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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate

1. The **PRESIDENT** (*interpretation from French*): This morning we shall begin the general debate. Before I call on the first speaker, I should like to remind Members of the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its 2236th plenary meeting regarding the procedure to be followed concerning the general debate, particularly in connexion with the closure of the list of speakers and the exercise of the right of reply. To facilitate the planning of its work, the Assembly also decided to close the list of speakers in the general debate on Wednesday, 25 September, at 6 p.m.

2. Mr. **AZEREDO DA SILVEIRA** (Brazil) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I would like, at the outset, to express my delegation's satisfaction and, in particular, my own, at seeing you directing the work of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I remember with special satisfaction the brotherly relationship we shared at Algiers, in 1967, when I had the pleasure of sitting beside you when you presided over the first ministerial meeting of the developing countries. On that occasion there were countless times when we found that our views converged regarding solutions for the most urgent and acute problems the developing countries were facing. No less numerous were the occasions on which I witnessed the demonstration of your exceptional qualities of leadership. For this reason, I am convinced that you will prove able to impress upon the deliberations of this General Assembly the objectivity, the firmness and the political acumen required by the complexity of the subjects under debate.

3. I also offer Mr. Leopoldo Benites the thanks of the Brazilian delegation for the able and sound way in which he presided over the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Mr. Benites is not only an asset of this Organization, which he has

served for so many years with unchanging dedication, but is also an asset of Latin America and of his valiant country—Ecuador—which has in him a respected spokesman in the service of its most authentic aspirations.

4. May I be allowed to address a very special word of greeting in our common language to the representatives of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, present here today in their full right, to the great rejoicing of us all.

[*The speaker continued in Portuguese. The English version of his remarks was supplied by the delegation.*]

5. As Minister for External Affairs of Brazil and as a Brazilian, nothing could give me greater satisfaction than to salute the admission to this Organization of a new country of Africa and of Portuguese speech, to which we feel linked therefore by bonds of blood and culture. These links constitute the strongest guarantee for the close and fertile friendship which will certainly unite our two peoples.

[*The speaker resumed in Spanish.*]

6. Our greetings are also directed to the delegation of Bangladesh. We are sure that there will be many opportunities for us to extend within the scope of the United Nations the friendly relations we already entertain bilaterally.

7. I also address an equally warm expression of brotherly feelings to the delegation of Grenada, which has added its presence to our regional group.

8. An honoured tradition, which goes back to the first session of the General Assembly, gives Brazil the privilege of opening this great dialogue of sovereign nations each year. This tradition I take up today, speaking for the first time as my country's Minister for External Affairs in this forum. I do so with redoubled emotion, for I am conscious that I am addressing the community of nations at a particularly important moment in the history of the Organization and of our participation in it. It is unnecessary to make more explicit the importance of this hour in universal terms. It seems obvious to all that we are at the threshold of a new era which will be one of peace and prosperity or of insecurity and poverty, according to whether we know how to harmonize, in a constructive fashion, the most essential objectives and the most enlightened national interests of each country here represented. Brazil has the benefit of facing the challenge of this new hour with a Government whose term has just begun and which carries, in its objectives and mode of action, the indisputable stamp of realism and diligence. This allows us to contemplate our action within the Organization against a background that is simultaneously broader in time and more encompassing in terms of solutions to the problems under consideration.

9. We have repeatedly and publicly enunciated the principles on which the international conduct of President Ernesto Geisel's administration is based, and we have already given sufficient demonstration that we know how to unite action with words when it comes to turning those principles into reality.

10. During recent years Brazil has taken broad steps, first in correcting the main distortions that disrupted its economic and social development and, subsequently, in the consolidation of a model of growth that truly attempts to respond to the authentic aspirations of our national community. Thus the country has grown internally and thus also it has grown in terms of its presence, its potentialities and its responsibilities in the international field. While this is happening, we try to avoid the traps of history by not repeating the errors of nations which became great, many times at the expense of others. We want our presence in a wider-ranging international scene to be accompanied by the preservation of the primordial ethical values that have been and that continue to be the bases of our foreign policy.

11. We want our words in the international field to be direct and simple, without ambiguity or subterfuge. We want the Brazilian Government to be able to accomplish the œcumenical vocation of its people, who are open to uninhibited and frank communication. We want to explore the paths of understanding, for we believe, fundamentally, that co-operation is more effective than antagonism and that mutual respect is more creative than ambitions of preponderance.

12. Our conduct for attaining those objectives is pragmatic and responsible: pragmatic to the extent to which we desire effectiveness and to which we are disposed to seek, wherever Brazilian national interests may move us, areas of convergence and zones of coincidence with the national interests of other peoples; and responsible because we will always act within the framework of ethics and exclusively as a function of objectives clearly identified and accepted by the Brazilian people.

13. I do not intend to comment on the various items on the agenda of the present session. There will, I am sure, be many occasions on which the Brazilian delegation will speak on those items during the coming weeks. From this rostrum I wish only to underline which are the problems, in our understanding, to the solution of which we must jointly dedicate our most urgent attention.

14. Immediately the problem of decolonization springs into view. We have on this question a position of absolute clarity: Brazil believes unreservedly that there is no justification for delay or subterfuge in the process of decolonization, both in the American continent itself and over the entire world. Brazil will give its support so that those peoples still subject to forms of colonial domination may achieve, within the shortest possible time, the national independence to which they aspire. We believe that to the extent that the will of the community of sovereign nations in support of acceleration of the decolonization process becomes general, so much greater will be the possibility that decolonization may be achieved peacefully and under conditions that will allow constructive co-operation

between the peoples of those countries that were previously held as colonies and the peoples whose Governments had theretofore followed a colonizing policy. In this sense, support given to emancipation is as important as action directed towards the colonizing Governments so that they may detach themselves quickly and with conviction from their policies of colonial domination. In both forms of action the forum of the United Nations has demonstrated its effectiveness, and it is our intention to support it in this role.

15. Brazil is following this path, which is not always the easiest one or one which pleases those who cannot distinguish appearance from reality. For the Brazilian Government, the challenge faced by those who want to rid the world of the colonial stigma is the challenge of efficacy. To blame the colonizing past is not what matters; what matters is rather to help build the future of free nations. This position corresponds to what is deepest in the Brazilian soul. We are prepared to make explicit those sentiments and the aspirations that correspond to them by offering our concrete co-operation in the building of these new nations.

16. Amílcar Cabral, the great leader of the independence of Guinea-Bissau, was aware of the anti-colonialist will of the Brazilian people. His words are so similar to those we have so often uttered in relation to African peoples under colonial domination that they seem almost to have come from the same mouth. I quote them:

“Our interest”—in developing relations of friendship, solidarity and co-operation with Brazil—“is all the greater as we feel ourselves linked to the Brazilian people by bonds of blood, culture and history, and we ardently desire to establish with Brazil, after the conquest of our independence, broad fraternal relations in all fields, just as we desire them with the people of Portugal, which we never confused with Portuguese colonialism.”

17. The same feeling of brotherhood binds us to Mozambique and Angola, whose independence we want to see completed. We hail the agreement that on 7 September the Portuguese Government concluded with the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [*FRELIMO*]. Little more than a century and a half ago the same date marked the first independence of a former Portuguese colony, and it is Brazil, that former colony, which is here represented and which offers its hand to its African brothers. To Brazil this gesture signifies not just an unbending adherence to the inalienable principle of self-determination. To us, the emergence of African nations to independent life has an additional dimension which allows us to take up again, on an equal footing, the close sharing of life with peoples that have been among the most generous sources of our mode of being.

18. To the opening-up of prospects for the populations in the Territories under Portuguese administration in Africa, there has not been, unfortunately, any corresponding visible progress in respect to areas under colonial domination in other continents. In the same fashion, there still remain forms of subjugation resulting from racial or religious prejudices.

19. In the United Nations and outside, *apartheid* has been universally condemned in the name of the most diverse principles. Ethically, it runs directly contrary to the universal values of the human conscience. From the viewpoint of doctrine, it incorporates the most discredited theories of alleged racial superiorities.

20. When we repudiate *apartheid* we also repudiate any pretension of the international community wishing to colonize culturally the nations of Africa. Thus, when we rejoice at the emergence to independence of new Portuguese-speaking nations, we are not uttering praise for any cultural supremacy but are simply welcoming the opportunities now open for a broader brotherly understanding by the communities of the same language. For the African Portuguese-speaking nations and for other nations what we want is that they may be authentic in the expression of their own rich and varied cultures. We in Brazil, who owe so much to the different African cultures, can only hope that they may reinvigorate themselves in the climate of freedom offered to them by national independence.

21. It has been said, and rightly so, that in the history of mankind ours is the first generation upon which has fallen the task not only of making the world but also of preventing the world from being unmade. It is an enormous responsibility for those who, like the great majority of mankind, have such minute means available to them for influencing global decisions which have such a great effect on them.

22. We stand almost as helpless spectators of the accelerated arms race, which is incessantly pursued under the mantle of protestations of *détente* and promises of disarmament. The disproportion between the scope of the problem and the measures agreed on for its solution is smaller only than that which exists between the alleged defence justifications and the overwhelming destructive power that has been accumulated already.

23. More than anything else, it is shocking to see the magnitude of financial and technological resources devoted to arms production, so many times higher than that which would be necessary to reform the present structure of economic inequities and thus to allow men to live in a world free from fear, more unfettered by shame and, above all, more favourable to the expression of its creative potentialities.

24. There would be reasons, perhaps, to welcome the evolution during recent years from a world in a climate of "cold war" to a world in a climate of *détente*. We would have more reasons to rejoice if we could see confirmed in the future what seems to be the present evolution of that climate into a virtual *entente*. It depends in part on ourselves, the countries that seek development, whether such an *entente* will be made to our benefit or to our prejudice. It is to a certain extent natural that the great Powers should seek such an *entente* and, above all, for the preservation of the *status quo*—which, however, would benefit them only in the short run. However, under its shadow, and this is the only benefit which we receive, we who are less strong must seek only to realize a policy of closer and less tense co-operation in the international field. We must utilize

this opening in order to obtain a better co-ordination of the less developed countries in the defence of their interests in economic and social progress.

25. This evolution has saved us from the spectre of apocalyptic war, which would be the logical consequence of a boundless arms policy. This does not mean that the world has reached the certainty of being able to live in peace and security, a certainty which is the most profound aspiration of the majority of peoples. Many are those who still continue to suffer from the bitterness of armed conflict or who live under the recurrent threat of its intensification. We have to recognize that the contribution made by the countries not directly involved in those conflicts to their solution is precarious. And we have to admit that it is the very terror of total nuclear conflict which feeds or allows the growth of those localized wars.

26. The question of the Middle East deserves constant and real attention from all of us.

27. It is surprising—I would even say shocking—to see that the world seems to turn its preoccupations towards the Middle East only when a war crisis occurs in that disturbed region. The set of problems which for so many years have afflicted the peoples of the Middle East should require of the international community a concern to bring about continuous and creative co-operation. Within that context, if the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) may indeed constitute one of the possibly indispensable conditions for the development of the solution to the problem, it is also true that that implementation does not exhaust the range of measures essential to the attainment of the greater objectives of peace, security, tranquillity, and social and economic development of the countries of the region.

28. Objection to wars of conquest is a constant factor in the history of Brazil and a norm inscribed in our Constitution. We hold the right to territorial integrity and the obligation of respect for sovereignty to be absolute. Consequently, we believe that withdrawal from the occupied territories is an integral part of the solution to the conflict.

29. Only those frontiers which have been negotiated and recognized by all for the good of all will be calm. This is the solution which, by bringing them peace and security, will truly serve the countries of the region.

30. We, the countries of the American continent, are fortunate to have an institutional solution to such problems and we are proud that the security agreement binding us together has determined, for many years now, that all regional conflicts be solved starting from the initial and indispensable assumption that occupying forces are withdrawn from areas under military invasion.

31. The drama of the Middle East is enlarged and made universal to the extent that it involves human aspects which cannot be ignored. The community of nations must not spare any effort, including efforts made in conjunction with the peoples of the Middle East, to ensure that the sufferings of the Palestinian people are alleviated by appropriate measures. It is inhuman to consider that any solution that does not

attend to their rights is equitable, and it is an illusion to think that such a solution would be lasting.

32. We are sure, on the other hand, that a greater effort of international co-operation with the countries of the Middle East in the economic and social fields may provide a decisive contribution to peace. It is gratifying to note that wide prospects seem to be opening up in this direction, and there will arise—if all parties, conscious of their growing responsibilities, work with creative imagination and firmness of intention—unprecedented modalities for co-operation which will be of great significance to the international community, and especially to the developing countries. Such co-operation, which is in the interest of all countries and all regions, if correctly implemented, may bring about results of extreme importance in the reorientation of the flows of trade, of investments and of financing, correcting the existing distortions which contribute to insecurity and instability in the international field.

33. Latin America, in its mutual solidarity, has a clear conception of the challenge that the present crisis represents for each one of our countries. This challenge does not frighten us; rather, it stimulates us to redouble internally, within each country, the efforts needed to accelerate national progress, and to expand, in the external field, forms of co-operation to achieve common objectives resulting from the convergence of our national interests.

34. One of the characteristics of the time in which we are living is the growing command that developing countries are assuming over their natural resources. This evolution is allowing those countries to reduce their excessive dependence on the economies of the developed countries and better to orientate their own economic growth. It also opens up unprecedented opportunities for co-operation among developing countries.

35. In Latin America, an awareness of the importance of this process is visibly increasing. The full use of natural resources in Latin American countries is fundamental to the acceleration of the growth of the region and may become a relevant Latin American contribution to the alleviation of the world crises of energy, raw materials and food. At the same time, the strong cultural and political solidarity that binds together the countries of Latin America, also makes joint endeavours in the economic field ever more viable. Thus we see ever-growing possibilities of co-operation in the use of natural resources common to or shared by more than one country. The novelty of this form of co-operation, at least on the scale on which it is being developed in Latin America, has not yet permitted a general understanding of its potential or of the problems it involves. I consider it important to bring before the international community my country's point of view on these questions.

36. Brazil considers that the free use and exploitation of the natural resources in its territory is a right inherent in the sovereignty of the State. Such a right cannot brook restrictions. In the case of resources which are, by nature, not static and which flow through the territory of more than one country, that right remains unalterable, those restrictions alone

being acceptable that result from the obligation not to cause significant or permanent damage to the exploitation by other countries of the natural resources in their territories. To subordinate the sovereign utilization of our own natural resources to consultations of a suspensive nature would be to introduce an intolerable disruption in international order, with the result of making the right that we were trying to preserve a mere "dead letter". The Brazilian Government, which does not refuse to make use of or to resort to consultation between Governments in this as in any other matter, and which has resorted to this method of procedure frequently in the past, cannot accept the perversion of the co-operative function of consultation by questioning the sovereignty of States. For this reason, we think it is our duty to awaken the consciences of Governments to the implications of principles of consultation that would injure the sovereign right of countries to use their natural resources, and that, though seemingly constructive, would be potentially disruptive to the international order, which it is our aim to preserve, and an impediment to the material progress of nations, which it is our objective to stimulate. We should all be aware that natural resources, the use of which it is intended to regulate in opposition to the sovereign decisions of territorial Governments, do not flow over ground only. There are those that flow beneath the ground, as there are those that flow in the territorial sea. The characteristics of certain resources must be the motive for responsible behaviour on the part of those who use them, rather than for hindering their use and thus benefiting no party at all.

37. We are experiencing all these problems in Latin America and we are seeking solutions to them based on the principles of harmony of interests, peaceful understanding and enlightened co-operation, principles that this Organization has established as the foundations of international life. If I bring to this rostrum the example of Latin America, it is because I sincerely believe that it constitutes a positive contribution to the realization of the ideals of the United Nations.

38. My reflections have barely touched on some items of the agenda for the present session. The reason is that I have tried to confine myself to an enunciation of Brazil's position on questions that belong to the agenda of mankind more than to the agenda of the Assembly, and on the set of fundamental problems, the solution of which will determine the shape of the coming decades.

39. I have chosen to concern myself with those problems that are more closely connected with the aspirations of liberty, human dignity, justice, progress and peace. On many of these questions the international community has made considerable progress. On others, the results obtained have been imperceptible. Nevertheless, there is no reason for dismay. The severity of the problems should constitute for all of us not a reason for disenchantment, but an incentive to redoubled efforts, creative imagination and fidelity to the purposes and principles upon which this Organization of sovereign States was built.

40. Mr. KISSINGER (United States of America): Last year, at the previous session [2124th meeting], in my first address as Secretary of State, I spoke to this Assembly about American purposes. I said that the United States seeks a comprehensive, institutionalized peace, not an armistice. I asked other nations to join us in moving the world from *détente* to co-operation, from coexistence to community.

41. In the year that has passed some progress has been made in dealing with particular crises. But many fundamental issues persist and new issues threaten the very structure of world stability.

42. Our deepest problem—going far beyond the items on the agenda—is whether our vision can keep pace with our challenges. Will history recall the twentieth century as a time of mounting global conflict or as the beginning of a global conception? Will our age of interdependence spur joint progress or common disaster?

43. The answer is not yet clear. New realities have not yet overcome old patterns of thought and action. Traditional concepts—of national sovereignty, social struggle and the relation between the old and the new nations—too often guide our course. And so we have managed but not advanced; we have endured but not prospered; and we have continued the luxury of political contention.

44. This condition has been dramatized in the brief period since the twenty-eighth session. War has ravaged the Middle East and Cyprus. The technology of nuclear explosives has resumed its dangerous spread. Inflation and the threat of global decline hang over the economies of rich and poor alike.

45. We cannot permit this trend to continue. Conflict between nations once devastated continents; the struggle between blocs may destroy humanity. Ideologies and doctrines drawn from the last century do not even address, let alone solve, the unprecedented problems of today. As a result, events challenge habits; a gulf grows between rhetoric and reality.

46. The world has dealt with local conflicts as if they were perpetually manageable. We have permitted too many of the underlying causes to fester unattended, until the parties believed that their only recourse was war. And because each crisis ultimately has been contained we have remained complacent. But tolerance of local conflict tempts world holocaust. We have no guarantee that some local crisis—perhaps the next—will not explode beyond control.

47. The world has dealt with nuclear weapons as if restraint were automatic. Their very awesomeness has chained those weapons for almost three decades; their sophistication and expense have helped to keep constant for a decade the number of States which possess them. Now, as was quite foreseeable, political inhibitions are in danger of crumbling. Nuclear catastrophe looms more plausible, whether through design or miscalculation, accident, theft or blackmail.

48. The world has dealt with the economy as if its constant advance were inexorable. While post-war growth has been uneven and some parts of the

world have lagged, our attention has been focused on how to increase participation in a general advance. We continue to deal with economic issues on a national, regional or bloc basis at the precise moment that our interdependence is multiplying. Strains on the fabric and institutions of the world economy threaten to engulf us all in a general depression.

49. The delicate structure of international co-operation, so laboriously constructed over the last quarter-century, can hardly survive, and certainly cannot be strengthened, if it is continually subjected to the shocks of political conflict, war and economic crisis.

50. The time has come, then, for the nations assembled here to act together in the recognition that continued reliance on old slogans and traditional rivalries will lead us towards a world ever more torn between rich and poor, East and West, producer and consumer; a world where local crises threaten global confrontation and where the spreading atom threatens global peril; a world of rising costs and dwindling supplies, of growing populations and declining production.

51. There is another course. Last week before this Assembly [2234th meeting] President Ford dedicated our country to a co-operative, open approach to build a more secure and more prosperous world. The United States will assume the obligations that our values and strength impose upon us. But the building of a co-operative world is beyond the grasp of any one nation. An interdependent world requires not merely the resources but the vision and creativity of us all. Nations cannot simultaneously confront and co-operate with one another.

52. We must recognize that the common interest is the only valid test of the national interest. It is in the common interest, and thus in the interest of each nation, that local conflicts be resolved short of force and their root causes be removed by political means; that the spread of nuclear technology be achieved without the spread of nuclear weapons; that growing economic interdependence lift all nations and not drag them down together.

53. We will not solve these problems during this session, or during any one session, of the General Assembly, but we must at least begin to remedy problems, not just manage them; to shape events, rather than endure them; to confront our challenges instead of one another.

54. The urgent political responsibility of our era is to resolve conflicts without war. History is replete with examples of the tragedy that sweeps nations when ancient enmities and the inertia of habit freeze the scope for decision. Equally, history is marked by brief moments when an old order is giving way to a pattern new and unforeseen. Those are times of potential disorder and danger but also of opportunity for fresh creation.

55. We face such a moment today. Together let us face its realities. First, a certain momentum towards peace has been created, in East-West relations and in certain regional conflicts. It must be maintained. But we are only at the beginning of the process. If we do not continue to advance, we will

slip back. Second, progress in the negotiation of difficult issues comes only through patience, perseverance and a recognition of the tolerable limits of the other side. Peace is a process, not a condition. It can be reached only in steps. Third, the failure to recognize and grasp the attainable will prevent the achievement of the ideal. Attempts to resolve all issues at one time are a certain prescription for stagnation. Progress towards peace can be thwarted by asking too much as surely as by asking too little. Fourth, the world community can help resolve chronic conflicts, but exaggerated expectations will prevent essential accommodation among the parties. This Assembly can help or hinder the negotiating process. It can seek a scapegoat or a solution. It can offer the parties an excuse to escape reality or sturdy support in search of a compromise. It can decide on propaganda or contribute to realistic approaches responsive to man's yearning for peace.

56. The Middle East starkly demonstrates those considerations. In the past year we have witnessed both the fourth Arab-Israeli war in a generation and the hopeful beginnings of a political process towards a lasting and just peace. We have achieved the respite of a cease-fire and two disengagement agreements, but the shadow of war remains. The legacy of hatred and suffering, the sense of irreconcilability have begun to yield—however haltingly—to the process of negotiation. But we still have a long road ahead.

57. One side seeks the recovery of territory and justice for a displaced people. The other side seeks security and recognition by its neighbours of its legitimacy as a nation. In the end, the common goal of peace surely is broad enough to embrace all these aspirations.

58. Let us be realistic about what must be done. The art of negotiation is to set goals that can be achieved at a given time and to reach them with determination. Each step forward modifies old perceptions and brings about a new situation that improves the chances of a comprehensive settlement.

59. Because these principles were followed in the Middle East, agreements have been reached in the past year which many thought impossible. They were achieved, above all, because of the wisdom of the leaders of the Middle East who decided that there had been enough stalemate and war, that more might be gained by testing each other in negotiation than by testing each other on the battlefield.

60. The Members of this body, both collectively and individually, have a solemn responsibility to encourage and support the parties in the Middle East on their present course. We have as well an obligation to give our support to the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Middle East and elsewhere. The United States applauds their indispensable role, as well as the outstanding contribution of Secretary-General Waldheim in the cause of peace.

61. During the past year my country has made a major effort to promote peace in the Middle East. President Ford has asked me to reaffirm today that we are determined to press forward with these efforts. We will work closely with the parties and we will

co-operate with all interested countries within the framework of the Geneva Conference.

62. The tormented island of Cyprus is another area where peace requires a spirit of compromise, accommodation and justice. The United States is convinced that the sovereignty, political independence, and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be maintained. It will be up to the parties to decide on the form of government they believe best suited to the particular conditions of Cyprus. They must reach accommodation on the areas to be administered by the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities as well as on the conditions under which refugees can return to their homes and reside in safety. Finally, no lasting peace is possible unless provisions are agreed upon which will lead to the timely and phased reduction of armed forces and armaments and other war matériel.

63. The United States is prepared to play an even more active role now than in the past in helping the parties find a solution to the centuries-old problem of Cyprus. We will do all we can, but it is those most directly concerned whose effort is most crucial. Third parties should not be asked to produce miraculous outcomes not anchored in reality. Third parties can encourage those directly involved to perceive their broader interests; they can assist in the search for elements of agreement by interpreting each side's views and motives to the other. But no mediator can succeed unless the parties genuinely want mediation and are ready to make the difficult decisions needed for a settlement.

64. The United States is already making a major contribution to help relieve the human suffering of the people of Cyprus. We urge the international community to continue and, if possible, to increase its own humanitarian relief effort.

65. The United States notes with particular satisfaction the continuing process of change in Africa. We welcome the positive demonstration of co-operation between old rulers and the new free. The United States shares and pledges its support for the aspiration of Africans to participate in the fruits of freedom and human dignity.

66. The second new dimension on our agenda concerns the problem of nuclear proliferation.

67. The world has grown so accustomed to the existence of nuclear weapons that it assumes they will never be used. But today technology is rapidly expanding the number of nuclear weapons in the hands of major Powers and threatens to put nuclear explosive technology at the disposal of an increasing number of other countries.

68. In a world where many nations possess nuclear weapons, dangers would be vastly compounded. It would be infinitely more difficult, if not impossible, to maintain stability among a large number of nuclear Powers. Local wars would take on a new dimension. Nuclear weapons would be introduced into regions where political conflict remains intense and the parties consider their vital interests overwhelmingly involved. There would, as well, be a vastly heightened risk of direct involvement by the major nuclear Powers.

69. This problem does not concern one country, one region, or one bloc alone. No nation can be

indifferent to the spread of nuclear technology; every nation's security is directly affected.

70. The challenge before the world is to realize the peaceful benefits of nuclear technology without contributing to the growth of nuclear weapons or to the number of States possessing them.

71. As a major nuclear Power, the United States recognizes its special responsibility. We realize that we cannot expect others to show restraint if we do not ourselves practise restraint. Together with the Soviet Union we are seeking to negotiate new quantitative and qualitative limitations on strategic arms. Last week our delegations reconvened in Geneva, and we intend to pursue these negotiations with the seriousness of purpose they deserve. The United States has no higher priority than controlling and reducing the levels of nuclear arms.

72. Beyond the relations of the nuclear Powers to each other lies the need to curb the spread of nuclear explosives. We must take into account that plutonium is an essential ingredient of nuclear explosives and that in the immediate future the amount of plutonium generated by peaceful nuclear reactors will be multiplied many times. Heretofore the United States and a number of other countries have widely supplied nuclear fuels and other nuclear materials in order to promote the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. This policy cannot continue if it leads to the proliferation of nuclear explosives. Sales of these materials can no longer be treated by anyone as a purely commercial competitive enterprise.

73. The world community, therefore, must work urgently towards a system of effective international safeguards against the diversion of plutonium or its by-products. The United States is prepared to join with others in a comprehensive effort.

74. Let us together agree on the practical steps which must be taken to assure the benefits of nuclear energy free of its terrors. The United States will shortly offer specific proposals to strengthen safeguards to the other principal supplier countries. We shall intensify our efforts to gain the broadest possible acceptance of IAEA safeguards, to establish practical controls on the transfer of nuclear materials, and to ensure the effectiveness of these procedures. The United States will urge IAEA to draft an international convention for enhancing physical security against theft or diversion of nuclear material. Such a convention should set forth specific standards and techniques for protecting materials while in use, storage and transfer. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], which this Assembly has endorsed, warrants continuing support. The Treaty contains not only a broad commitment to limit the spread of nuclear explosives but specific obligations to accept and implement IAEA safeguards and to control the transfer of nuclear materials.

75. Whatever advantages seem to accrue from the acquisition of nuclear explosive technology will prove to be ephemeral. When Pandora's box has been opened, no country will be the beneficiary and all mankind will have lost. This is not inevitable.

If we act decisively now, we can still control the future.

76. Let me now turn to our economic problems.

77. Lord Keynes wrote:

"The power to become habituated to his surroundings is a marked characteristic of mankind. Very few of us realize with conviction the intensely unusual, unstable, complicated, unreliable, temporary nature of the economic organization."

78. The economic history of the postwar period has been one of sustained growth, for developing as well as developed nations. The universal expectation of our peoples, the foundation of our political institutions and the assumption underlying the evolving structure of peace are all based on the belief that this growth will continue.

79. But will it? The increasingly open and co-operation global economic system that we have come to take for granted is now under unprecedented attack. The world is poised on the brink of a return to the unrestrained economic nationalism which accompanied the collapse of economic order in the 1930s. And, should that occur, all would suffer: poor as well as rich, producer as well as consumer.

80. So let us no longer fear to confront in public the facts which have come to dominate our private discussions and concerns.

81. The early warning signs of a major economic crisis are evident. Rates of inflation unprecedented in the past quarter century are sweeping developing and developed nations alike. The world's financial institutions are staggering under the most massive and rapid movements of reserves in history. And profound questions have arisen about meeting man's most fundamental needs for energy and food.

82. While the present situation threatens every individual and nation, it is the poor who suffer the most. While the wealthier adjust their living standards, the poor see the hopes of a lifetime collapse around them. While others tighten their belts, the poor starve. While others can hope for a better future, the poor see only despair ahead.

83. It can be in the interest of no country or group of countries to base policies on a test of strength, for a policy of confrontation would end in disaster for all. Meeting man's basic needs for energy and food and assuring economic growth while mastering inflation require international co-operation to an unprecedented degree.

84. Let us apply these principles first to the energy situation. Oil producers seek a better life for their peoples and a just return for their diminishing resources. The developing nations less well-endowed by nature face the disintegration of the results of decades of striving for development as the result of a price policy over which they have no control. The developed nations find the industrial civilization built over centuries in jeopardy.

85. Both producers and consumers have legitimate claims. The problem is to reconcile them for the common good.

86. The United States is working closely with several oil producers to help diversify their econo-

mies. We have established commissions to facilitate the transfer of technology and to assist with industrialization. We are prepared to accept substantial investments in the United States and we welcome a greater role for the oil producers in the management of international economic institutions.

87. The investment of surplus oil revenues presents a great challenge. The countries which most need these revenues are generally the least likely to receive them. The world's financial institutions have coped thus far, but ways must be found to assure assistance for those countries most in need of it. And the full brunt of the surplus revenues is yet to come.

88. Despite our best efforts to meet the oil producers' legitimate needs and to channel their resources into constructive uses, the world cannot sustain even the present level of prices, much less continuing increases. The prices of other commodities will inevitably rise in a never-ending inflationary spiral. Nobody will benefit. The oil producers will be forced to spend more for their own imports. Many nations will not be able to withstand the pace, and the poorer could be overwhelmed. The complex, fragile structure of global economic co-operation required to sustain national economic growth stands in danger of being shattered.

89. The United States will work with other consumer nations on means of conservation and on ways to cushion the impact of massive investments from abroad. The preliminary agreement on a programme of solidarity and co-operation signed a few days ago in Brussels by the major consumer countries is an encouraging first step.

90. But the long-range solution requires a new understanding between consumers and producers. Unlike food prices, the high cost of oil is not the result of economic factors, of an actual shortage of capacity or of the free play of supply and demand. Rather it is caused by deliberate decisions to restrict production and maintain an artificial price level. We recognize that the producers should have a fair share; the fact remains that the present price level even threatens the economic well-being of producers. Ultimately they depend upon the vitality of the world economy for the security of their markets and their investments. And it cannot be in the interest of any nation to magnify the despair of the least developed, which are uniquely vulnerable to exorbitant prices and have no recourse but to pay.

91. What has gone up by political decision can be reduced by political decision.

92. Last week President Ford called upon the oil producers to join with consumers in defining a strategy which will meet the world's long-term need for both energy and food at reasonable prices; he set forth the principles which should guide such a policy; and he announced to this Assembly America's determination to meet our responsibilities to help alleviate another grim reality—world hunger. At a time of universal concern for justice and in an age of advanced technology, it is intolerable that millions are starving and hundreds of millions remain undernourished.

93. The magnitude of the long-term problem is clear. At present rates of population growth, world food production must double by the end of this century to maintain even the present inadequate dietary level—and an adequate diet for all would require that we triple world production. If we are true to our principles, we have an obligation to strive for an adequate supply of food to every man, woman and child in the world. This is a technical possibility, a political necessity and a moral imperative.

94. The United States is prepared to join with all nations at the World Food Conference in Rome to launch the truly massive effort which is required. We will present a number of specific proposals: to help developing nations, which have the lowest yields and the largest amounts of unused land and water and whose potential in food production must be made to match their growing need; to increase substantially global fertilizer production, for we must end once and for all the world's chronic fertilizer shortage; to expand international, regional and national research programmes because scientific and technical resources must be mobilized now to meet the demands of the year 2000 and beyond; to rebuild the world's food reserves, as our capacity for dealing with famine must be freed from the vagaries of weather; and to provide a substantial level of concessionary food aid. The United States will in the coming year increase the value of our own food-aid shipments to countries in need. We make this commitment despite great pressures on our economy and at a time when we are seeking to cut our own Government's budget, because we realize the dimensions of the tragedy with which we are faced. All of us here have a common obligation to prevent the poorest nations from being overwhelmed and to enable them to build the social, economic and political base for self-sufficiency.

95. The hopes of every nation for a life of peace and plenty rest on an effective international resolution of the crises of inflation, fuel and food. We must act now and we must act together.

96. Let us never forget that all of our political endeavours are ultimately judged by one standard—to translate our actions into human concerns.

97. The United States will never be satisfied with a world where man's fears overshadow his hopes. We support the United Nations efforts in the fields of international law and human rights. We approve of the activities of the United Nations in social, economic and humanitarian realms around the world. The United States considers the World Population Conference, held last month, the World Food Conference to be held a month from now and the continuing Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea of fundamental importance to our common future.

98. In the coming months the United States will make specific proposals for the United Nations to initiate a major international effort to prohibit torture; a concerted campaign to control the disease which afflicts and debilitates over 200 million people in 70 countries—schistosomiasis; and a substantial strengthening of the world's capacity to deal with natural disaster, especially the improve-

ment of the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator.

99. We have long lived in a world where the consequences of our failures were manageable—a world where local conflicts were contained, nuclear weapons threatened primarily those nations which possessed them, and the cycle of economic growth and decline seemed principally a national concern. But that is no longer the case. It is no longer possible to imagine that conflicts, weapons and recession will not spread.

100. We must now decide. The problems we face will be with us the greater part of the century. But will they be with us as challenges to be overcome or as adversaries that have vanquished us?

101. It is easy to agree to yet another set of principles or to actions other nations should take. But the needs of the poor will not be met by slogans; the needs of an expanding global economy will not be met by new restrictions; the search for peace cannot be conducted on the basis of confrontation. So each nation must ask what it can do, what contribution it is finally prepared to make to the common good.

102. Beyond peace, beyond prosperity, lie man's deepest aspirations to a life of dignity and justice. And beyond our pride, beyond our concern for the national purpose we are called upon to serve, there must be a concern for the betterment of the human condition. While we cannot, in the brief span allowed to each of us, undo the accumulated problems of centuries, we dare not do less than try. So let us now get on with our tasks.

103. Let us act in the spirit of Thucydides that "the bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding go out to meet it".

104. Mr. SAUVAGNARGUES (France) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, my first words will be to offer you my personal congratulations and those of my country on your election to the distinguished office of President of the General Assembly and to tell you of the hopes this gives us for the success and the efficacy of our work.

105. A few months ago, in this very Hall, you participated actively in the special session on raw materials and development. Your election to the presidency of this twenty-ninth session rightly confirms the importance of the role you have played, and since virtually all international relations now fall within the realm of our debates, it provides you with an arena commensurate with your abilities and experience as a statesman. In honouring you, the community of nations is also honouring your country, Algeria. Everyone can understand why France has special reasons to welcome this.

106. I should also like to pay a special tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Benites, who had the rare privilege during the past 12 months of presiding over two sessions of the Assembly, during which he displayed outstanding qualities as a statesman and jurist and was thus able to crown most prestigiously a career that had been so closely linked to the work of our Organization for so many years.

107. Lastly, I should like to greet Mr. Kurt Waldheim, with whom I have enjoyed a long-standing friendship. I should like to tell him of the trust and high esteem in which he is held by the French Government for his tireless efforts and for the competence and effectiveness he has shown in carrying out his extremely important and difficult tasks.

108. This is the first time that I have had the honour of speaking on behalf of France before this Assembly, a privileged forum in which to recognize that there is a basic truth which characterizes the modern world and will dominate our common destiny with increasing severity, regardless of the degree of development or the political philosophies of the societies to which we belong.

109. In this "little corner of the universe"—to quote Pascal—on this earth which the human eye has been able to contemplate in its entirety for the first time in its history—a blue ball, an oasis of life in the blackness of space, a planet which scientific and technological progress has shrunk and at the same time unified by subjecting it to accelerated and profound change—men, peoples and States are dependent on each other and are becoming increasingly interdependent. The death knell will sound for everyone if we fail to appreciate this interdependence, if selfishness, fanaticism, the lust for power and domination threaten the possibilities for a sincere effort to seek together gradual and well-balanced solutions to the difficulties of our times, difficulties which our very progress only serves to accentuate.

110. The fine name of the United Nations thus takes on renewed significance. The enemy that we must confront together is underdevelopment; it is the tragedy of poverty and hunger which the past year, alas, has shown to be distressingly present; it is the turmoil that inflation is causing in international economic relations; it is disorder, inequality and injustice in all their forms; it is the remnants of racial discrimination; it is everything that still exists to hinder the full recognition of and respect for the rights of the individual and the rights of peoples.

111. Need I stress before this Assembly of nearly 140 nations—and I doubt that anyone can remain indifferent to a reminder of the great universalist traditions of my country and the message it brought to the world almost two centuries ago—that France, with the legacy of the French Revolution, is determined to strengthen the liberal nature of its diplomacy, to be in the vanguard of the peaceful struggle to give the world greater liberty, greater equality and greater fraternity?

112. I should like to recall here the words spoken by the President of the French Republic last June when the Paris diplomatic corps was presented to him:

"This change signifies, lastly, that France, reaffirming and emphasizing her liberal mission, will do everything in her power to contribute to the dawning of a new era in international relations based on mutual esteem and respect and on a spirit of understanding and liberty, and, under pressure from the peoples of the world, to ensure that the bastions of constraint and intolerance are toppled. She thus hopes to introduce into

relations among States a greater measure of simplicity, trust and, may I venture to say, optimism."

113. The essence of the "liberal" philosophy which France advocates and which must, in our opinion, be applied by everyone to international relations is this: that order and justice are in no way contradictory but, rather, are complementary; that only progress towards political and economic order, coupled with consideration for the interests of each State, is likely to guarantee our international society the minimum of stability without which there can be no lasting progress for anyone.

114. This joint effort and the transformation it entails must, of course, be made without losing sight of the ultimate goal of our Organization. The intention to ensure peace and security by gradually eliminating the causes of conflict, whether political or economic in nature, must be matched by the constant concern to eliminate any desire for, or any possibility of, not only conflict but even confrontation.

115. The two basic principles which my country long ago initiated and advocated—namely, *détente* and co-operation—must therefore be implemented more and more at the international level.

116. In the midst of the alarming turmoil of today's world, it is sometimes difficult to perceive practical ways of implementing these principles. However, a closer look reveals a few breaches in the wall, a few rays of light of unmistakable brightness. We are living in a world of light and shadow. Perhaps it might be useful for me to state how France and the French Government currently view the causes for concern and the reasons for hope.

117. You will not be surprised if first, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, I turn my eyes to Europe. As current President of the Council of the European Economic Community, I can testify to the aspiration of our peoples gradually to organize themselves so that from their age-old civilization there can emerge little by little a new political organization based on pluralism but capable also of unifying what must be unified.

118. This organization of Europe involves, first and foremost, for my country and for its partners in the Community, the creation in the western part of our continent of a coherent entity that will be capable of confronting the problems of our time; one that will be able to make a genuine contribution to *détente* and co-operation which are so necessary for our world if it is to survive; and, I might say, one that will serve as a model. The task begun nearly 25 years ago, right after a war which we decided would be the last, is not a simple one. But the leaders of our countries are determined not to miss the rendezvous with destiny which history has scheduled for our generation.

119. That is why you will hear the voice of the European Economic Community becoming more and more distinct. It will speak the language of peace, justice and reconciliation. For, although this Community must of necessity actively pursue its own development, it cannot and it never would wish to turn in upon itself. By virtue of its mission and by necessity as well, the Community is open to the

world, alive to the hopes and needs of the underprivileged, aware of its responsibilities in international balance and progress. That is why it intends, through concrete and innovative action, to make its contribution to the necessary effort to restore order to economic, financial and, hence, political relations among the countries of the globe.

120. The Community is faithful to its traditional friendships, first among which is its friendship with the United States of America and Canada, a friendship which is even stronger now that it is yet better balanced and which is constant and indispensable to peace. And yet it does not forget the role that geography and history have allocated to it in the Mediterranean and in Africa, nor the close ties it has maintained with the Soviet Union and all the countries of Eastern Europe, whose contribution to our civilization is so important and with which we hope to foster genuine *détente* in the Old World. In this spirit we are taking part, as you know, in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, well aware of the scope of the undertaking and thus of the need to work towards the desired goal with great patience and wisdom.

121. Another source of comfort and confidence in the future stems from a new and important step our Organization has taken towards its goal of universal representation, which we are now close to achieving. We are happy to welcome in our midst during this twenty-ninth session the representatives of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau.

122. After the trials that marked its birth, Bangladesh, despite serious economic difficulties, courageously is embarking on the path that should lead to reconciliation and co-operation on the subcontinent. May the efforts made by the States concerned achieve the results that we all are hoping for.

123. There are two reasons why we can be pleased with the decolonization that is under way in the Portuguese Territories of Africa: first of all, because it has come about in connexion with a return to democracy in a country that is a friend of France, and secondly, because it is being done for the benefit of a whole group of courageous peoples that have long had many reasons to ask themselves why they were deprived of the independence which their neighbours enjoyed.

124. I should like to hail the delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and convey to it our best wishes and congratulations. I should also like to pay a tribute to its members and to the representatives of the new Portuguese Government, a tribute that the political wisdom evidenced during the recent fruitful negotiations in Algiers rightly deserves. The European Economic Community, deeply committed to the values of the democracy on which it is founded, can only welcome any agreements which result in the practical application of the principles of self-determination on the continent of Africa. It feels that recognition of these principles will soon be extended to Mozambique and then to Angola. It welcomes in particular the agreement that was just concluded at Lusaka.

125. Allow me to add at this point that France, which was one of the first Powers to foster self-

determination for many countries that are now influential Members of our Organization, is currently completing its own endeavours in this domain by preparing, with the agreement of the freely elected leaders of the Comoros, the accession to independence of these islands. The French delegation will in a few weeks be pleased to give further information which will emerge from the bill providing for an early referendum in the Comoro Archipelago.

126. Other aspects of the world situation are, however, more disturbing.

127. The situation in Africa is still troubled by tensions and the injustices which persist in the southern part. I would like to record once again here France's complete disapproval of the policy of *apartheid*. Furthermore, France regrets that the efforts made by our Organization to begin a dialogue with the Government in Pretoria with a view to leading Namibia to self-determination and independence have remained fruitless.

128. The situation in the Middle East is still marked by dangerous uncertainty. Following upon the tragic events which have taken place since our last session, disengagement agreements have been concluded thanks to the wisdom of the parties to the conflict and to the tireless diplomacy of the Secretary of State of the United States. These agreements and the stabilized situation on the battlefield, thanks to the control of the United Nations, are the first encouraging steps. However, we must not permit the momentum of peace to grind to a halt. The basic problems have not been settled. The situation is still precarious and it is therefore imperative that the negotiations should be resumed so that an equitable settlement can be reached as soon as possible, one that can be endorsed by the international community, that is to say, the Security Council.

129. France for its part is still in favour of a settlement based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967), confirmed by its resolution 338 (1973), which provide for Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories, as well as for commitments to peace giving each State the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

130. France believes it is high time for the international community to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, which this settlement should take into account. It is ready to contribute to the quest for a settlement based exclusively on the genuine interests of the peoples of the region and acceptable to the parties concerned—each and every one of them—among which my country is far from forgetting Israel.

131. Although the crisis which broke out in Cyprus on 15 July and which was singularly exacerbated on 14 August had the highly positive effect of promoting a return to democracy in Greece—and I would like in passing to pay a tribute to the courageous efforts of Mr. Caramanlis—it is yet one more example of the serious difficulties we face this year.

132. In the first place, the crisis concerns the United Nations which, after trying to promote a settlement to the conflict by sending an international force to Cyprus in 1964 and more recently by sponsoring enlarged talks between the communities, must now

do everything in its power to prevent the crisis from deteriorating and to facilitate a speedy settlement.

133. It is for the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities in this matter, which it did as the tragic events unfolded by adopting resolutions that my country helped to draft, as was its duty. We remain convinced that respect for these resolutions by the parties concerned is still the indispensable basis for an equitable settlement.

134. Troubled by this dispute and anxious to restore harmony in Cyprus and between two countries linked to the European Economic Community by the same tie, the nine members of the Community have felt it to be their duty, during the course of several meetings, to add their efforts to those of the Security Council.

135. The most serious problem in Cyprus today is, without question, that of the refugees. We feel that permitting these people to return to their homes freely is consistent with both justice and public international law. We therefore believe that we should make an urgent appeal on this point in the hope of preventing the inception of another tragic refugee problem such as those which, unfortunately, we have already had, which are poisoning the international atmosphere. The problem in Cyprus can be resolved only by negotiation, without recourse to force. In this respect, we consider the talks now under way between the leaders of the island's two communities to be encouraging. I hope that these talks will pave the way, if the necessary gestures are forthcoming, for the negotiations that we should like to see started among Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, countries to which we are bound by long-standing ties of friendship.

136. There is another region where war continues to wreak havoc in various but no less cruel ways, and that is South-East Asia. We welcomed the Paris agreements on Viet-Nam and the hope that they engendered. Can it be said today that those agreements are really being respected? I am fully aware of the difficulties encountered by each of the parties; but how can one fail to hope that they will have the strength to overcome the legacy of the past and ultimately to achieve peace with understanding and reconciliation?

137. Faced with these highly contrasting pictures, we can probably say that at least the danger of world confrontations involving the fate of all mankind seems to be less threatening than it was a few years ago.

138. *Détente* is still fragile. The protective net that it could cast still hangs too slack. *Détente* obviously remains—and will long remain—linked to a sustained defence effort.

139. France, for its part has, over the past 15 years, halved the proportion of its gross national product destined for military expenditure. But France has not neglected the need to ensure its security and independence by the means that others have already adopted. As a country that was the battlefield of two world wars, France is profoundly aware of the duty incumbent upon it to be capable of defending its independence. Having noted the refusal, and perhaps even the inability, of the greatest Powers

to renounce their nuclear weapons, France has resolved, to its regret, to acquire them itself.

140. We too have had to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere, which, in terms of number and size, can in no way be compared with the tests previously carried out by others in the same field. We went ahead with our tests only when we were sure that they would cause no harm; and this was verified by our own controls and by those of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. We have now reached a stage in our nuclear technology that makes it possible for us to continue our programme by underground testing, and we have taken steps to do so as early as next year.

141. If, given the present state of the world, no country can renounce the means of ensuring its defence, it is obviously in the general interest gradually to lighten the burden necessarily imposed by the arms race on our economies and, by the same token, on the opportunities for development. Therefore the French Government wishes solemnly to reaffirm that it is prepared to participate immediately in any undertaking designed to lead to genuine disarmament, that is to say, to the effective, gradual and controlled destruction of all existing arsenals. It was in this spirit that France gave its support to the idea of convening a world conference which, if it were to include the five nuclear Powers, might create the conditions under which real progress could be made and might strengthen the foundations for the lasting peace that is the highest aspiration of all peoples.

142. After this brief review of the world picture as it is today, I should like now to come to what is doubtless the basic issue. I refer to the present state of international economic relations and the outlook for those relations. This vital problem does not appear on our agenda, but it should be, quite clearly, the focal point of our concerns, all the more so since the situation which prompted the convening of a special session of the General Assembly this spring has deteriorated markedly in the last four months.

143. Insecurity is spreading far and wide. The most striking example of this is inflation, which is becoming rampant and to varying degrees affects every country with its attendant woes. All the elements of a world crisis are already present.

144. The developing countries, those which are not producers of oil or of important raw materials, are obviously those most affected by the rising prices of the products necessary to economic activity. But the majority of the industrialized countries have also been seriously affected, at least for the time being. There are only two or three major countries among us that are sure of having the resources indispensable to the survival of their economies and their populations, come what may, because those resources exist in their own territories. But although such States, unlike the others, do not have to fear strangulation, none—I repeat, none—of the Members of our Organization can remain blind to the serious threats to the mechanisms of the world economy, to the flow of production and trade, and therefore, ultimately, to world peace.

145. The events we are witnessing are, of course, not lacking in positive features. The general redistribution of trump cards held by the highly industrialized nations and the developing nations—begun by still-disorganized courses of action—will be described in history books as a decisive turning-point of the era in which we live. This will be true if this redistribution proves itself eventually to be a transition to a new world order, better balanced and more just, and the prelude to an original and fruitful common effort.

146. Such a redistribution was both necessary and inevitable. My country, which in the past has constantly warned against the dangers inherent in the progressive deterioration of the terms of trade and in the growing gap between the industrial societies and the less-favoured countries, is the first to recognize that it would have been unhealthy and, ultimately, detrimental to everyone to cling to a system of inadequate remuneration for basic commodities. The prolongation of this system was doubtless one of the causes of the recent price rises.

147. This puts me in an even better position to say frankly to this Assembly that none of us can allow himself to ignore the urgency and gravity of the problem which the somewhat random nature of those increases presents not only to my country but, I believe, to all of us. Our world community can withstand the severe disruption of equilibrium that has just occurred only if we make a combined effort, on the one hand, to halt the trends towards a breakdown that are beginning to emerge, and, on the other, to achieve a new world order based on mutual consultation and co-operation.

148. In the spirit of the Charter, which for 30 years has encouraged us to co-operate in order to ensure economic and social progress for our peoples, appreciable efforts have already been made along such lines. The texts adopted on 1 May by the General Assembly during the sixth special session [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] are in keeping with this tradition of the Organization. Their significance and importance, I feel, lie not so much in the Programme of Action that was outlined as in the clear and precise affirmation of the interdependence of all the elements of the world economy.

149. That the growth of the world economy is currently being compromised—and with it the opportunities for development—is so obvious as to make it superfluous to stress the need to open up new vistas in co-operation among our States. Together we must define the main lines along which the world economy must operate. In this connexion, the right of the third world countries not only to receive a fairer share of the fruits of economic and world progress but also to influence the choices on which this activity depends cannot be contested. I would add to this the hope that international aid, which is still indispensable, will gradually give way to structural reforms in which the less favoured countries should have a voice.

150. Although the very great majority of the States that we represent have no intention of withdrawing into themselves, they reject the mechanisms of *laissez-faire*, which are erratic and merciless to the weak, and my country, which has championed inter-

national co-operation for many long years now, cannot but give them our complete approval on this point. The march towards a better order is, however, incompatible with disregard for economic realities and laws, the solidarity which unites consumer and producer, and, especially, the basic consideration that no one, no matter how powerful he may be, can be sure of gaining lasting advantages by means of unilateral decisions.

151. Within a country, when one group in society tries to increase its share of the national income and when, on the other hand, other groups try to prevent their share from being reduced, inflation becomes rampant and restores, after a fashion, an often unjust and precarious balance between the claims of each group. Today this is also what is happening in the world's economy. The free rein given to market trends, the exploitation of strong positions, and the setting up of a sliding-scale mechanism or of automatic indexing can lead only to a speeding-up of the inflationary spiral. Among nations, as within each nation, nothing can take the place of dialogue and negotiation among all the parties concerned. The natural framework for this dialogue is, of course, the United Nations, and one can only regret that six months after the sixth special session no serious discussion on setting the world's economy in order has been initiated.

152. The United Nations, and not only its specialized bodies, has a general competence in this matter and is particularly qualified—since it both anticipates and reflects the world community of the future—to arrive at a truly “integrated” concept of our planet's economy. But this is a tremendous task and the adjustments to be made are numerous and difficult. The “global” approach within the United Nations must be supplemented by efforts at co-operation and consultation on a regional scale which should, of course, take place within an international framework.

153. It is in this spirit that the member countries of the European Economic Community have, as representatives know, just embarked on what we both call the European-Arab dialogue with the 20 countries of the League of Arab States. Of course the undertaking is still in its early stages and it would be premature to specify its goals, but I think it is quite natural for me to mention it today in this forum, especially since you, Mr. President, have played and are continuing to play an important and even decisive role in the conception and application of this undertaking.

154. The new type of co-operation that we are trying to establish between the two groups of countries does set an example and is promising. It is a question of working together, with all the participants on an equal footing, towards social and economic progress, towards *entente* and *rapprochement* between the member countries of the European Economic Community and the member countries of the League of Arab States. It is also understood that the undertaking must not interfere with the interests of any country. On the contrary it must, when the time comes, extend its benefits beyond the European-Arab group, especially to the regions close to Africa and the Mediterranean.

155. My hope is that it will be possible to present some results of this undertaking at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly. However, it might be useful, if our partners in the League of Arab States would agree, to inform the United Nations before that time of what developments may have emerged.

156. It is in the same spirit of co-operation that the European Economic Community participated in the ministerial conference which took place at Kingston, during which a fruitful dialogue emerged between the countries of the Community and the Caribbean, African and Pacific States on the major political trends of their future association. The conference also set an example. Innovative formulas were introduced which, I have no doubt, will help to create a new style in relations between industrialized and developing nations, and even in the drafting of a new strategy for development.

157. The European Economic Community and the United Nations are quite clearly called upon to co-operate more and more often. This is why my delegation, speaking on behalf of the Community [A/9701], has asked for an item to be included on the agenda for this session relating to the granting to the Community of observer status within the Organization.

158. Another example of this co-operation is quite obviously the Community's offer to participate, together with other States, in the urgent measures advocated by the General Assembly at its sixth special session.

159. Let me say a word about the Organization to conclude my statement. The Charter assigns it the mission of maintaining peace and contributing to the emergence of a world that is more stable and more equitable. Let us not be complacent; the distance we must still travel before this ideal becomes a reality is great. But let us learn to apply to ourselves the severe judgements we sometimes bring to bear on the shortcomings and plodding of the United Nations. The Charter in itself possesses no magic formula, and no change could give it one. The work of the Organization depends primarily on the determination of the Governments represented here.

160. One cannot reproach the United Nations for having failed to discern the great issues at stake in today's world or for failing with respect to the great questions of the day because of a lack of imagination or indifference. The problems of development, hunger, the sea and population have been dealt with in four world conferences held under the auspices of the United Nations this year. Let us note, however, that the conclusions drawn from these major international meetings sometimes leave us dissatisfied. This is not only because it is difficult to reconcile so many interests and differing viewpoints, even when goodwill is present. It is, perhaps, also because our methods and our procedures could be improved by concentrating on the most important issues and on the search for effective action.

161. While these international meetings have the advantage of exposing all points of view, the size and number of the meetings pose problems of organization, method and procedure that are quite different from those the smaller, earlier conferences had

to solve. There is a great temptation to use certain stratagems in order to finish more quickly, and it is noticeable that States are in no hurry to put into practice recommendations that have not evolved through the conventional process. Let us then try to act in concert genuinely, in the sole interest of the common good. We can do so within the context of the present Charter, whose potential could be more fully realized.

162. We are living in an age of transition. All around us we find hope, efforts being expended, and the first stages of *entente* and union, but at the same time we see opposition, and conflict. Which trend will finally prevail? The one that will inevitably lead to our organizing ourselves and unifying ourselves or the one that will lead, albeit temporarily I hope, to hostility, violence and division? Which will prevail?

163. The future of this world—never before so conscious of its potential unity, never before so torn by real divisions—is still uncertain. The task of our Organization is to guide it in the right direction, but that is also and primarily the task of each of the States represented here. The choice is either organization and reason, or passion, violence, rivalry and confrontation, and eventually, chaos and misfortune for us all. The simple statement of this choice is sufficient to explain our determination and our faith in the emergence of universal reconciliation.

164. Mr. de la FLOR VALLE (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I begin my address, I wish to express to our sister Republic of Honduras the great grief and solidarity of the Government and people of Peru in connexion with the enormous natural catastrophe which has afflicted that country in the last few days. We trust that the United Nations will take immediate action to contribute to the recovery of the brave Honduran people from this disaster.

165. Mr. President, on behalf of the Revolutionary Government of Peru and the Peruvian people, I wish to express to you my sincere congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The high responsibilities entrusted to you are merely an undeniable recognition of your qualities as a statesman and of your dedication to the cause of non-alignment and the third world and your efforts in support of that cause.

166. I should also like to express a cordial greeting to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, from our sister Republic of Ecuador, for his outstanding and very effective role as President of the General Assembly at its last two sessions—the regular session and the special session.

167. Similarly, I should like to express to the Secretary-General the appreciation of my Government for the devotion and spirit of sacrifice with which he has contributed to the solution of the difficult problems which affect the peace and security of the world.

168. It is with particular satisfaction that my Government welcomes Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada, new States Members of the Organization, whose participation will greatly contribute to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the

Charter and a concrete expression of the universality of the Organization.

169. Allow me to consider first the framework of the international situation. *Détente* between the great Powers has continued; new dialogues and new agreements during the year so far are proof of this. The danger of a nuclear war is no longer with us and the years of the cold war seem to be a thing of the past. However, *détente* at the summit has neither eliminated nor diminished conflicts at the periphery. On the contrary, the countries of the third world face even more violence these days. Suffice it to mention the continuing wars of liberation in Viet Nam and Cambodia; the persistence of a tense situation in the Middle East and the emergence of a new such situation in Cyprus; the policy, which is a remnant from the past, that has been maintained against Cuba through a partial blockade which has clearly proved to be an anachronism and a failure; and the fact that the Indian Ocean, far from being a zone of peace, grows day by day as an area of rivalry.

170. Thus, the international situation rests upon a fragile and precarious state of peace and security. That is so because the hegemonic designs of the great Powers continue to be their everyday practice. There is an obvious contradiction between the *détente* being sought at the level of the great Powers and the fact that the developing nations are being thrust, socially and economically, into an increasingly marginal situation, and such a contradiction leads to ever more pronounced radical trends in the revolutionary potential of these nations.

171. We are living at a moment of critical stock-taking in which the world *status quo* is being increasingly questioned. We are witnessing a qualitative break in the course of history resulting from a social upheaval which has its origins in the sharp increase of poverty caused by relations of domination and dependence.

172. The present international situation is very fluid and very revolutionary. It becomes apparent in the multidimensional struggle of the countries of the third world to create a new international economic order which takes concrete form in the defence and recovery of natural resources; in the affirmation of the right to explore and exploit the riches of the seas adjacent to their coasts; in the effort to regulate and control the excessive power of the great multinational corporations; in the general struggle for liberation from imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism; and in the endeavour to achieve authentic revolutionary models without foreign interference, bolstering national culture and identity.

173. It is in that vein that the President of Peru, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, said:

“We are also aware of the radically new meaning of the present moment in the history of mankind; this is more than a mere rhetorical expression. It is a proven description of reality, for we must all understand that the old system of domination and dependence must be abandoned and the categories which served in the past to express the political reality of the world must now be redefined. The concepts of peace, security, and inter-

national co-operation, among others, must be profoundly revised. And, in the deepest sense of the expression, the moral order which was the foundation for international relations in the past must also be substantially altered."

174. Cyprus and the Middle East are contiguous areas of grave international tension, which require preferential consideration in this forum. Cyprus is occupied and divided, and it is the task of the United Nations to bring about the restoration of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Direct dialogue under the auspices of the Organization might constitute a procedure that would allow a peaceful solution capable of reconciling the interests of the two communities inhabiting the island and lead to the withdrawal of the foreign forces that are there today. In that same spirit, the non-aligned movement, which the Government of Cyprus helped to found, must play a substantial role in achieving those objectives.

175. The Middle East continues to be a zone of conflict, although the conflict has now acquired a new form. The use of oil as an instrument of negotiation has become an effective means of securing compliance with the resolutions of the Security Council, which have been so often reiterated by the non-aligned countries. The cease-fire and disengagement of forces, though only provisional measures, must constitute a necessary basis for the achievement, through the negotiations at Geneva, of a just, lasting and definitive peace, based on the principles of respect for the existence, integrity and sovereignty of all States in the region, the non-acquisition of territories by force and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

176. The Revolutionary Government of Peru, with a firm pacifist conviction, has contributed to achieving the relaxation of tension in the area by sponsoring resolutions of the Security Council and by sending a battalion as part of the United Nations Force, which initially carried out a mission in the Sinai and at present has as its sphere of operations the Golan Heights, as part of the disengagement observation force in that critical area.

177. Without any doubt Africa is the area where a considerable change for the better has taken place with regard to the fulfilment of the purposes of this Organization. The tenacious struggle of liberation movements, with the political support of the non-aligned countries, has resulted in a positive change in the colonial situation. The new Government of Portugal and its progressively oriented armed forces have participated decisively in the change, thus permitting the confirmation of the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the taking of steps towards the emancipation of Mozambique and Angola. The heroic feat of Amílcar Cabral, who set in motion the liberation of his people, has achieved a happy and a just result. His spiritual presence remains with the young nations that have joined and strengthened the ranks of the third world in the movement towards justice and for the continued struggle against all forms of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

178. Peru, as one of the first countries to recognize Guinea-Bissau, welcomes that valiant nation

on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations and offers its fraternal co-operation.

179. We also view with pleasure the formation of the Provisional Government of Mozambique and trust that that country will achieve its full independence as soon as possible.

180. In Latin America a unified conscience is clearly emerging which will not allow exclusions and which is founded on ideological pluralism, non-intervention and the sovereignty and equality of all States. Historical experience underlines the fact that the achievement of unity within our plurality is essential in order to define and defend our true interest, deepen our interrelationship and reach our common destiny within the over-all global context.

181. December of this year will mark the 150th anniversary of the epic feat of liberation which occurred at Ayacucho, where armies from South American countries, as brethren under the leadership of the liberator Simón Bolívar, put an end to colonial domination, thus consolidating the emancipation of America. The Government of Peru wishes to celebrate that historic anniversary with the presence of the presidents of those countries which were represented on the battlefield at Ayacucho, where the first kind of independence, political independence, was achieved. At that summit meeting we must lay the foundations for the reaffirmation of the imperative need to preserve our unity and solidarity in order to achieve, once and for all, true economic independence for our peoples, which is the second kind of independence.

182. The Revolutionary Government of Peru, which participates actively in the search for formulas to help in bringing about peaceful coexistence and co-operation for the development of the region, firmly rejects and condemns intervention in the internal affairs of other States, whether it be political or economic, military or paramilitary, overt or covert intervention. Peru reaffirms that respect for the principle of non-intervention, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and with the charter of the Organization of American States, must be one of the basic foundations for bilateral, inter-American and global relations.

183. Latin America shares an identity of structural situation with the countries of the third world and therefore its struggle for liberation acquires a universal scope. My country has made a contribution to a review of existing international relations by offering Lima as the site of the forthcoming ministerial meeting of non-aligned nations to be held in 1975, so that that review may take place. The meeting will serve to co-ordinate the efforts of countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America to achieve a new international order which will ensure the effective democratization of international relations. In that way the Peruvian revolution, which is ideologically autonomous, humanist and essentially Latin American, and imbued with a third-world policy, will contribute once more to the constant improvement of the international situation in America and in the world.

184. The United Nations is still the most visible international stage, as it were, where it is possible

to observe with the greatest clarity a world situation characterized mainly by the persistent struggle of the third world for liberation. That struggle is taking place not only in the military and political fields but also in the economic and technological fields, wherein lie the main factors for obtaining full and total independence. In that sense it is no mere coincidence that the three major conferences of the United Nations held this year have addressed themselves to the defence of human potential and natural resources both from the land and from the sea. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, on raw materials and development, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and the World Population Conference dealt essentially with one and the same problem—the inexorable need to modify the anachronistic and unjust system of domination and dependence.

185. The sixth special session showed, in the light of the energy crisis, that the wealth and growth of opulent industrialized consumer societies depend on the extraction of natural resources from developing countries. This in turn shows clearly that the relationship between the industrialized countries and those of the third world has entered upon an era of interdependence, which must take the form of an effective equality in the political relations of States, based on a new technological and financial co-operation, geared towards the full development of the developing nations and respect for their sovereignty.

186. The sixth special session also showed that the international economic order which has been in existence since the first capitalist industrial revolution is fragile, does not make economic sense and threatens to worsen the world economic crisis. That experience demonstrates the need to change the present unjust international economic structure. For this purpose we feel that one of the tools of change is the establishment of associations of developing countries which are producers and exporters of raw materials, in order to create the negotiations power necessary to defend their prices, setting aside sterile confrontations, and also to correct the imbalance of economic power which is so unjustly weighted against us.

187. The existence of multinational corporations which exercise enormous economic and political power is a contemporary phenomenon which has a world-wide dimension and has of late become a serious means for imperialist penetration, responsible to a large degree for the economic crisis and the pollution of the environment which is detrimental to human life itself. I therefore believe that one of the greatest challenges facing us is that of limiting once and for all the uncontrolled freedom of action of those corporations in order to safeguard the sovereignty of States and the heritage of mankind.

188. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States has not been finalized because of the lack of political will shown by certain industrialized States. This important document must include legal and economic rules which, while ensuring the rights of States to full development, must also include the basic principles of the historic Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic

Order adopted by consensus at the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

189. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Caracas, has also called into question the system of domination and dependence, and rejected the old order. At that Conference the 200-mile limit was virtually accepted as an irreplaceable symbol of the new law of the sea, for the recognition of which Peru, together with other nations of Latin America and Africa, has struggled unflinchingly. Peru has defended for 27 years, in a firm and dignified manner, the position of sovereignty and jurisdiction over the sea, its subsoil and soil up to 200 miles as a substantive element in the new legal order and the recognition of a cause that is indissolubly linked to the security, welfare and development of peoples.

190. Another event of singular importance is the consolidation of the principle of universal social ownership of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, the administration of which should be carried out by an international authority to be established with the equitable participation of all States. In accordance with the consensus of the Group of 77 developing countries, the exploitation of the resources at the bottom of the sea should not be carried out for the purpose of mere profit. Rather, it should be truly placed at the service of the peoples of the whole world as the common heritage of mankind.

191. At Caracas, thanks to the cohesion of the third world, the formulation was begun of a new law of the sea, which, in its humanist inspiration, must become an instrument of justice, co-operation and peace, and no longer a tool for hegemony at the service of the great Powers.

192. Contradictory positions were put forward at the World Population Conference, held at Bucharest last month. The theses which link under-development solely to the population explosion and its solution to birth control were rejected by numerous developing countries, because population growth beyond resource supplies reveals a social and economic imbalance originating in structures of domination and dependence which prevent a proper balance between population and resources. The solution lies not in birth control but rather in a structural change which would allow for true economic development. Today the problem of the population explosion may be seen as a consequence of a poor distribution of wealth, which, in turn, gives rise to unequal levels of consumption.

193. As long as opulent consumer societies, which constitute a minority, absorb 40 per cent of the total natural resources and energy produced in the world, there is no justification whatever for the attempt by those societies to impose population policies and measures on an international scale because, really, all they reflect is their own interests. For these reasons, my country, together with other States of the world, has stated the need for each country to set its population policies independently, and has supported the World Plan of Action on Population.¹

194. An industrial development which will permit a just distribution of wealth, while ensuring at the same time the protection of the marine environment, is a great challenge to today's civilization. Peru has endeavoured to contribute to meet this challenge by offering Lima as a site for the Second General Conference of UNIDO. That Conference will have to consider, with imagination and audacity, the type of industrialization most advisable for the different developing countries. Hence the need for all Members of the Organization to lend their full support and co-operation for the success of the conference.

195. The United Nations must reflect institutionally the new international situation, as has been stated by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/1960/1/Add.1]. We need a more dynamic, critical and creative Organization, that is to say, an instrument for change, uninfluenced by the trappings of bureaucracy. This creates the need for a more effective participation of the Secretariat in order to give more force and effectiveness to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

196. The rule of unanimity in the Security Council, also known as the right of veto, was based on an international order in which the risk of conflict arose principally between the great industrialized Powers. This was the result of the experience of the Second World War. Today, new forces have emerged on the international scene, requiring a review of this institutionalized way of wielding power. The countries of the third world, to which international conflict has shifted, are those which have to withstand the critical situations, and in most cases, they suffer the consequences of an arbitrary veto and have no option in that situation.

197. It is therefore an imperative necessity to reach a formula that will limit this excessive prerogative, which simply reflects a past realism and violates the principle of the sovereign equality of States. Accordingly, we feel it is advisable to consider a possible solution. A veto by a great Power could be superseded or neutralized when a large majority of the General Assembly came out against it. Thus the hegemonic interference of a great Power in a conflict affecting small or medium-sized Powers would be neutralized and the prevalence of a single will over that of the international community would be avoided.

198. As we have stated, international peace and security, which are elements of the same reality, demand institutional change in view of the new world structure of power. It has been clearly demonstrated that for the third world the absence of major conflicts between the great Powers is not the same thing as peace. Hence the need to widen the concept of security by injecting into it an economic content.

199. For a developing country the use of economic pressure can have effects which are as deleterious as armed aggression. Therefore, since it threatens international security it constitutes aggression in itself. Security Council resolution 330 (1973) created precedents in this new context in calling for an end to economic measures of coercion by States or multinational corporations. As a corollary to this we feel

it is necessary to stimulate efforts towards the establishment of a system of collective economic security to preserve the sovereign right of States to self-sustained development.

200. The strengthening of the United Nations as an organization capable of creating a framework of political confidence among States is closely related to the problem of general and complete disarmament. At present, the fragility of peace in all regions of the world is the result of the development of the destructive power of sophisticated weapons, which threaten the very existence of the peoples of the world. Fear and uncertainty have generated an alarming arms race both among the great Powers and among the developing countries. According to United Nations studies on the subject, about \$270,000 million are spent on weapons annually—that is to say, 20 times more than is spent on development co-operation. This is a sum greater than the combined gross national product of Africa and Asia and far greater than that of all of Latin America. Hence it is necessary to establish the requisite control machinery and to formulate a disarmament policy directly related to a new philosophy for development co-operation.

201. Peru, which has recently been invited to participate as a member of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, is extremely interested in contributing to an acceleration of the work of that Committee. Our deep pacifist convictions have been properly expressed in the initiative of the head of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, who has proposed that in Latin America the acquisition of armaments be limited for a period of 10 years in order not to divert resources needed for development. The proposal has earned the determined support of many countries of the Andean Pact. We are sure that by these means we shall establish the confidence needed to facilitate integration and development in Latin America.

202. If we want a new world order in which justice will prevail we must help to create it. We can hardly call for international change and participation in it if we do not transform the obsolete structures of our own society. Consequently the Peruvian revolution—humanist, just, libertarian, socialist and Christian—builds its doctrinary base on a permanent awareness of our own reality and formulates an authentic ideological and political concept of a social democracy with the participation of all. In Peru today the profile of a new revolutionary society is clearly emerging. Large sectors of the population, fully conscious of their historic role, are rising and participating in solidarity in the process of the social creation of wealth and in its benefits.

203. An important step in this direction has been the creation of social ownership—a sector which will enjoy priority and preponderance in the economic organization of the country. This form of social and common ownership is different in essence from a system of private or State property and will be exercised through the workers themselves organized in free production associations, which in our concept of revolutionary humanism makes man a profound creator and doer. In this context and as

a necessary step towards the future Peruvian society, the revolution has freed the press from the minority circles of private and family ownership and handed it over to the organized sectors which are truly representative of the Peruvian people.

204. Freedom of the press in Peru will no longer be mistaken for the biased freedom of private publishing companies or the manipulatory concentration of the publishing industry in the hands of the State. Today in our country freedom of expression is a right extended to all the people. These measures are in conformity with Economic and Social Council resolution 756 (XXIX), which states that the information media must be at the service of the people.

205. I cannot fail to stress in concluding that the emergence of the peoples of the third world constitutes a new, dynamic force which is transforming contemporary international relations. Our nations have abandoned the status of petitioners, which flourished in the paternalistic atmosphere of the past, in order to follow the path of autonomous development. Liberation for the third world is development, and there is no development without liberation. The order of the day for them is to make unity a principle and solidarity a strategy so as to transform

our peripheral and marginal status and achieve, in dignity and justice, the position in the international community which is rightfully ours.

206. There will be no peace in the world until we see the end in our countries of conflicts which originate in different forms of imperialism, the remnants of colonialism, distorting cultural penetration, intervention and pressures of all kinds, no matter how subtle. In a word, peace in opulence is not the peace of the third world. This forum, which is so familiar with conflicts, must become familiar with justice. To that end we, the peoples of the third world, demand respect of our right to be masters of our own destiny, to achieve our full development, and especially to eradicate, in this way and forever, uncertainty, social unrest and poverty.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTE

¹ *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, 1974* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3), chap. I.