founded on a social harmony that rules out any inequality based on ethnic or other considerations. It is all the more painful for us to see in a neighbouring country that a feudal minority has set forth its own programme to exterminate a majority, founding its decisions solely on racial considerations which have been condemned by history. We publicly condemn this systematic genocide directed against the majority ethnic group as strongly as we have never ceased to condemn the inhuman policy of racial segregation in South Africa and that of the so-called Government of Southern Rhodesia, as well as the colonialism which Portugal imposes

on the African populations in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

9. Rwanda expresses once again its concern over the attitude of the Government of South Africa, which continues to ignore the various United Nations resolutions adopted to help the peoples under the domination of the Pretoria régime. We hope that this session will decree effective measures designed to set up everywhere a régime of freedom and human dignity.

10. The Rhodesian problem is equally a matter of concern because of its ramifications. Thanks to the complicity of the economic and financial interests of the great Western Powers in particular, the black people of Southern Rhodesia are denied their rights to human dignity and self-determination. I continue to believe that the British Government remains fully responsible for the state of affairs which prevails in Southern Rhodesia.

11. It is in the light of the principles enshrined in the Charter that my Government has never ceased to condemn the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of Pretoria, as well as the racist policy exercised by a white minority over the black population of Rhodesia. In speaking out against this policy, we are at the same time condemning all foreign Powers which wish to convert the southern part of Africa into a land where the white man would rule over the coloured people.

12. We unreservedly support the national liberation movements which are clamouring for genuine national independence.

13. When we consider the means to be used to achieve this goal, we think that, in addition to armed struggle, we should not lose sight of peaceful means capable of leading to the same goal. In this connexion, our Head of State, His Excellency Mr. Grégoire Kayibanda, expressed himself clearly in these terms, so fraught with wisdom, on the occasion of the New Year's celebration in 1972:

"We would like to see decolonization advance on valid foundations and without the violence we have sometimes had occasion to witness. And here we should be quite clear that, whether it be the stubborn attitude of Portugal or the present leaders of South Africa or those in Southern Rhodesia, whether it be the liberation fighters all too comfortably installed outside their country—all of this is violence in contradiction to the goodness which triggers the movement of history if it is spearheaded by men of clear vision and honesty. We believe that patient negotiations—adroit, if need be, but energetic and loyal—aided by all of us, will overcome the stubborn colonialists."

14. While southern Africa is thus suffering from this scourge of *apartheid* and colonialism, certain parts of Asia are equally afflicted by senseless wars in which the victims are counted in the thousands.

15. The Viet-Nam war has obviously lasted too long. My Government cannot take any sides in this question which, in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Charter, should be settled by honest negotiations and not by

weapons. We retain the firm hope that the Paris negotiations on Viet-Nam will soon find an end to the present impasse and lead to a solution mutually acceptable to the two parties to the dispute.

16. It would be useful for the diplomats who are conducting the Paris negotiations on Viet-Nam to be guided by the words uttered by our Head of State on 19 December 1971 at the opening of the meeting of foreign diplomats accredited to Rwanda:

"Our method, to sum up, is frank negotiation. The Ambassador of Rwanda is prohibited from losing time in old methods which sidestep the main issues, with interminable gestures of protocol; neither can he use the condemned methods of launching trial balloons to see the reaction or to foster misunderstandings between negotiators; he must go straight to the point, pinpoint responsibilities, explain clearly the point of view of his Government in bringing out and presenting the conclusion that he is sustaining. He should agree to discussion, always provided that it is direct and frank, accepting the concessions that are possible and likely to lead to an effective common agreement. Accordingly, lies, various subterfuges, distortions and all forms of dishonesty are forbidden to him and the preference is given to clear, direct negotiation, as is proper between sincere brothers."

17. Now, what of the problem of the Middle East? This, too, is a subject of great concern to my Government. The imperative need for peace and security in that region of the world also requires that the two parties to the dispute, Israel and the Arab States, should accept negotiation as the only valid and equitable means of ending this painful dispute which has cast so many families into mourning and left so many orphans. For my country, the solution of the problem is to be found in the total application of resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council.

18. I should like to touch on another, equally thorny question, that of divided Korea. In this connexion, Rwanda firmly encourages the current talks between the two parties to find ways and means of reuniting the families divided as a result of the setting up of the demarcation line between the two Koreas. It is the duty of this international Organization to support such initiatives undertaken by the Koreans themselves to settle their own problem, rather than becoming involved, since the parties concerned can settle the matter in a more realistic fashion. The essential is that this should be a loyal and peaceful effort.

19. Thus, Rwanda, just as it condemns *apartheid* which rages in South Africa, has equally no fear in denouncing racism wherever it is practised, even if it is exercised by blacks over other blacks, as is being done in that country of black Africa where an ethnic minority is in the process of exterminating, in the name of racism, another ethnic group which is none the less in the majority. Whether we are talking about the Middle East or Burundi, Rwanda hopes that this problem will be solved by means of negotiation. Whether we are dealing with Korea or Germany, Rwanda would like to see the reunification of these countries by peaceful means, with frank and definite proposals for collaboration put forward.

20. I would like to raise another problem here which has a particular aspect: that of good relations of States with their neighbours. In this connexion I should like once again to dispel any misunderstandings that may have emerged concerning the policy of Rwanda on this score, and particularly with respect to its neighbour to the north, Uganda.

21. Certain foreign radio broadcasts have echoed rumours tending to present Rwanda as helping certain armed groups which are ready to attack Uganda. These rumours are completely devoid of foundation; they are only a false manoeuvre prepared by impenitent feudal groups and orchestrated by the enemies of Africa to sabotage the friendly relations existing between the Republic of Rwanda and Uganda. My country categorically denies those false reports and wishes to make clear that it does not shelter on its territory any armed foreign corps preparing an attack against its neighbours. Certain radio broadcasts have mentioned Israeli mercenaries. My Government would like to deny these rumours. As far as Israelis are concerned, in my country there are only the diplomatic personnel of the Embassy that has been installed at Kigali since 1964.

22. For its part, my Government, anxious to ensure this policy of good neighbourliness, abides by the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries. Therefore, neighbouring countries, and in particular Uganda, have absolutely nothing to fear from my Government. It would, however, be desirable if our international jurists could succeed in defining for us more clearly what are the domestic affairs of another country, so as not to encourage indifference by some parties to situations which violate the right to life of all human beings. The case of Burundi, where more than 200,000 innocent victims have just been massacred, and the cases of the Middle East and of South Africa would serve as examples to be used in such a study.

23. In no circumstances and at no price could Rwanda allow its country to be used as a haven for outlaws or mercenaries of any kind. The firm attitude that my country took in 1967 vis-à-vis the mercenaries expelled from Zaïre and then from Rwanda, where they had taken asylum, is known to all. As far as we are concerned, respect for the principle of good neighbourliness is a sacred tenet.

24. I turn now to the problem of disarmament. We all know that every year States, and particularly the great Powers, allocate vast sums further to perfect their armaments. But we also know that these funds could be better used if they were devoted to promote development. Every year more than \$200,000 million and a great many scientists are diverted from genuinely positive purposes to destructive ends. Rwanda is, however, gratified at the efforts which our Organization has unceasingly made, perhaps slowly, but surely, to avert this danger, which is pushing mankind towards its own suicide through the manufacture and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction. In this connexion, we should refer to the various resolutions and treaties which have been adopted within the framework of the United Nations concerning various aspects of disarmament.

25. In this connexion we should recall resolution 41 (I) of 14 December 1946 concerning measures designed to reduce

armaments and eliminate atomic weapons; resolution 1378 (XIV) of 20 November 1959 concerning general and complete disarmament; the Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water of 1963; resolution 2030 (XX) of 29 November 1965 concerning the convening of a world disarmament conference; the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]; resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of 16 December 1969 which proclaimed the Disarmament Decade beginning in 1970; resolution 2661 A (XXV) of 7 December 1970, urgently calling upon the Governments which are nuclear Powers immediately to put an end to the nuclear arms race, to cease all testing and to refrain from setting up offensive and defensive nuclear weapons systems; resolution 2660 (XXV) of 7 December 1970 containing the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, as well as the signature of the aforementioned Treaty on 11 February 1971; resolution 2826 (XXVI) of 16 December 1971 containing the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and toxin weapons and on their Destruction, open to the signature of States since 10 April 1972; the signing at Moscow by the Soviet Union and United States of America, during the month of May 1972, of an Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.

26. All States of the world should support all of these efforts which are designed to bring about general and complete disarmament, for the responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security is not the monopoly of certain States, but the duty of all.

27. I must, however, repeat the words of my President, Mr. Grégoire Kayibanda:

“We must not confuse disarmament with the regimentation of science. For scientific research must continue for the progress of mankind. We should only avoid utilizing the results of this research for war or for other negative purposes”

28. We would rather reaffirm the fact that the reduction and later the elimination of expenditure for armaments would be beneficial for the development of the less favoured countries, if all States, particularly those which are wealthy, would wish to embark decisively upon a course of genuine international co-operation, one of the overriding imperatives of our time. And as was stated by Mr. Grégoire Kayibanda, our eminent Chief of State:

“To make peace is also to disarm. The Government of Rwanda does not consider the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction as the only threat to peace. To disarm is to convert the expenditures on armaments and military equipment into instruments in the struggle against under-development.”

29. Thus, the vast amounts of money, material resources and human energy spent for armaments should be used for the liberation of the three quarters of mankind who suffer from hunger, ignorance and disease. This is the place to

reaffirm that the wealthier countries will make no progress without risk, except to the extent that they support the great struggle which is being waged by the less favoured countries against under-development.

30. The delegation of Rwanda has never ceased to express its increasing concern at the fact that the development of the younger nations is paralysed partly by the decline in world prices for commodities and, on the other hand, by the parallel increase in the price of manufactured goods.

31. On the question of world prices for primary commodities, when the relevant agreements on commodities are concluded, Rwanda would like to see the less advanced countries get special attention and benefit from preferential treatment, such as the broadening and, in some cases, the elimination of quotas which limit their export ceilings, and we would like these countries to be exempted from making contributions for the purpose of financing buffer stocks.

32. In the case of the manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported by the less advanced countries to the developed countries, these products should be traded free of all duties and taxes. The developed countries have no reason to be hostile to such an arrangement, in as much as the quantity of the products involved is very limited.

33. With respect to the fundamental problem of the actual financing of development, the delegation of Rwanda would like to reaffirm the position that it defended in the course of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*], which was just held this year, a position which is explained in a few clear propositions, as follows.

34. First, a special allocation of special drawing rights should be urgently granted to those countries which, as a result of the devaluation of the dollar, have suffered considerable losses in their export receipts.

35. Secondly, we should reverse the current flow of international aid which continues to be allocated to the more advanced of the recipient countries so that it would go first to those that need it most, that is to say, to the least developed of the under-developed countries.

36. Thirdly, bilateral and international assistance should do away with the various counterpart funds habitually demanded from the less advanced countries when financial agreements for development projects or technical assistance and personnel projects are concluded.

37. Fourthly, we should fight against the principle of aid with conditions attached which deprive the recipient countries of the power of decision over priorities or other ways of using such aid.

38. With respect to the problem of land-locked countries, among which I include my own, we should repeat our great satisfaction that the lack of a coastline—the fact that a country is land-locked—is accepted as one of the criteria which are used to define the concept of a “less advanced country” among the developing countries. Moreover, we should like to renew the appeal that our delegation made last year from this rostrum to the effect that countries which have not done so yet should without further delay

give their support to the Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked States, signed at New York on 8 July 1965. Moreover, it would not be out of order to call upon countries through which the goods of land-locked countries pass in transit to grant the latter all transit facilities, such as the elimination of bonds and other transit duties and the creation of free zones. We should also hope that shipping rates would be fixed and maintained at a reasonable level.

39. I have already spoken of the fundamental problem of financing development. We can never stress this point sufficiently. As is known, in most of the developing countries the fulfilment of the national development plan depends in large measure on bilateral or multilateral foreign aid.

40. Moreover, let us note that when we break down the structure of this foreign aid, both bilateral and multilateral, we see that the largest portion, approximately 61 per cent, is expended for foreign technical assistance personnel in wages, housing, transport and exorbitant privileges.

41. It is probably true that the developing countries generally do not yet have an adequate number of the technicians needed to provide the leadership required for the development of their countries. But this is no reason to justify the fact that the industrialized and developed countries send them inexperienced technicians or people with less training, sometimes, than a number of persons available locally. Now, as it happens, very often, the granting of funds is tied to the acceptance of technicians from the donor country, and here we find ourselves again in a vicious circle, since it is these same technicians who receive the largest piece of the cake in the allocation of aid to the various sectors. This is the neo-colonialism that everyone denounces.

42. My delegation believes that successful co-operation in respect of technical assistance staff depends in particular on the proper training of technical assistants who adequately fit the job description, the assignment of the technician to his post until his mission has been completed and the positive desire of the foreign technician to communicate to his opposite number the professional knowledge that he has, so that the latter can really replace him properly.

43. In concluding my statement I should like in public to pay a tribute to the various organs of the United Nations, to Member and non-member States which, in one fashion or another, have contributed or are contributing to the economic and social advancement of my country. In so doing they have correctly understood the duty of solidarity which binds all peoples together and which is the guarantee of peace and world balance.

44. Mr. KIRCHSCHLAEGGER (Austria): Mr. President, I take the greatest pleasure in expressing to you the heartfelt congratulations of the Austrian delegation on your election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We greet you as a personality of the highest professional and human qualifications and we also greet you as the representative of a country with which Austria maintains close ties through a policy of friendly understanding and an auspiciously developing co-operation. We are convinced that under your guidance this General Assembly will be successful in its work.



45. I also take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Adam Malik, President of last year's General Assembly, for the prudence and the skill with which he directed it.

46. The twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly has witnessed the termination of more than a decade of self-sacrificing endeavour on the part of a man whose term of office has coincided not only with one of the most active periods in world politics, but also with one of the most difficult phases in the history of the United Nations. The place U Thant has taken among the tireless protagonists in the cause of world peace is lasting and unshakable and we shall always be grateful to him. The Austrian delegation deems it particularly appropriate to pay a tribute to this historic achievement, as our delegation today has the special privilege—in full respect of Article 100 of the United Nations Charter—to say how proud and happy Austria is to see an Austrian, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, holding the responsible post of Secretary-General of the United Nations.

47. Mr. Secretary-General, we offer you our greetings and wish you most sincerely every success in the service of the high ideals of the United Nations. We know your outstanding qualities and your dedication to the task entrusted to you. Accordingly, we look forward with confidence to your activities in your high office. The first nine months of your tenure entitle us fully to this expectation.

48. More than 100 ministers of foreign affairs, other members of Government, and even prime ministers have gathered in New York for this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. This affords great opportunities for personal contacts. They are of great value. But personal contacts alone are not enough. The peoples of the world expect more. They expect us to come closer to the goal of peace and security in justice.

49. The Charter and several basic declarations of the General Assembly have defined the purposes and principles which should govern the life of the community of nations. Rather than only discussing them, we should apply them—and apply them in good faith. The scientists of our generation have gained access to the universe. Why then should we, who carry political responsibility, and why should sociologists and humanists lag so far behind their counterparts in the exact sciences in their efforts to achieve peace and security in justice?

50. We are painfully aware of centres of crisis throughout the world and also of the danger they represent for peace in every other part of the world. Yet it seems to me that we can assess political developments since the last session of the General Assembly with some guarded optimism.

51. The President of the United States of America has visited China and the Soviet Union during the first half of this year. This highlighted the efforts by the three greatest Powers of the world to place their relationships on a new footing of trust and co-operation.

52. At the beginning of this week an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States of America limiting

their strategic weapons<sup>1</sup> has entered into force, and the two Governments have expressed their willingness to continue their efforts in this field.

53. In Europe we are witnessing a process aimed at détente and co-operation. The status of permanent neutrality has enabled Austria to make its contribution to this process as one of the first countries, more than a decade ago.

54. This year, the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin and the ratification of the treaties concluded in 1970 between the Federal Republic of Germany on the one hand and the Soviet Union and Poland on the other gave a strong impetus to a reduction of tensions in Europe. We sincerely hope that the necessary prerequisites will be soon brought about to enable both German States to become Members of our world Organization.

55. The first preparatory phase for a conference on European security and co-operation now lies before us. Security presupposes a credible renunciation of force and the threat of force, credible for all States, large, medium-sized and small. It will therefore be the task of the conference to provide the appropriate basis for security in Europe.

56. A step in this direction could be a treaty which would codify, in a legally binding and politically feasible way, the duties and rights of States and would set up machinery to ensure the peaceful settlement of disputes. Negotiations on a balanced reduction of military forces in Europe could become a good test of the effectiveness of détente actually achieved.

57. Comprehensive co-operation in Europe in the economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields—and also in the field of human environment—is of great significance for progress in these areas. It is of equally great significance for a better understanding between men. Co-operation thus promotes the relaxation of tensions and strengthens security.

58. In pursuing these thoughts, I fully realize that the solution of the problems existing in Europe would not by itself eliminate tension, warfare and injustice in other parts of the world. It may, however, be justified to assume that a solution of European problems in the spirit of the Charter would not fail to have its impact on other continents too. The whole world has suffered in the course of this century from the consequences of two wars which spread from Europe. Why, then, should the whole world not benefit from the consequences of a peaceful development in Europe? Thus, the Austrian Government, in contributing to the strengthening of security and co-operation in Europe, does so in the firm hope that such action will also serve to promote peaceful development in other parts of the world.

59. Austria is a permanently neutral country. The concept of neutrality originates in the law of war. This, however, should not lead to the idea that a permanently neutral State

<sup>1</sup> Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

needs the setting of war or international tension to play a part in the community of nations. On the contrary, my Government interprets neutrality as a means of preserving Austria's independence and, at the same time, as a stabilizing and peace-keeping element within the international community. What Austria can give to the world are works and values which can grow only in an atmosphere of peace. The objective of Austrian policy is the enhancement of the well-being of the individual. Humanitarian tasks form an integral part of the primary duties of a neutral State.

60. Recent years have shown a strong trend towards acts of violence perpetrated at both the national and the international level. Terrorism has become a social and an international problem. We must be able to assess this development clearly. If acts of terror continue to increase in the future at the same rate as they did in the last years, then, a few years from now, we shall be faced with a situation which may not be called war in the proper sense of the term but which will none the less inflict all the scourges of war upon innocent people, the very scourges of war which the United Nations wanted to rule out forever.

61. In view of the very objectives and principles of its Charter, the United Nations will have to take a stand against terror. The time for such action is already late. The Federal Government of Austria has condemned and will continue to condemn terrorism. Austria itself has taken and will take all measures necessary to suppress and to eliminate terrorism. Moreover, Austria will support all measures serving this purpose on the international level. Hijacking, the taking of hostages and murder cannot be accepted as means of resolving social or international problems if the dignity of man as enshrined in the Charter is to be taken seriously.

62. The existence of terrorism should not, however, serve as an excuse to abstain from an earnest consideration of the social and international phenomena underlying such acts. Should we fail in our efforts to provide and make effective the peaceful means needed for the implementation of the purposes and principles proclaimed in the Charter and in the declarations and resolutions of the United Nations, our condemnation of terror will be devoid of success and even devoid of sincerity. The serious nature of the problem and the multitude of facets it involves can hardly be underestimated. The dignity of our world Organization would be best served if the treatment of the problem were to lead to a concerted search for a common goal, rather than to mutual charges and counter-charges.

63. I said at the beginning that people throughout the world expect from us, who have gathered here, peace and security in justice. Peace and security alone may well satisfy a few of the "haves"—but not, at least, the "have-nots". They will also demand justice.

64. The demand for justice confronts us in a variety of contexts. In particular, I am thinking of the elimination of discrimination based on race, religion or other grounds, and, especially, the termination of the policy of *apartheid*. In this context, I wish to refer to the position taken by the Austrian delegation at all previous sessions of the General Assembly. My Government also welcomes the decisions

adopted by the Security Council at its meetings held in Addis Ababa, particularly with reference to Namibia.

65. The demand for justice also centres on the solution of the economic and social problems in the developing countries. We all know, and my Government knows, that more has to be done both in respect of the substance and of the methods to be pursued. In the coming year Austria will greatly increase its official development assistance.

66. In this connexion, I should like to refer to the following considerations submitted by Austria at the annual meetings of the Board of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, held jointly with that of the International Monetary Fund, which took place in Washington from 25 to 29 September 1972.

67. A number of important international capital movements between the industrialized nations of Western Europe and North America have resulted in the accumulation of considerable amounts of United States dollars outside the United States. Careful consideration should be given to the possibility of using part of this "overhang" of United States dollars for low-cost development financing.

68. My Government is considering the purchase of United States dollars from the Austrian National Bank, our central bank, in order to offer these dollars as loans to international organizations which are concerned with development financing, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. These loans would be made available at interest rates attractive to developing countries.

69. In my contribution to the general debate I have focused attention on only a few subjects. Other questions of equal importance have had to be left untouched, such as, for example, the question of disarmament, an area where Austria is ready to offer constructive co-operation; and the question of the protection of the environment, which is basic to human life in the future. I also have not mentioned the crisis in the Middle East. Austria's position in this matter is well known and was extensively explained both from this rostrum and during official visits to Israel and Egypt. Austria believes in the continued usefulness of the Jarring mission.

70. For 10 years now, at every session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria has reported on the question of South Tyrol, which was the subject-matter of resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI) by which Austria and Italy were urged to find a solution for all differences through negotiation. Two years ago I could report to the General Assembly that after nine years of effort the two States had agreed on a proposal for a solution which contained provisions for an extension of the autonomy of South Tyrol and a relevant time-table agreed to by both States [*see 1855th meeting, paras. 169-174*].

71. I am happy to be able to state that the implementation of the proposal for a settlement of this question has made further progress since the last session of the General Assembly. Thus, the constitutional law on the extension of the autonomy of South Tyrol came into effect on 20 January 1972. In April of this year, a large part of the

ordinary laws provided for in addition to the constitutional law also entered into effect; a certain part is still pending.

72. I wish to express the hope that the development now in progress will continue to advance further in a satisfactory way on the basis of the implementation, in letter and in spirit, of the still-outstanding measures in South Tyrol, and of an understanding attitude on the part of the Italian Government towards the needs of the South Tyrolean ethnic group, which, in turn, will lead to an even better relationship between the two neighbouring countries.

73. Permit me to go back to the beginning of my statement. I said that the establishment of peace and security based on justice is the aim the peoples of the world expect us to achieve. This expectation coincides with the aims and purposes of the United Nations. The United Nations is not just an organization in New York, far from our home countries. We ourselves are the United Nations, first as Member States, but also as human beings for whose sake this Organization was created, as individuals—members of nations, of religious denominations, of political parties, of majorities and minorities, of the affluent and of the needy. We must strive to make peace and security based on justice a reality in each and every one of these, our capacities. We should not be judges one over the other, one State over another State. To this we have no right, but we do have the duty to unite our energies to achieve peace and security in justice.

74. Mr. HARMEL (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Every year, during the general debate, we inform each other of the undertakings and hopes of our respective countries; but our overriding duty is to deal with problems that are common to all mankind, those which we must tackle together in the knowledge that, if we fail to solve them, we run the risk of frustrating the hopes and efforts of each and every one of our nations.

75. I am struck by the fact that the analyses made in order to identify the key problems of mankind converge, to an increasing extent, on the same issues.

76. In the introduction to your report on the work of the Organization [A/8701/Add.1], Mr. Secretary-General, you told us that co-operation and solidarity were essential in four main areas and that we must face up to and overcome without delay four global dangers: insecurity, overpopulation, the deterioration of the environment, and the persistent poverty of the majority of the world's population. This enumeration confirms the one to which U Thant drew our attention from this same rostrum four years ago. It also coincides, in the main, with the documents published this year by the "Rome Club". This does not mention the political factor of fear, of insecurity but, on the other hand, it does add a further element: the danger that the non-renewable natural resources may be exhausted for lack of control over industrial development.

77. Everything then indicates that we must act at three different levels. First of all, we must rid ourselves of insecurity and violence in all their manifestations; 25 years after the foundation of the United Nations, the balance of terror can no longer suffice for us. Next, we must reassert our will to base our relations on a permanent dialogue. The Secretary-General referred in this regard to the "balance of

prudence". Should we not go further still and aim at "stability through co-operation"?

78. Last but not least, there is a new task which the international community as such must undertake, an objective which is even more difficult to attain than the others because it aims at creating a balance which we are just starting to think about: the balance of growth.

79. We cannot ignore the warning issued by U Thant four years ago. He said:

"I do not wish to seem over-dramatic, but I can only conclude from the information that is available to me as Secretary-General that the Members of the United Nations have perhaps 10 years left"—six now—"in which to get together, forget their ancient quarrels . . . and to supply the required momentum to achieve a fairer and more balanced kind of growth. If such an agreement is not reached within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control."

This is the same question you asked of us today, Mr. Secretary-General.

80. Belgium's answer to your threefold question is a positive one. We do want to build up a system of security on a less fragile basis than the balance of fear. We have set out resolutely on the path of co-operation and we wish to go further than the balance that is the result of mere prudence. Above all we want to help to establish the only balance capable of guaranteeing peace in the years to come: the balance of growth.

81. The first and most obvious of the threats, the threat of Armageddon, is still the continuing build-up of armaments of every kind. On this subject there are some projects, some partial achievements that foreshadow, albeit tentatively, the resolutions which we await with almost too much impatience. We do not wish to underestimate the results of a general nature which are being sought through the organization of a world disarmament conference or by reaffirming our support of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], but what seems even more important to us is concrete action in the following three areas.

82. Three years ago we all stressed, as was appropriate, the probable political significance of the entry into force of a treaty prohibiting the spread of nuclear weapons.

83. During the recent meeting in Moscow between President Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev an agreement was reached on 26 May 1972 limiting the development of intercontinental nuclear weapons. This is a first step, which we welcome as a consequence of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex]. It is worth remembering that the nuclear States have in fact undertaken to limit their nuclear potential. Had there been no result, moreover, the non-nuclear weapon States would have been able to ask for a review of the Treaty on the expiration of the first five-year period.

84. The members of the European Community, for their part, have actively pursued negotiations with the Inter-

national Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna with a view to reaching an agreement on the application of safeguards. Fortunately, this agreement has been finalized; it upholds the provisions of the Treaty on non-proliferation and takes into account the particular characteristics of the European Community and Belgium, therefore, like its European partners, will shortly be asking its Parliament to ratify the agreement.

85. Thus, a major step forward has been taken and it is worth while highlighting it. We earnestly hope that before the end of the first five-year term further progress will have been made towards nuclear disarmament.

86. There is a second specific reason for concern. Belgium has long been convinced that it would be difficult to establish any kind of security system unless there is some rule to govern the supply of arms. This, as we are well aware, is a delicate problem which concerns both the countries that purchase weapons and those which supply them. A discussion here of this subject could lay the groundwork for an international convention establishing at least some principles which both the supplying and the purchasing countries would undertake to apply.

87. This discussion would be all the more thorough if, in the meantime, one or more institutes concerned with war and peace were to concentrate their research on the preparation of such a draft international convention. The General Assembly will remember that, on our initiative, it adopted last year a resolution on research into peace and war [*resolution 2817 (XXVI)*]. It agreed that the Secretary-General should submit to it the next year his first summary report on the main achievements of the institutes engaged in war theory research. My country hopes that, starting from 1973, this research will include one or more studies on international rules governing the supply of arms. We could then discuss them here. Right now, Belgium would be prepared to support any draft which would meet with the acceptance of a sufficiently large number of States that purchase arms.

88. A third effort to promote disarmament is under way. Some European States, including our own, made specific proposals in 1968 for a balanced and mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe. This initiative is particularly well justified at a time when the suggestions for organizing a conference on European security and co-operation have taken shape; for the two proposals are actually interrelated. How could our peoples accept us as responsible statesmen if, after a solemn European conference, at which we affirmed our will to reach an understanding, we were unable to demonstrate any real progress in the area of regional disarmament? What credibility could be placed in our endeavours if our military stockpiles continued to grow even after we had stated our intention of not using them?

89. To judge from recent talks with the USSR, a desire for progress in this area too seems to be emerging. We should make certain of this by initiating actual negotiations at the earliest opportunity.

90. It is my hope that at the twenty-eighth session of the Assembly the nations of Europe will be the bearers of good tidings, both as regards the organization of security and co-operation in Europe and as regards regional disarmament.

91. But another fear exists today, a fear generated by the spread of violence throughout the entire world, a violence whose motivations are sometimes political and sometimes ideological, social or racial, where they are not simply based on greed. These crimes are always odious, and the fear they generate is justified, for the victims of the hijackings, kidnappings, the taking of hostages, wanton destruction with plastic bombs and firing on crowds are more often than not innocent people thrust into the forefront like shields. These crimes are proliferating in every corner of the globe, even the furthest removed from the areas of conflict; they are not the dubious privilege of any particular region, and the whole world is thus faced with a unique kind of problem. The Secretary-General was therefore right to raise it.

92. And the unique problem, as we see it is, what protective or punitive action can our Organization suggest or take? What rules can be proposed for all States to apply when faced with such crimes? And if these rules were adopted, what should be the collective behaviour of our States, were these rules to be violated? Secretary of State Rogers has made some specific proposals on this [*2038th meeting*].

93. Belgium hopes that this unfortunately universal problem which has been referred to our Legal Committee will be taken up without reference to any particular manifestation of this evil, but in an effort to determine what joint collective attitudes might have been useful at each critical moment in the recent past, and those which might prevent their recurrence wherever it may be. For the work of our Legal Committee to be fruitful, we believe that it should be informed by three common ideas.

94. First, there is no question that we all bear responsibility for seeking to eliminate the known causes of often desperate acts. Repression cannot save a society whose citizens are convinced that revolt is their only recourse.

95. But, second, we must recognize that no injustice suffered will ever justify the injustice of acts of terrorism. Since, according to the philosophy of the United Nations, war should always give way to negotiation or arbitration—as our Charter states—it follows that whenever wanton violence is fostered by individuals or groups of individuals, that, too, must be condemned by the canons of the same international order.

96. Wanton violence can never justify equally wanton revenge. When international public order is disrupted, an escalation of violence is just as reprehensible.

97. My country also shares the concern of the Secretary-General regarding another form of violence, that which has arisen several times in recent years in Asia, Africa and Europe, involving the death of many innocent civilians. I am referring to the most serious forms of internal warfare. Belgium has been deeply shocked in the last few years, and again quite recently, by several such cases. None of our countries by itself can, without creating serious public confrontation, go further, in making its representations to a State that is torn internally, than to express the anxiety or condemnation of its own public opinion. But we realize that the victims in those countries do not understand our



official semi-silence. Of course the organizations of the United Nations family and also the new agency for co-ordinating efforts in the event of disaster do come to the aid of the survivors; that is fine, but we do not believe it is enough. The voice of the world's conscience—the only one powerful enough to halt the slaughter—ought to be able to make itself heard on these occasions. Will the United Nations be able, and does it indeed have the will, to lay down principles of action; to limit by mutual consent the exclusive sovereignty of our States? Can we reconcile respect for the sacredness of human life with Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter?

98. We would like to address an appeal to the international non-governmental organizations which are seeking to ensure respect for human rights. Could they not devote their efforts to this serious problem which is so important for human dignity and make specific suggestions on action they advocate? Belgium pledges itself to do everything in its power to ensure that these proposals, based on the opinions of men of goodwill throughout the world, will be taken up at the next session of the General Assembly.

99. This appeal addressed to the international non-governmental organizations, gives me an opportunity in passing to underline their growing importance. Today The Union of International Associations numbers more than 2,500 such organizations as compared with 560 in 1965. It is a sound idea, therefore, to consider in the spirit of the Charter the increasingly effective participation of the non-governmental organizations in international action.

100. It was you, Mr. Secretary-General, who coined the expression "balance of prudence" to denote a certain degree of progress, namely the fact that groups, nations and States, hitherto hostile, were manifestly striving towards dialogue, understanding and negotiation and, indeed, sometimes reconciliation. You quote some recent cases which are in all our minds: the German States, North Korea and South Korea, India and Pakistan. Mr. Rogers, for his part, has mentioned all the other efforts at rapprochement which are being made.

101. We cannot just sit back and congratulate ourselves on this. What part can the international community play, either on a world-wide basis or at the regional level, to create a state of stability through co-operation? This is a vast subject and I shall confine myself to some ideas about two lines of action.

102. As regards peace, our Organization bears special responsibilities in the Middle East. We must ask ourselves if it is accomplishing all that is expected of it. The cease-fire is still in force, but it has not been possible to halt the destructive sequence of acts of violence and reprisals. The Soviet disengagement from Egypt has reduced the danger of a polarization of the conflict between the super-Powers, but after five years the peoples that confront each other are still somewhere in between war and peace.

103. For us the basis of a negotiated solution remains Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which the great Powers and the principal States concerned supported. I know it is five years old, but it is not obsolete; it contains

the principles of an agreement. It would be otiose, in our view, to interpret it or to try to improve on it. Its practical implementation is principally the responsibility of the parties, aided by those designated by the United Nations to assist them. In this connexion I wish to pay a tribute to the efforts we have witnessed, particularly those of U Thant and Mr. Jarring and those which you, Mr. Secretary-General, have made.

104. Another definite prospect was President El-Sadat's proposal of 4 February 1971 and the interest likewise shown by Israel in seeking an interim solution which would include the reopening of the Suez Canal. If this agreement is acted upon it will prove that mutually beneficial arrangements can be reached between States which are still somewhere between war and peace. Other partial approaches can be imagined. The important thing in our view is that a constructive move should be made to end a dangerous state of immobility. It would then be possible to tackle, with higher hopes, other problems connected with an over-all solution. And a particular place must be reserved here for the problem of the Palestinian people.

105. We would like to think that, at the outset of the search for an interim solution, it would be possible to identify the principles common to all the parties which are already explicitly set forth in resolution 242 (1967). We, for our part, have always attached particular importance to the twofold preliminary declaration which stresses both "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" and "the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security".

106. Is this not an established fact? If so, it would be easier to agree that the declared positions of each of the parties on matters under dispute are not ultimatums but only negotiating terms.

107. Peace will never come without the agreement of all the parties, but it is for our Organization to help them in this as effectively as possible. I should like to say in conclusion on this problem that if the European Community can make some contribution to peace-making—Belgium would repeat what it has often stated here: its assistance in the economic and social rehabilitation of the peoples which have suffered most from the war would be, and I hope will be, the most effective contribution of the European Economic Community.

108. I have just described the mission of Europe in the world-wide movement for closer ties. My country openly rejoices at the fact that Europe, as a continent, is moving ahead resolutely towards co-operation, stability and détente. The continuing development and enlargement of the European communities are a solid guarantee of this; the active preparation of the conference on European security is another. Let me to tell you something about these two events which are such important milestones on the road towards that future world harmony which in our opinion will find its most reliable basis in regional structures and stages.

109. As regards the process of building Western Europe, no one can remain indifferent to the fact that neighbouring countries, governed by the same principles of parliamentary

democracy, are joining together in a common destiny—after having, for the last few centuries, shaken the world with their confrontations. The only reason for concern to which this progressive union might give rise would be that this Europe, in becoming a leading commercial and economic Power, might not assume all the world responsibilities flowing from its new status.

110. From this very rostrum Sir Alec Douglas-Home vigorously rejected this idea in his statement at the 2042nd meeting. He expressed our common conviction. I shall shortly refer to all that this enlarged Community should contribute in order to promote a genuine balance of growth.

111. But, however proud we may feel at having built a new community, we are well aware that it does not represent all of Europe. The States of our continent have chosen different paths: some have chosen a common destiny within the Community; others prefer neutrality or non-involvement, which debars them from any delegation of sovereignty; the last group is governed by a system of State economy. But among these three groups, or in these States as a whole, there has been a proliferation of bilateral agreements over the past few years, and now the prospect of the forthcoming conference on European security paves the way for a multilateral meeting—such as has not occurred since 1815—at which the problems of common interest will be discussed simultaneously by all the States concerned.

112. The time has not yet come to lay the basis for a permanent understanding among the countries of our continent. The fundamental values on which our systems are based are too different and the goals we pursue are too dissimilar.

113. But if we succeed in this first attempt we will have initiated a process. We know it will be long and difficult, but it could lead to a permanent understanding on a continental scale. We would then have proved that it is only through co-operation that the conditions for genuine stability and peace can be created—something which no one would dream of challenging.

114. I come now to my third subject. Up to now I have spoken about the strictly political aspects of relations between States, but we are aware that they are no longer the only ones to claim priority as matters of international concern. We are faced with a whole new dimension in world problems. We see the suddenly increasing complexity of a problem which both affects and involves all living beings, because we have to answer a global question: can we, and for how long—preserve a physically and socially inhabitable earth? Each human being, each thinking man on our planet, whether he lives in an affluent or a needy society, is asking himself that question. It is then that basic questions are asked. How far can human reproduction go? Must we save non-renewable mineral resources? How can we prevent the destruction of the natural environment? Is food production limitless? Is the interminable material growth of certain types of production in the developed societies conceivable in itself, and this in the face of the continuing stagnation or retrogression of the underdeveloped societies?

115. All these are questions which no State can any longer solve on its own and for itself. But all these are questions to which our specialized agencies, each in the field of competence indicated by its title, can supply partial answers. And here, there is some reason for gratification that this year of 1972 has witnessed the third session of UNCTAD in Santiago, Chile, and the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. An important world conference on population is to be held in 1974. But we are aware that all the partial or sectoral answers provided by specialized world conferences or agencies must hence forth be co-ordinated. Where will the co-ordinating be done? How can we organize for the whole world a new balance of growth in which the ecological, economic and social plans would of necessity be inter-dependent?

116. At present there is only one organization in the world which can ask that question with authority and recommend the gradual formulation of a policy in which each component will have to be linked with several others. That is our own Organization.

117. We would like to make a suggestion: that we begin with the preparation of a joint declaration on the aims of and means for a new balance of growth. If you believe that this is a necessary and an urgent task, to whom should it be assigned?

118. On 3 October [2050th meeting] my colleague and friend, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, Mr. Schmelzer, raised a very similar question, even though we had not consulted together beforehand. He told us that the Economic and Social Council was the central forum for formulating a co-ordinated policy. We are well aware that that prospect has been followed very closely by the Latin American countries. Mr. de Seynes, in his report to the Second Committee at its 1449th meeting, made another proposal and suggested UNITAR. We would draw the attention of the Assembly to this matter, and we know that the Secretary-General will take it up.

119. The balanced growth of mankind in each of its components is a problem on which we can see a collective awareness is emerging. It is in any event the duty of the United Nations to tackle it.

120. The global question I have just raised totally transcends the question of underdevelopment, but in putting it in this way it is not our intention to play down or in any way to set aside the responsibility of the developed countries towards the developing countries. On the contrary, I wish to express the hope that the enlarged European Community for its part will, at its forthcoming solemn session in Paris, provide the beginning of a reply to this problem when it outlines its foreign policy for the coming decade in its relations with the southern hemisphere.

121. In this area, it seems to me, everything points to Europe as the area for taking the first step.

122. Now, through its enlargement it has become the world's leading trading power and in many respects the world's leading economic power.

123. Now, after having closed the colonial chapter in the world's history book, it has found in the equality of States and the mutual respect of independent States, and also in long-established mutual understanding, a kind of privileged relationship with most countries.

124. Now, by dint of its very situation between the super-Powers, its friendship with North America, by the *détente* in the east, it has no designs for remote political control and its defence responsibilities are limited to its own area—in other words, its military establishment and budget are both of moderate size.

125. Finally, for a quarter of a century now, it has been accustomed to seeking the progressive redistribution of the benefits of its growth to promote the social welfare of its own citizens. All it has to do now, therefore, is to get used to extending the same solidarity to the third world.

126. At this point in its history, such a Europe seems to me to be well placed to make the first offers to other regions of the world, without at the same time overlooking its duties to the developing countries.

127. Let us therefore help to ensure that the tariff negotiations of 1973 will provide the developing countries with the maximum advantages; that the new monetary structures will forge new links between the wealthiest countries and the others. In this connexion the decisions taken last month by the International Monetary Fund are on the right lines. Let us also provide greater access to a common market for the manufactured goods produced by the Group of 77 developing countries. Let us contribute, on a case-by-case basis, to the stabilization of commodity prices and, finally, establish the order of magnitude—which will increase over the next 10 years—of how much can be voluntarily siphoned off from European prosperity towards development. Belgium, for its part, is in favour of all these steps.

128. I have just described what we hope the countries of the European Community can do to break away from the balance of fear, to rise above the balance of prudence and to achieve the balance of growth. But all of Europe, in the process of rapprochement, will make its contribution, too.

129. Mr. President, you are a European, a citizen of the great nation of Poland in which the civilization of our continent flourishes. Belgium welcomes your leadership of this Assembly. I remember that the renowned Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rapacki, was in 1966 one of the first to speak to us about a conference on European security and the balanced reduction of forces. Indeed, one of the drafts bore his name.

130. It will be understood why, in mentioning and saluting your presidency, Sir, I should call to mind and associate with our tribute to the President of the General Assembly the memory of another great European: a statesman who, 27 years ago, presided over the first General Assembly of the United Nations, Paul-Henri Spaak—who passed away a few weeks ago. How can we forget a voice and a mind of such resonance, devoted to the noble cause of peace and European reconstruction. That is why I wish to evoke his memory today.

131. Mr. Secretary-General, knowing you as the Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations, as belonging to one of the most noble peoples of old Europe, and as a Minister for Foreign Affairs whom we have seen at work, we have been able to appreciate your devotion to the cause of a more united Europe, transcending ideological differences and respecting the identity of each of its States. Belgium conveys to you, through me, its congratulations and the assurance of its full co-operation. By today responding, in essence, to the questions posed in the introduction to your report [A/8701/Add.1] we have sought to demonstrate the importance we attach to your initiative.

132. And so my concluding words are a promise: Mr. Secretary-General, you can count on the support of Belgium.

133. Mr. DE LA FLOR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an honour for me to come to this rostrum at the United Nations and to speak in this forum where we meet every year to resume the threads of the great international dialogue and to expound the basic positions of countries on the problems affecting relations among States within the framework of this Organization.

134. May I at the outset convey to you, Mr. President, the warmest congratulations of my Government, and my own personal congratulations, on your well-earned election. In choosing you the General Assembly has done nothing other than pay a tribute to your noble country and to the years that you have devoted to the cause of peace and to the Organization itself in the many and delicate responsibilities that your Government has entrusted to you.

135. I can not fail to pay a tribute to Mr. Adam Malik, whom the Peruvian Government had the honour to receive as a guest during the Second Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 developing countries in Lima. His ability and tact ensured the harmonious development of the General Assembly's debates at its last session.

136. May I also sincerely congratulate Mr. Kurt Waldheim on his designation to his highly sensitive post. The new Secretary-General of the Organization is a personality whom we know well from his earlier diplomatic activities in his country's service, in which he showed outstanding ability and a special vocation for the ideals of peace. This gives us assurance that his leadership of the Secretariat will be guided by the same principles and qualities.

137. The Government of Peru wishes to pay a tribute of profound respect to former Secretary-General U Thant, who for 10 years unselfishly gave himself to the tasks of building a world at peace. To achieve such a noble goal, U Thant bent his most serious efforts and earned the appreciation of the international community.

138. We are witnessing a qualitative change in contemporary history: the classic economic and social systems and the political and philosophic tenets on which they rested are being revised. A new revolutionary stage in the history of mankind is emerging, whose basic trend is the search for new approaches which will make possible the

achievement of peace and security in justice, both domestically and in international relations.

139. From the very outset of its task of transformation, the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of my country realized that it would be impossible to succeed unless that task was understood as a shattering of internal domination and external dependence, key contributing factors to under-development. A real transformation of the social and economic structures that would alter the relations of political power in our society so as to create a democratic, humanistic and just community was not feasible unless our efforts were directed simultaneously abroad, whence, to a large extent, originated the major events that took place within our country.

140. During the four years it has been in power—a period completed just a few days ago, on 3 October—the Revolutionary Government has been laying the ideological and political foundations on which it is building the new Peruvian society. These foundations were clearly defined by the President of the Republic, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, when in July of this year he stated:

“The revolution aims to create a pluralist economy, based on three fields of activity: a sizable State sector, a private sector of reformed enterprises enjoying all the guarantees of stability and respect which it requires, and a social property sector to whose support the State will give priority—all three aimed at the creation of a social democracy of full participation for all.”

141. The economic pluralism to which I have just referred will permit real and progressive participation by citizens at all levels in the decisions which affect their destiny. Policy, understood in its wide sense as action on the social whole, will be exercised on a community basis in the daily activities of the citizens, who in taking decisions on their enterprises, their institutions or their trade unions will be deciding on and guiding the fabric of their society at their own particular levels.

142. There can be no true revolution without a transformation in man. Structural change means, basically, a change in mentality within the social and economic process. That is why new guide-lines were necessary in the field of education. The new Education Act sets up a new system in this decisive field and will progressively lead to a better and more adequate adaptation of our people to their environment. If we want true culture and not a transplanted culture, we must teach man to know and to recognize himself within the specific confines of the environment in which he is destined to live. His world must be created and organized around the everyday experiences of his own life and from this fruitful interrelation there must emerge a new culture that will place him, and allow him to know how to fit himself into his rightful place, individually and socially. We can be sure that the Peruvian who emerges from this process will achieve a worthy and independent society, humanistic and free, qualitatively different from the one that has existed until now.

143. The transcendental events that spelled the beginning of our revolutionary process and that are known to this Organization were followed by the clear-cut definition of

the principles and acts that Peru considers would constitute a foreign policy in keeping with the new reality which is felt in all our sovereign undertakings and which is consistent and consonant with our domestic policy.

144. Development was not possible without breaking the circle of dependency. That is a collective task, one that calls for full awareness of self and faith in our destiny as a community that is emerging in the form of healthy nationalism, which is the most important factor in our social identity and in our integration as a country.

145. Nationalism and independence are therefore the pillars of our foreign policy—nationalism as the recognition of ourselves; independence that allows us the freedom of decision necessary to achieve our destiny.

146. Thus the principles of universality in our foreign relations and the respect for ideological plurality are the ground rules that govern our relations with regard to the changing international scene. We have acted consistently and initiated dialogues with all countries of the world, establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, Albania and New Zealand, as well as extending recognition to Bangladesh.

147. The world of the cold war, built around two hegemonic centres of power from whose unlimited strength it was almost impossible to escape, has now become a multcentred structure of varied balance in which alliances are not total or antagonisms final and in which the search for satisfaction of the interests of the smaller countries is feasible given the wider margin of play. The awakening of the third world is, in this process, one of the most significant events of our times. The full and honest incorporation of Latin America in the process of awakening is an especially enlightening development.

148. In Latin America we recognize the existence of individual and differing ways that do not gainsay the community of interests of the continent, which is embarked on a course towards economic independence. We share similar problems of under-development, culture and our undeniably common origin. In this interaction within the structural unit of which the Latin American peoples consist, there must be recognized variables between agreement and disagreement, and between greater and lesser relationships, as occur in the life of human communities. Yet it would be difficult for us to understand our relations in terms of hegemonies, of positions of predominance that might, in themselves, contradict the traditional fraternal relations that we have maintained even when differences have appeared.

149. The common economic and political experience in foreign affairs has given Latin America a structural character that goes beyond the mere convergence of culture and mentality. It now possesses its own genuine history, formed within its own tangible circumstances, forged in the defence of common interests in the face of external pressures that affected all equally—a history that has been woven around shared interests, but also—let us say so frankly—around shared frustrations. This concept of Latin American existence has already begun to foreshadow the outline of the whole, which knows itself to be varied and sees itself as



different within the international concert. Yet this very concept endows it with an awareness of a self that has emerged individually from among its components as a sort of Latin American nationalism that, ultimately, will carry us to the point where our histories will converge in a form of communitary integration.

150. At present, the relaxation of tension is a process that touches every sector of the globe and, within it, we have constantly claimed a relocation of Latin America within the new context which, precisely because of its flexibility, may well be favourable.

151. It was this conviction that led us to submit our request of April last to the Organization of American States. In that request we contended that change had also made itself felt in America, and that therefore there was no justification for the isolation from the system of one of our sister Republics.

152. To uphold in 1972 the views that in 1964 led to the adoption of measures against the Republic of Cuba is to deny the advance of history, the evolution of ideas, and the qualitative changes that occur in the lives of peoples.

153. In July of this year Peru had the great satisfaction of renewing diplomatic relations with the Republic of Cuba, firmly convinced as it is that fraternity lies not in words but in deeds.

154. From its very inception, the Revolutionary Government of my country has encouraged integration efforts in Latin America, aware that a truly liberating economic process cannot be completed without the integration of vast geo-economic areas which will allow the use of scale economies, which alone can ensure full development and are able to compete on the world market.

155. The Treaty establishing the Latin American Free Trade Association was, therefore, a fundamental contribution to the formation of an integrationist mentality in Latin America, and has permitted the creation of the Andean Subregional Integration Agreement, which has acquired tremendous impetus.

156. The agreements recently arrived at within the framework of the Andean Agreement are clear proof of the firm desire for integration that fills and inspires the countries parties to the Agreement. Integration, for us, is basically an undertaking for joint development, in which the creation of the productive machinery is from the outset converted into a common task. The approval of the joint industrial programme for the establishment of the machine-tool industry shows the degree of compromise and the dimensions of the problems of development and, also, the will to arrive at a true agreement on integration.

157. Together with all other Latin American countries, Peru is undergoing profound transformations and finds itself aligned with the countries of the third world, with which we share a common denominator: under-development. For when we clearly understood the realities of our life as an under-developed and dependent society undergoing forms of domestic domination that were an extension of foreign dependency, we also discovered that our condi-

tion was shared with the countries of the third world which, in different ways, are tending towards liberation. Thus we find ourselves in a new situation. We are part of the so-called third world which daily, with wealth generated out of its own poverty, contributes to the opulence and the power of the industrialized societies.

158. We also realized that political independence is not enough to achieve true emancipation; that there exist subtle forms of political, economic, financial and technological domination geared to the maintenance of old forms of domination. Under-development is, to us, therefore, a multidimensional phenomenon. It emerges in the economic field but does not end there. It spreads to the entire social fabric and affects the cultural, ideological and political fields.

159. The multicentred world that is emerging today must, as it does, show an equal multiplicity of structures in the economic fields, where the process of political détente must also be reflected. But if this were not enough to contribute to an improvement in the conditions of development of the third world, then we could not, in justice, contend that the risks of a conflict have diminished. For peace and prosperity that are founded on a position of structured under-development at the international level will always be precarious, no matter how noble and worthy the political and trade agreements worked out by the major Powers.

160. The results of the three sessions held by UNCTAD, and especially that held this year in Santiago, have convinced us of the need to restate their supporting rationale in order to restore the mystique that surrounded them at the outset and that aroused so many hopes in our hearts.

161. Within a new articulation of the world's economic affairs the third world must devise a consistent and united strategy that will make of it a single and sufficiently powerful unit. Our countries should continue to group together on the basis of productive interests, in order to acquire genuine negotiating strength that will ensure better prices for our products. This in turn will lead to our increased participation in the profits earned from trade in those products and thus we shall be in a position to recover sovereign control over the natural resources which give rise to that wealth.

162. In the circle of domination and dependence which characterizes the structure of the relations between developing and more industrialized nations, there is an element of distortion that contributes to imbalance, I refer to the multinational corporations or firms which have acquired a marked economic, financial and political influence in States, whose participation in world trade and capital flow is much larger than that of many countries, and which very often evade the traditional pattern of payments. The third session of UNCTAD showed the growing preponderance of these corporations that control between 20 and 30 per cent of the output of world trade, and alarm was expressed over their speculative role in the world monetary crisis.

163. Thus far, the United Nations has not been able to deal with this important aspect of development, but this failure will allegedly be corrected by means of resolution

1721 (LIII), recently adopted by the Social Council, which requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to designate a group of experts to study the behaviour of such multinational corporations, particularly in the developing countries, and their impact on international relations, so that their recommendations may guide Governments both in the adoption of sovereign decisions and in agreeing on appropriate international action.

164. In the light of all these circumstances, which clearly highlight the problem of under-development and in the light of the political and economic reality which determines and conditions under-development, a most valuable initiative emerged from the third session of UNCTAD, namely, the idea of preparing a charter of the economic rights and duties of States and of establishing the relevant machinery for such a Charter. At the subregional, regional and world levels, Peru has taken an active and constant part in the laying down of principles to govern economic relations among States, and we are ready to participate also in this fundamental task of creating an appropriate international legal framework.

165. The monetary crisis, its restrictive effects on trade and finance, and the Smithsonian Agreement, adopted without the participation of the developing countries, have had consequences that are prejudicial to the countries of the third world through their net losses in their dollar reserves as a result of the readjustment of exchange rates and other unfavourable developments in their terms of trade as well as the burden of foreign debts.

166. The need to ensure the participation of the developing countries at the decision-making level in monetary and trade questions of vital importance to the international community was the purpose of the initiative strongly urged by Peru in the Group of 77 developing countries concerning the creation of an intergovernmental group on monetary questions. The final constitution of the group and the important recommendations made therein are to be presented now to the Committee of 20, established by the International Monetary Fund. We trust that an over-all solution to the monetary problem will be found through that group. If not, it will inevitably have to be sought in a world monetary conference, as was initially proposed by Peru.

167. With regard to the forthcoming multilateral trade negotiations to be held in 1973 within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the developing world has clearly defined the principles that must govern the talks to avoid the marginalization of which it was the victim at the time of the last Kennedy Round. A further postponement would have dire effects on the economies of the members of the Group of 77 and, hence, on the welfare and progress of more than two thirds of mankind.

168. International assistance is a duty and not philanthropy. Through it, the industrialized nations return a minimal part of what we have unquestionably provided them for the consolidation of their development and power. Aid,

in order to deserve that name, must be free and not subject to contractual conditions. Peru rejects the type of assistance that is burdensome, that carries conditions and is provided on terms of political and economic subjugation, for it then becomes a pressure tool to bend the will of the needy countries against their own interests. Far from encouraging development, such assistance generates further poverty and dependency and belies the most elementary principles of international co-operation, which is intended to channel multilateral aid that should be accompanied by safeguards for sufficient decision-making power without the existence of pressures of any kind. My country, from its own experience, knows the stumbling blocks and difficulties encountered by requests for financing submitted by countries seriously embarked upon an independent course of development.

169. But assistance must also be sufficient to reach the targets set by this Assembly itself for the Second United Nations Development Decade. According to the Assembly official financial assistance to the third world should be equal to 0.7 per cent of a country's gross national product.

170. Although some industrialized countries have advanced towards this goal, the President of the World Bank himself has admitted that by 1975 average official assistance will have reached merely 0.35 per cent, that is, half of the target for the Second Development Decade. Yet this is happening at a time when the gross national product of the industrialized countries is increasing rapidly, leaving the developing countries behind and, most important of all, dramatically widening the gap between the wealthy and the poor countries of the world.

171. Obviously, this situation cannot continue indefinitely and if the flow of official financial assistance settles at a level that is considerably below the target set for the Decade, which seems likely at present, then the international community will sooner or later have to face the need to reassess and restructure the terms of foreign indebtedness of the developing countries, whose fledgling economies will no longer be able to carry the burden of a growing mortgage upon their income, which is, unfortunately, all too often the experience of the countries which make up the third world.

172. Regarding the question of the law of the sea, events have taken place that are important for the nations that would establish a just order for the use and exploitation of the oceans.

173. The People's Republic of China in the United Nations, jurists of Asian and African countries at Lagos, the participants in the meetings of the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination of the Group of 77, and of the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the Caribbean, as well as the recent official statement of the Government of Cuba all, in one way or another, reaffirm the right of coastal States to dispose of the marine resources within the limits of their national jurisdiction, limits which an increasing number of nations have proposed should be set up to 200 miles. UNCTAD included this right among its new principles. Support for this view was voiced anew by numerous countries from the various continents at the recent meetings of the Committee on the sea-bed designed

<sup>2</sup> Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues.

to prepare for the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. To all this must now be added the latest proclamations from the Governments of Gabon, Mauritania and Oman that extend the exercise of their jurisdiction beyond 12 miles and, in particular, the courageous attitude of the Government of Iceland to which my country reiterates its solidarity on this occasion.

174. The facts mentioned are tangible and conclusive proof of the degree of international support achieved for the maritime doctrine which establishes a 200-mile limit in the new law of the sea.

175. However, this vigorous trend does not seem to have been fully understood in all its implications by a small group of maritime Powers which are determined to establish a narrow zone of coastal jurisdiction in order to be free to exploit foreign waters at will.

176. In any case, I believe it appropriate at this time to dispel any possible doubts on the issue by reiterating here the firm and unwavering position of Peru to maintain, and enforce respect for, our sovereignty and jurisdiction over the waters adjacent to our coast, including the soil and subsoil thereof to a distance of up to 200 miles, in order to promote the development and well-being of our people. This decision, not only adopted by the Government of Peru, but also shared by the Peruvian people as a whole for 25 years now, rests upon basic geographical, ecological, economic, social, political and juridical foundations that have been set forth at length in different international bodies and whose validity cannot be ignored since they flow from a law of nature and considerations of justice that must prevail over mercantile designs or the desire for hegemony of faraway nations, regardless of how powerful they may be.

177. The resources of the bountiful fishing grounds lying off the coast of Peru—whose existence would seem to be a form of compensation for the same natural conditions which determine the aridity of our coasts—are and will always be considered by Peru as an integral part of our nation's wealth whose use by our people no nation has the right to dispute. Let none believe that this truth—and this determination which is irrevocable—can ever be flouted as long as one single Peruvian lives.

178. The détente that is today clearly evident, has still not dissipated man's feeling that he is still living in the shadow of fear. The end of the dualist and antagonistic division of the world has in no way meant the end of power politics and confrontations which conditioned international relations over the last decades.

179. Neither the sparse results of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva nor the negotiations at the highest level between the super-Powers have given sufficient hopes for a solution to the world disarmament problem. Furthermore, there seems to be every indication of a lack of a definite will to assert a realistic and honest policy which would lead to final disarmament.

180. Furthermore, we cannot fail to mention—or, one might better say, to denounce—the tendency among certain Powers to accuse the developing countries of fomenting

arms races among themselves. Behind this fallacious allegation lies the definite purpose of disguising, on the one hand, the magnitude of their own burdensome expenditures and also, and perhaps primarily, of shifting the responsibility that they bear for the development of the poorer countries. I repeat here, we consider that security is conditioned by development and, therefore, it is not in our interest to expend enormous amounts on armaments.

181. The great Powers, dominated as they are by the tyranny of technology, spend enormous amounts modernizing their weaponry without considering the already precarious state of world security and certainly without a thought for the legitimate rights and interests of the nations of the third world. My Government therefore supports a restructuring of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to provide for the participation of all the nuclear Powers, and an increase in its membership so as to allow equitable representation for developing countries.

182. If we have stated that the development of nations is closely linked to international security, it is obvious that world disarmament, and therefore nuclear disarmament, is the basic goal of all mankind at present. The vast sums spent on these activities and the dangers they represent to the human environment have repeatedly been considered by the international community in this Assembly and in other forums, such as the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held at Stockholm last June, where we have asked for a condemnation of and a halt to nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere.

183. Regrettably, we find that in the programmes for nuclear weapon testing in the South Pacific, the announcement of a final suspension of tests in the atmosphere to be carried out over the Mururoa Atoll in the future has not been forthcoming. Peru once again condemns these tests and we shall continue to bend every possible effort to insure a cancellation of such nuclear tests which are undoubtedly a danger to mankind.

184. At the present juncture in international affairs, Peru is following with great interest and, as is only natural, supports the general trend towards a relaxation of tension, as reflected in the establishment of talks at the highest level between China and the United States, in the Berlin agreements and in the understandings between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea on the independent and peaceful reunification of the country without interference by any foreign State. We are also encouraged by the agreement reached by Pakistan and India on a withdrawal of troops from the Asian subcontinent.

185. The process of relaxation of tension which extends also to the European scene calls for a re-evaluation of the specific political and economic situation in that continent. This would seem to indicate the need for the holding of a conference on European security and co-operation which will doubtless spell the beginning of a new era in the relations among countries of the continent, the ramifications of which will affect the whole world.

186. We are attending a new session of the General Assembly, and so far no peace has yet been achieved in the

Middle East. Despite the efforts of this Organization, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) has still not been implemented. We repeat to this Assembly our conviction that any solution that we attempt to provide for the conflict in the Middle East must be fitted into the framework of that resolution if guarantees of lasting peace are to be achieved.

187. We also consider it of the highest importance that the Suez Canal should be reopened, as was stated at the ministerial meeting of the Group of 77 and at the third session of UNCTAD. The continued closure of the Canal causes considerable damage to the economy of the area.

188. In Asia, the Viet-Nam conflict shows no sign of ending soon. The forces involved continue their bloody struggle, magnified now by the use of sophisticated weapons. No thought is given to the terrible sufferings of a people that will not forget the horrors of this holocaust for centuries to come.

189. The Revolutionary Government of Peru considers that in the case of Viet-Nam no matter what solution may be considered to end the war, it will obviously have to be based upon the exclusion of intervention by other countries, so that the people of Viet-Nam will thus be able to exercise its right to self-determination.

190. Peru will support any endeavour designed to have our Organization assume its proper role in the urgent search for solutions to put an end to that conflict, consonant with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

191. The threat to world peace and security as well as to the effectiveness of this Organization as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of international disputes becomes more acute in the face of persistent problems such as colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

192. Thus, consistent with its own traditions and its sincere belief in social justice, Peru reiterates its support for the Security Council resolutions condemning all colonialist policies and reaffirming the application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, as well as the resolutions of the General Assembly which repudiate all forms of racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

193. The world as a whole was shaken by the tragic events that took place during the recent Olympic games. These events only strengthen the views of those who affirm that the present world, in a paradoxical way, is generating an infernal dialectic of violence to combat violence.

194. The Peruvian Government morally repudiates acts of international terrorism which convert any region of the world, including countries that are not parties to any dispute, into zones of irrational and pointless violence. My country has therefore always advocated in absolutely clear terms international arrangements within this Organization to increase security in the world.

195. My country understands that very often violence is only a mistaken outlet for despair originating, perhaps, in conditions incompatible with the human condition. Social and economic conditions and the frustration of the just aspirations of peoples play an important role in this reaction.

196. Peru condemns these acts recently committed against innocent victims, and also voices the most severe censure against other forms of violence that seek to obtain through vengeance what ought to be claimed from the human justice and the conscience of nations.

197. The United Nations should become the definite means of reaching understanding among men and peoples; one through which differences will be overcome through a new approach, one by whose help the contradictions of wealth and poverty, development and under-development, will become less deep and lead to the humanization of men of all latitudes.

198. In the era of revolutionary change in which we live—an era in which ideas and customs, concepts and actions are questioned in depth—the United Nations continues to provide the best and most appropriate framework for harmonizing change and overcoming conflict. The limitations in which this work is carried out do not detract from its importance or weaken our faith. The inconsistency between the lofty aims of the Organization and much postponed justice confirm our certainty that no solutions are possible without the will and true agreement of the parties involved.

199. Now that a better disposition toward dialogue and coexistence seems perceptible among nations in a spirit of understanding and respect for a reality consisting of a plurality of concepts and ideologies, we believe that Organization can fulfil its mission and come closer to its lofty aims. It is because of this that the people and Government of Peru sincerely renew once again their very firm and convinced adherence to the principles of the Charter and their confidence in the destiny of the Organization.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*