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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
 (Luxembourg).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Driss (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

*Address by General Hugo Banzer Suárez,
 President of the Republic of Bolivia*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour of welcoming to the United Nations His Excellency General Hugo Banzer Suárez, President of the Republic of Bolivia, and of inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. BANZER SUÁREZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I come here to this high rostrum as a head of State to speak on behalf of a nation which, serenely and surely, is travelling the path of history. I do so in order to bring the concerns of the Government and people of Bolivia about some of the most pressing problems that mankind faces in a world as yet beset by crises, conflict, fear and poverty.

3. I should like to begin by most cordially greeting the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn, who is so ably presiding over the thirtieth regular session of the General Assembly. I should also like to greet the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who, brilliant statesman that he is, presided over two sessions.

4. I should also like to greet the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose tireless work is all the more admirable and useful for purposes of this Organization, because he is imbued with deep humanism and with a serenity with which he has tackled the gravest difficulties. Mr. Waldheim has made a positive contribution to the United Nations. Soon after taking office, he proposed that the question of international terrorism in its broadest context should be considered. It is regrettable that this urgent item has not as yet been taken up.

5. I should also like to join in the welcome extended to the new States of Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde. The peaceful political transition of these three States is a clear example of

the maturity of their peoples, as well as of the sincere decision of the administering Power to decolonize. I am certain that the presence of these newest States will strengthen our Organization and will provide a new and powerful impetus to the peoples of Africa.

6. I should like to welcome Papua New Guinea, whose independence has already been achieved. I should also like to greet in advance Suriname, soon to be independent, a Caribbean territory which is therefore an integral part of Latin America.

7. One of the crucial subjects of our time is peace among men. Without international peace and security, it is an illusion to dream of the total development of mankind, of the full satisfaction of its material and spiritual needs, of mankind meeting its common destiny in a more just economic order.

8. It is ever more essential to stop the arms race, to reduce arms traffic and sales abroad, to channel nuclear energy for the benefit of the peace and well-being of men rather than to use them for their total destruction. No international co-operation can attain positive results if we do not ensure an era of permanent and constructive peace.

9. In this context, the Bolivian position is clear. We do not believe in the absolute victory of weapons. We are aware of the power that some nations wield in that area. We know that the nuclear bombs that are being manufactured would alone be enough in the 1980s to destroy life on our planet. Despite this paradoxical advance, we are certain that mankind will stand to gain little or nothing if it is not capable of avoiding the dangers that threaten it now. As developing countries see it, the essential question is how to avoid self-destruction, how to prevent the supreme holocaust, how to protect the service of collective well-being, the marvellous creations of man's genius.

10. To forestall those risks, firearms are not enough. A new spirit is required taking account of man in relation to his eternal destiny and his selfless nature.

11. Every year more than \$3,000 million is being squandered on military expenditure. It would be wonderful if mankind used those resources to combat ignorance, disease and hunger!

12. The food and energy crisis, world inflation, social conflicts, terrorism, pollution, ecological imbalance, the manufacture, traffic and use of drugs, the gap that separates poor peoples from wealthy nations, are, among other things, the most pressing problems faced by contemporary society.

13. It is incumbent upon the United Nations to ensure world coexistence, to find practical ways and means to harmonize relations between exporters of industrialized goods and producers of raw materials.

14. The United Nations can in no way lose sight of the total picture of the nations that are its Members,

that is, of historically specific entities, and consequently of its obligation to urge the wealthy countries to accord just treatment to the less advanced ones.

15. During the colonial period Bolivia, which was then called Alto Peru, produced so much gold and silver, according to the chroniclers of the time, that a bridge could be built from the fabulous Potosi to the Iberian Peninsula.

16. Leaving fantasy aside, it is true that for a long time Alto Peru maintained the splendour of the old world.

17. Despite sacrifices of many centuries and the enormous drain on natural resources, the compensation to which it was legitimately entitled was never forthcoming.

18. Since 1825, the date when we began our independent life, Bolivia has generated, on an annual average at present prices, wealth amounting to \$300 million; it created wealth of more than \$40,000 million. However, its total investments hardly reached \$1,000 million. We are therefore far from having the resources that the country requires to tackle the first stages of its development.

19. Therefore, with respect to this revealing picture, we may well ask: Where is this wealth and to whom did it go? Which foreign economies did it benefit? Why did it have to impoverish some and enrich others?

20. We legitimately believe that we must be compensated for the injustices and exorbitant demands of which we were the victims in the past.

21. It is time to imbue international relations with a new character, to replace dependence by interdependence, paternalism by solidarity, assistance by mutual co-operation.

22. In the area of co-operation for development, cause and effect require careful study. So far, despite the fact that we are at an advanced stage of the Second United Nations Development Decade, we are still involved in uncertainty and scepticism. All this is generated by an acute crisis of confidence in the machinery underlying the system of international economic relations.

23. Bolivia would like to place on record its support for the efforts of the United Nations to solve the painful problems that limit the development of the economically less advanced countries.

24. We support unreservedly the principles, purposes and resolutions that were adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly held in April 1974 as well as at the seventh special session, whose deliberations were concluded recently.

25. The Government and people of Bolivia are identified with the purpose of establishing a new international economic order. In this context, they hope that the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] which enshrine this important goal will be implemented, together with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)].

26. In celebrating the 150th anniversary of the founding of Bolivia, from the House of Freedom in Sucre, the city which transmitted the ideas of eman-

ipation to America. I addressed a message in which I expressed the position of my country concerning many of the problems that are of interest today to the international community.

27. It must be noted that this is not the time for regrets, but the time for action. It is no longer the time for rhetoric. We must create, construct and organize a new and more just world, as everybody demands.

28. Mankind has a common destiny. It cannot be conceived as fragmented, divided by differences, hatred or the irritating inequalities that separate peoples. We are duty-bound to work in unity, in co-operation, in solidarity and to establish a dialogue among ourselves. Otherwise our civilization may plunge into the holocaust of war or jeopardize indefinitely the benefits of peace, freedom, progress and justice.

29. We cannot allow, without concern, wealth to be increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. Neither nations nor men have the right to accumulate a disproportionate amount of wealth. A situation in which some flaunt offensive opulence while others suffer painful poverty is not acceptable.

30. In order to eliminate this international economic and social anachronism we must find a solution to the problem. We must pass from words to deeds. The equality of the peoples must be attained, in global terms, in the social, economic, cultural and political fields.

31. It is difficult to destroy the barriers of underdevelopment and dependence without using the resources of science and technology. I repeat my proposal that we must take action to convert these resources into a common heritage of mankind. The idea has been launched; it is no longer a Bolivian idea. The important thing is to begin, and to create the instruments to implement, sooner or later, this transcendental objective.

32. There is another burning problem which mankind faces today, namely, the presence in many countries of a few transnational enterprises whose methods are neither scrupulous nor honest. They interfere in internal affairs. They make a mockery of sovereignty. They use bribes and slander, they promote corruption and they exploit to the utmost our non-renewable natural resources. In their search for profits they act against the interests of the people and contribute irresponsibly to the deterioration of international relations.

33. It is imperative to fix standards to regulate the activities of transnational enterprises and monopolies, and to establish the sanctions befitting their deceitful practices.

34. States which engage in economic aggression deserve similar condemnation. Bolivia, as a producer country of tin, is a periodic victim of that treacherous activity.

35. It is difficult in this forum to pass over the question of raw materials. The countries which are producers of raw materials will have to act in their own defence by forming an unshakable common front. It is only in this way that we shall be able to form a common front against the manipulation of prices: unstable and

low for raw materials and excessively high for manufactured products.

36. We recognize that the United Nations, through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], attempts to enact a policy of the stabilization of equitable and just prices. Regrettably, resolutions take too much time and the developing countries are tired of waiting. If efforts are not co-ordinated and if definite progress is not made among the producer and consumer countries there will be no other course for the former than to organize, without delay, prompted by the absolute necessity of attaining positive results.

37. A general policy for raw materials could take specific form in the following way: first, an association of producer countries; secondly, stepped-up industrialization; and thirdly, creation of funds to regulate reserves.

38. I should now like to speak about my country, which has been described as varied, wonderful and fertile. On its land everything can be produced, so fertile is the soil, so diverse the climate throughout this very large country. With regard to the wealth in its subsoil, nature has been very generous to my country. Although we have been given much, we hope for much more as a result of capital and work, in order to channel this abundance into the well-being and progress of our people.

39. Bolivia has enacted modern legislation providing for guarantees and incentives, legislation which in a rational way reconciles the interests of foreign investors with the objectives and priorities of our nation.

40. My country is a land of links and contacts. It is at the crossroads of two great oceans: the Atlantic and the Pacific. It is a part of two river basins: the Amazon and the Plate. It has adhered to all the regional mechanisms for integration. It is a member of the sub-regional Andean Pact, the Latin American Free Trade Association, URUPABOL, and the Treaty concerning the Plate River basin.

41. This firm and unconditional attitude taken by Bolivia is an embodiment of the purest ideals of the liberators. For the Government and people of Bolivia the concept of integration does not mean merely establishing a policy of no tariff barriers, of economic co-operation and increase of trade. The enterprise should be more ambitious: seek to establish the political, economic and cultural machinery that will create the great American homeland of which Bolivar dreamed.

42. Until recently my country lived under the unjust system of a dual society: on the one hand, the exploited and illiterate majority, totally alienated from civilization and the most elementary benefits of progress; on the other, a feudal oligarchy, which had all the privileges, wielded political and economic power and was insensitive to the suffering and poverty of the people.

43. The Bolivian revolution was directed against that system of oppression and injustice. We have instituted agrarian reform, the tin mines have been nationalized, we have decreed that we shall have sovereignty over our natural strategic resources, and the rural worker has been enabled to participate in the political life of the country.

44. However, some of these achievements—for example, agrarian reform—were for a long time stratified in the mere distribution of titles to land. Now the Government of the Armed Forces is establishing, within the process of the continuity of the Bolivian revolution, the modern bases for farming and animal husbandry and the agricultural industry.

45. To that must be added our policy of establishing agricultural co-operatives and engaging in rural education, an endeavour without precedent in the life of the Republic.

46. Thus, structural changes of major importance are taking place in Bolivia. The Bolivian revolution continues as a vanguard in Latin America of the processes of liberation.

47. I represent a Government whose legitimacy is demonstrated through the militant support of the majority of the national community. That support, which is reflected in political stability, in social peace, in internal order, in constructive work, makes it possible for the people freely to express themselves and to demonstrate their best talents and aptitudes.

48. Bolivia, as we have already said on various occasions, guarantees that everyone can express himself fully and in any way he desires. With the strength it has gathered from the past and the energy it has at present, its desire is to ensure that every Bolivian can work, produce, study and fulfil his material and spiritual aspirations.

49. The Government of Bolivia is the political expression of broad national agreement. It enjoys the active participation of all elements of society, and mainly of the professionals and the rural and other workers. The armed forces of our nation are the pivot of the system, of the new model, through its historical training in uniting and mobilizing the entire population for the good of the country and for the benefit of development.

50. In various countries of America and the rest of the world where the expression of national sentiment is a slow, laborious process, it seems that the optimum conditions for the practice of an ideal democracy have not been achieved. My country too has been suffering from this institutional crisis, largely because of the eruption of new factors such as our burning need for housing, education, good health conditions and work.

51. In Bolivia the armed forces, representing the most faithful expression of our nationhood, have assumed political responsibility, aware that their function cannot be limited to military activity and faced with the lack of structures capable of overcoming the deep crisis of transition in the world and especially on the American continent.

52. In view of the burning need to reassess our social objectives, we are revamping our constitutional life. This is, as it were, a parenthesis, in the course of which we intend to strengthen our institutions and make them more rational. Our position exceeds the bounds of the traditional framework. It is a question of doing away with anachronisms and adapting the new system of national aspiration to the real fulfilment of the expectations of the majority. The development of this process will lead us on the path of pluralistic and effective democracy, the path we have chosen.

53. We have acted in full awareness of the difficulties and dangers that the armed forces must face in undertaking these great social changes. The task of giving the dispossessed their rights again, without falling into demagoguery, abuse or despotism, is an open challenge to powerful interests. It arouses the impatience of certain elements with those who want to overcome chronic poverty.
54. In a country like Bolivia, with deep structural imbalances and insufficient institutional cohesion—a situation similar in many ways to that existing in the newly established States—it is not easy to channel in a rational and peaceful way all the forces of compulsion that are typical of peoples acutely desiring liberation. To correct these imbalances and direct the peoples towards these pre-established objectives of effective democracy, we must inevitably adopt new standards of conduct and there must be a firm political will.
55. Any step towards change and accelerated development almost always has its price. The important thing is to be aware of its real value and to make the means to attain those changes as perfect as possible so that the benefits do not represent too onerous a burden on the weakest layers of the population, precisely those whom we are trying to help.
56. The burning problem of our time is the deep imbalances dividing contemporary society, a problem that is affecting an ever greater number of people in the world. The universalism that we seek is designed precisely to find a solution to that situation.
57. In the face of the set and inevitable attitudes of the great centres of economic power, developing countries are in duty bound to establish their own action fronts to interact jointly, as far as possible in a spirit of conciliation and co-operation, with those centres of power. What we must do is achieve that new order in which the situations created in a divided and stratified world whose consequences we still feel will not be repeated.
58. Ideologically, our nationalism is revolutionary, humanistic and Christian. We have established a pluralistic democracy which allows free expression of ideas, initiatives and attitudes, within the framework of the general debates of the nation. Until very recently, democracy in its accepted sense was a myth which perpetuated the power of the dominating minorities.
59. This is no longer the case in the Bolivian revolution. In order that the people may become an active factor in development, history requires the broadest popular participation and a rapid increase in and a better distribution of wealth. Only thus can not only well-being and equality of opportunity but also the means to develop fully be ensured.
60. Internationally, my Government is in favour of maintaining diplomatic relations with all countries in the world subject to one condition only, namely, that these countries respect our sovereignty and our culture.
61. The Bolivian revolution is defined as an authentically nationalistic movement against imperialism, racial discrimination, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations.
62. With the support of all Bolivians, the armed forces of my country have assumed a heavy responsibility before history. This has doubtless been their most important decision but one worthy of their sacrifice, their ability, their abnegation and patriotism. In view of the civic maturity and the social awareness of their members, they are competent to be the protagonists in the present stage of structural transformations.
63. There is unity and identification around my Government, especially with regard to the great national objectives which are, among others, security, development and renewed access to the sea.
64. The unity which tacitly has been consolidated around the armed forces increases, as never before, the capacity of my people to carry out its fundamental tasks. In the recent past, because of the limited political sphere or due to the confusion created by past conditions, such tasks were not carried out in good time.
65. Convinced of the magnitude of the challenge, our revolution has taken the most direct and expeditious way to narrow the gap between the Bolivian reality and the highest levels attained by the most developed societies.
66. In the five-year plan that we have drawn up, it is contemplated that Bolivia will double its wealth. Concurrently with the economic growth that broadens social well-being and the cultural level of the people, we are processing raw materials; we are speeding up literacy programmes; we are integrating the population in conditions of respect and conciliation among the various traditional cultures.
67. Our goal is to integrate the nation spiritually, physically and demographically. By encouraging the traditional communities of a secular organization, we want the peasant to develop his initiative within his own sphere. By his support, channelled through the civic action programmes of the armed forces, we shall urbanize the rural areas. We are implementing a vast plan of road communication. Our extensive water resources will provide a source of energy for a vast rural electrification plan which will transform agriculture and raise the standard of living of the peasants.
68. I believe that the best resource of a people is its human capital; therefore, we have begun a difficult and long campaign to eradicate the manufacture, traffic and use of drugs. In this task, we require the co-operation of all nations and institutions to combat the traffic of drugs because the criminal extension of this traffic affects all countries in the world.
69. Bolivia will spare no effort to attain this goal. From this high rostrum, as the President of my country, I fervently appeal for international co-operation to protect the moral and physical health of youth all over the world.
70. On this occasion I should like to refer to Bolivia's support of the solution of international disputes by peaceful means.
71. Consistent with this principle, the Inter-American Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Rio de Janeiro in 1965, sponsored a resolution which applauded the decision of the United States of America to review

the treaty which Panama signed with regard to the Canal Zone.

72. Faithful to this principle, we consider it a duty of American solidarity to declare that we fervently hope that, in keeping with the mutual interests of both countries the Canal Zone problem will soon be settled satisfactorily in favour of the rights and sovereignty of the brother Panamanian people.

73. I have ventured to outline some of the broad policies of the nationalist Government which I represent.

74. On the basis of these objectives and the realization of these great ideals, I have entered into an irrevocable commitment with my people: to return to Bolivia its sea, the sea it had when it started life as an independent, free and sovereign State.

75. Powerful reasons prompt us to seek this goal. The integration advocated today, an integration without access to the sea, is for Bolivia a process of dependency which hampers, delays and stifles its full development.

76. This very situation is recognized as a phenomenon affecting all nations and, in our case, land-locked as we are by force of circumstance, is one of exploitation and subjection.

77. Our sovereignty, as indeed the sovereignty of all land-locked countries, is hampered in its free exercise by having to pay levies for conditional transit which is tantamount to subjection, however free that subjection may seem.

78. It is well known that my country suspended its diplomatic relations with Chile for over 12 years. This was due to the fact that Chile made unilateral use of the international waters of the Lauca River. Both countries reached an impasse, a vicious circle which prevented them from coming to a healthy understanding which would have served the higher interests of both countries.

79. Bolivia maintained that it would not resume its relations with the Government of Santiago if it did not obtain, together with compensation for the diversion of the Lauca river, a means of access to the Pacific coast. Chile, in turn, stated that it would resume its relations with Bolivia only without preconditions, the sole basis which would permit the opening of a dialogue for discussion of the Bolivian proposals.

80. I understood that such a state of affairs could not continue and that the time had come for Bolivia once more to prove its readiness for a dialogue to reach a common understanding. Thus after my talks at Charaña with the President of Chile, on my initiative, we decided to resume our relations with the express purpose of studying at government level the need for us to have our maritime legacy restored to us. I must definitely state that I found brotherly understanding on the part of Mr. Augusto Pinochet, and a firm determination to deal resolutely with this great and historic question.

81. Thanks to the exchange of ambassadors, which has enabled us to open an active fruitful dialogue, it has been possible for my Government to make a formal proposal to the Government of Chile, in which the Bolivian people places its dearest hopes.

82. It could not be otherwise. I am certain that the Chilean President will respond positively to my sincere and constructive concern as my country's President.

83. This world assembly has heard the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile state:

"The exchange of ambassadors has made possible the establishment of a direct and active dialogue for the purpose of analysing the wishes of each country, including Bolivia's wish to obtain a sovereign outlet to the sea supplementing the free transit facilities it currently enjoys." [2376th meeting, para. 263.]

84. While quoting the views in echoing the ideas voiced by the Government of Chile through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Patricio Carvajal, I must also recall the resolution adopted by the Organization of American States at its fourth regular session, held in April 1975 at Atlanta, Georgia, assuring my country of the desire to amend the situation.

85. The peoples of Latin America subsequently endorsed this desire in the historic Declaration of Ayacucho, signed at Lima on 9 December 1974 [see A/10044, annex], in which it was openly and objectively recognized that one of the problems affecting America, Bolivia's lack of access to the sea, deserved the closest general consideration.

86. I should like to state, in the spirit of the Americas that governs the fair play of our negotiation with Chile, that I fully share Foreign Minister Carvajal's confidence that "... the good will prevailing within the Governments of Chile and Bolivia will enable us to achieve realistic and final agreements" [2376th meeting, para. 264].

87. Those agreements, anxiously awaited by the Bolivian people—and, I venture to hope, by all the peoples of our wonderful Latin American world—will have to be crystallized very soon, however lengthy the investigations needed, and however many meetings are required.

88. The solution of great problems which affect the harmony and the peace of America cannot be postponed indefinitely. We must state frankly that there can be no playing with human hopes, with the hopes of an entire people.

89. From this rostrum, in this universal forum, I want to state before the world that Bolivia is awaiting Chile's response to its proposals. Let us repeat emphatically: that those proposals have nothing to do with the right of transit deriving from our land-locked position, but are directed to a basic solution, final and comprehensive, that will give us our own free and sovereign access to the sea, naturally and geographically contiguous with our territory.

90. Moreover, statesmen and other distinguished Latin Americans, and inter-American legal and cultural organizations have, in a praiseworthy manner, fully agreed with Bolivia's right to access to the sea. For all those manifestations of support—essentially spontaneous, since my Government has not attempted to convert others to its convictions—I must express deep gratitude on behalf of my people, since it is rare in our world to find such outstanding champions of justice.

91. Only thus will permanent justice and peace in America be attained; only thus shall we be able to

dispel the concerns of all those sister countries, which, as I said earlier, have assumed the cause of restoring Bolivia's access to the sea as though it were one of their own fundamental problems.

92. From this high rostrum of human solidarity, in this hour of great change when justice must prevail, I bear witness before the world of the noble, democratic and peaceful efforts Bolivia is making to regain, after almost a century, the access to the sea which is rightfully ours, and that we so sorely need to communicate and trade with the rest of mankind.

93. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I should like to thank the President of the Republic of Bolivia for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

94. U HLA PHONE (Burma): On behalf of the delegation of Burma, I wish to extend my warm congratulations to the President on his election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. We assure him of our full co-operation in the discharge of the responsibilities of his high office.

95. At the same time may I express the appreciation of the delegation of Burma to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika for the distinguished services he performed as the President of the last session of the General Assembly.

96. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our warm felicitations to the delegations of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe on their admission to membership in this world Organization.

97. While on this subject of the question of admission of new States to membership in the United Nations, I wish to state the consistent view of my Government that each application for membership should be decided strictly on its merits in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter.

98. In the case of a divided nation or a divided country, it has also been the consistent position of my Government to take into account the views and wishes of the two sides concerned in any matters affecting the divided nation or country as a whole, especially pending the reunification of the country.

99. The delegation of Burma accordingly regrets the absence of the delegations of its two friendly neighbours, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam, which have agreed between themselves to seek admission to membership in the United Nations pending reunification.

100. Unprecedented developments in the world situation since the United Nations was founded have given added urgency and dimension to the general concern about the maintenance of international peace and security and the solution of the growing political, economic and social problems now facing mankind. These developments, which could not have been fully anticipated by the founders of the United Nations, have thus posed serious challenges to the international community, whose survival and future largely depend

on their ability to meet these imperatives of our time. However inadequate it may seem in the present circumstances, the United Nations system has been useful in creating the conditions of calm that are so essential for the peaceful settlement of disputes, be they political, economic or social.

101. As is well known, the United Nations system as regards the maintenance of international peace and security has been greatly hampered by the new antagonisms that arose soon after the end of the Second World War. Still, to our mind there can be no substitute for an organization of a universal character, with collective responsibility, if international security is to be effectively ensured.

102. If the role of the United Nations is to be strengthened in fulfilment of its obligations, Member States must be prepared to respect the decisions of its appropriate organs. Such decisions, it must be stressed, should be strictly in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and must be impartial in intent and application.

103. While on this subject of the United Nations' peace-keeping role, my delegation deems it appropriate to observe that justice, as distinct from peace, should prevail in the settlement of international disputes; for without the one the other cannot be expected in the long run. This should obviously apply to cases such as the Middle East conflict, the lasting settlement of which cannot be secured unless a just solution can be found to the Palestinian question.

104. Meanwhile, it is necessary to face up to one serious source of instability and conflict if peace is to be preserved. I refer to the practice of outside intervention in the internal or external affairs of States. The war in Indo-China, which has brought untold human suffering and massive material destruction, and which has caused general instability in the south-east Asian region as a whole, can undoubtedly be attributed to outside intervention on a very large scale.

105. A process of social change and modernization is now taking place in many parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America and is to be welcomed. This process is in most cases accompanied by dislocation and convulsion. Unless some kind of action is taken by the international community to curb the tendency on the part of extraneous forces to intervene in such unsettled situations, local conflicts and local wars are likely to arise and even to intensify.

106. As we all know, in the preamble to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*], the General Assembly states:

“Convinced that the strict observance by States of the obligation not to intervene in the affairs of any other State is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another, since the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter, but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security”.

107. On behalf of the delegation of Burma, I wish to express our full support for the appeal made by

the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/10001/Add.1, sect. XXI] that we, States Members of the United Nations, now go from eloquently expressed allegiance to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which include the principle of non-intervention, to the far more difficult task of making these principles a reality.

108. The gap between professions and performance, goals and fulfilment, is glaringly evident in the field of arms control and disarmament. In 1959 the General Assembly considered general and complete disarmament to be the most important question facing the world and expressed the hope that measures leading towards the goal of complete and general disarmament would be worked and agreed upon in the shortest possible time [resolution 1378 (XIV)]. But since 1959 the military arsenals of the major armed Powers have grown steadily in size and in diversity, world military expenditures have doubled, entirely new families of weapons of mass destruction have been developed and stockpiled, lethal weapons have become more lethal. As a result the original vision of a completely disarmed, peaceful and prosperous world has receded further and further into the horizon.

109. In the field of so-called partial and collateral measures also, the results achieved to date, and those which we may reasonably expect in the foreseeable future, are on the whole disappointing. I have no mind to ignore the several arms control agreements which we have been able to conclude, or to belittle their importance. But the inescapable fact remains that, when viewed against the overall magnitude of the armaments problem, the gains represented by those agreements are very small indeed. Even so, there have regrettably been no follow-up measures to augment those initial gains, although the Disarmament Decade has already reached its half-way mark.

110. The prospects that one sees when one surveys the disarmament scene or contemplates its future progress are not very promising. Representing a peace-loving country which ardently desires to see this world of ours freed from the proliferation of armaments, the delegation of Burma would like to echo the hope expressed by the Secretary-General in the brilliant introduction to his report that: "Member States will, with a sense of urgency, give new attention to an ancient problem which has never presented itself in so ominous a form as today." [A/10001/Add.1, sect. VIII.]

111. In the economic, social and cultural fields, the United Nations has been more effective. However, the magnitude and the urgency of the problems involved are indeed formidable. The capacity of the United Nations to act as a centre for harmonizing the policies and actions of nations is being put to a most severe test. The Organization should continue to play a constructive role in the evolution of a comprehensive approach to resolving the economic and social problems of our increasingly interdependent world.

112. As we all know, two special sessions of the General Assembly were held recently, devoted entirely to economic matters. Considering the growing importance of economic issues in world affairs, it is highly opportune that the special sessions were held at this time. We therefore feel that the initiators of the

meetings as well as those participating in their preparation should be commended.

113. Recent economic discussions have centred on the establishment of a new international economic order. The major decision was, of course, taken at the sixth special session. In particular, the Programme of Action adopted at that session contained many useful proposals which would contribute greatly towards the creation of a fairer world economic order.

114. What is being attempted at present is no less than to restructure and re-order the existing international economic relationships. This is not an easy task. For understandable reasons, many countries have strong views on the matter and difficulties remain.

115. Nevertheless, some progress has been made. Thus the continuing debate has helped clarify many complex issues. In the process, new approaches and new courses of action, too, have been devised and recommended.

116. But, above all, the intensification of the debate in the wake of new developments in the structure of world economic power has given rise to a spirit of greater mutual accommodation. This was clearly discernible at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima last August.

117. Similarly, an expression of a spirit of conciliation was also noticeable at the recently concluded seventh special session. Likewise, there was a desire on the part of all the participating countries to make progress and to achieve concrete results, thus agreement was reached for further co-operation in several key problem areas.

118. Given this situation, the United Nations should help promote the emerging spirit of international co-operation and make it a vital force in world development. It is also implicit that to do so, the effectiveness of the United Nations must be enhanced in dealing with problems of development and international economic co-operation.

119. By saying this we do not wish to deny that the United Nations is at present performing a useful function in international economic and social development. But its resources are limited, while the needs of world development are large. Hence it is all the more important to make effective use of the available resources.

120. We are therefore in favour of the new initiatives that are being taken to make the United Nations a more effective instrument of development and international economic co-operation. We hope that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System established by the General Assembly at its seventh special session [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] to prepare detailed action proposals will be able to make concrete recommendations which all of us can support.

121. The ever-growing interdependence of States and the need for promoting co-operation among them so as to be able to take collective action in various fields obviously call for the strengthening of the United Nations. The move to examine what structural changes are needed in the United Nations system to make it more efficient and economical is, therefore, to be welcomed. However, structural changes alone will not

create necessary co-operative relations among Member States. In this context, it will be necessary to take into account the possibilities and the scope of organizing specific needs, whether in the field of international security, economic development, communications or cultural co-operation. Only then can any structural or organizational changes that may be made secure the support and understanding of the Member States.

122. Another area in which urgent and timely international action is called for concerns the unfinished work of the third session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. As we all know, international maritime law, although it was codified as recently as 1958, has already become ill-adapted to meet contemporary needs and concerns. Under the impact of rapid and far-reaching political, economic and technological developments, the legal system established by the four Geneva conventions of 1958 on the law of the sea¹ is fast becoming inadequate in fulfilling its primary purpose, which is to prevent disputes and conflicts among States in the ocean environment and to ensure a peaceful, orderly and equitable utilization of the seas and their vast resources. There can hardly be any doubt that the "Geneva system" cannot much longer withstand the thrusts and responses arising out of technological innovation, political aims and economic necessity. A breakdown of that system will inevitably deal a severe blow to the cause—to which my country is firmly dedicated—of promoting the progressive establishment of, and universal respect for, the rule of law in this world. Surely, there can be no rule of law on a world-wide basis if legal confusion and disorder prevail over the 70 per cent of the earth's surface that is covered by the seas.

123. Therefore every State, large or small, rich or poor, landlocked or coastal, has a vital, overriding interest in a speedy elaboration of a new, comprehensive international treaty that would replace the outdated Geneva system by a new legal order which would be just and equitable and, for that reason, more stable, durable and viable. I am not unmindful of the complexity of the issues involved, the multiplicity of the national interests that need to be harmonized, and the sheer magnitude of the undertaking in hand, which is nothing less than to legislate for the international community as a whole on a long-term basis. I therefore realize that the task before the Conference is by no means simple or easy, and will require time for successful completion.

124. But we must also bear in mind that the political, economic and technological changes to which I have earlier alluded are taking place inexorably, thereby making the need for an international consensus on a new legal régime for the seas not only imperative but one of the utmost urgency.

125. Should the negotiations at the Conference become indefinitely protracted or fruitless, they will surely be overtaken by events. The alternative—indeed, the only alternative—to collective international consensus is unilateral State action. In this regard I can do no better than to recall the wise words of the President of the Conference, Mr. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, when he emphasized the urgent need to mod-

ernize the law of the sea, by saying: "Necessity knows no law".

126. My delegation earnestly hopes that when the Conference resumes its work in the spring of next year a spirit of accommodation and a resolute political will will be displayed on all sides in the measure needed to make the Conference a total success.

127. Mr. ESCOVAR SALOM (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The election of Mr. Thorn as President of this Assembly pleases us and makes us confident in advance that under his presidency this session will bring about useful results.

128. At the same time I should like to congratulate Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for his important contribution to the previous session of the General Assembly and to the seventh special session. We congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the moral and intellectual courage he has displayed in his work and for his interest in the new problems of the world.

129. The thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations invites us to think deeply, not only on the future of the Organization but also on the future of the world.

130. The most serious mistake that could be made would be to underrate everything the United Nations has done, during these 30 years, for peace in the world. No less serious a mistake would be to ask more from the United Nations than it actually can give. The Organization now has before it important problems in regard to restructuring itself. There is no doubt that over the past 30 years the emphasis and intensity of many subjects has changed. The legitimacy of the United Nations is now more complex and more demanding. As we come closer to new social and economic processes we shall have to become more dynamic and act more speedily. We are beginning live in an era of negotiations and compromises as well as of choices of alternatives. Understandings and compromises are possible but not always easy to achieve. In the next quarter of a century, the United Nations must contribute to outlining perspectives and discovering new horizons. The essential aim in the years to come will be to achieve a just world for all mankind.

131. The United Nations was not born to shape a Utopia but to strengthen a specific community of free nations and help to formulate, in political and universal terms, the broad outlines of human development.

132. The continuity of this great forum of nations and great world assembly for over a quarter of a century is proof of its moral vigour, its growing influence, and its genuine possibilities of existence and improvement.

133. This has been a period of ever more complex mutations and changes in historical development. From pre-cybernetic society, some countries are moving ever more rapidly towards a post-industrial society, and from a world characterized by purely continental relations we are entering a period of historic simultaneity. This era, deeply influenced by multi-continental relations, ties and bonds, confers a global meaning to all that we aspire to, undertake or plan.

134. The process of identification of the cold war has ended. Traditional models have been eroded. The time of automatic alignments is past.

135. The era of social changes we live in has incorporated into the world of political decisions countries which today belong to this Organization and which aspire to be protagonists and not merely witnesses of international political decisions.

136. The new countries thus constitute an emerging political power that is essential to the political and economic balance of the world. The developing countries now form a community of fundamental peoples no longer to be ignored or brushed aside. Their aspirations, their desire to participate in decisions and to affirm their destinies are not incompatible with the well-being of developed nations. On the contrary, the stability of the developing countries of the third world, the forcefulness of their identity and their dedication to stable goals of internal growth give them not only confidence in the international political and economic order, but contribute to the stability of the industrial countries. In the nineteenth century and until the Second World War, the balance of the world depended exclusively on understanding among the great Powers. At the present juncture in the life of man, the balance of the planet depends on all countries, whether they be poor or developed, large or small.

137. The developing countries have no reason to apply automatic thinking which might lead them to repeat mistakes or processes of the industrial society. An important task for the new nations will be to conceive and devise their own formulas which will in some ways be original. Regrettably, there is not as yet sufficient communication between the third world and the industrial nations. Our countries find difficulty in getting their opinions and views brought to international public attention and, to a certain extent, there is lack of information on the social and economic problems caused by poverty.

138. We shall have to find a way out of these mechanisms of world-wide lack of information or counter-information which at times affect the prestige and the image to which the developing countries are entitled as far as world public opinion is concerned. There must be a review of the procedures and institutions of world public information so that in some way we can improve the balance of information and thus meet the information needs of all countries and not just of certain isolated countries or groups of countries. The present crisis is essentially the collapse of the standards and patterns of behaviour of the industrial society. There is no need for us to be heirs to those standards and patterns.

139. This inevitable political change constitutes a historic event which is called interdependence, which has recently been dramatically revealed by the energy crisis and inflation. Both phenomena are the consequences of an economic and social system and of an artificially constructed type of balance directed towards the preservation of the economic health of the industrial nations alone. It was an unjust arbitrary order and the source of permanent imbalances and disturbances, which went hand in hand with habits of waste, uncontrolled military expenditure and unforgivable ethical omissions and negligence.

140. Unrestrained consumerism and placing value exclusively on material assets as the only references of human growth and the yardstick of universal progress are the most notorious aberrations of that world order.

141. For a long time the consequences were suffered only by the developing countries and by all the countries which now constitute the third world. More recently the effects of the system have been felt also by the industrial countries, which are now discovering a fundamental fact: the interdependence of nations. We, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, have so far been the traditional victims of dependence. Most of us in Latin America have enjoyed political independence since the beginning of the nineteenth century, but we remained involved within implacable mechanisms of economic subordination, from which we now wish to be free. Even now that interdependence is given a conceptual value, the dependence of the weaker countries still subsists. For interdependence to mean what it really should mean, concrete agreements are necessary which will alter the assessments and perspectives of the past.

142. The United Nations and other international organizations allow us to evaluate the experiences gained from multilateral relations. Furthermore, bilateral relations are increasingly useful when they are frank, honest and to the point. But, in addition to this, it is necessary to point out the importance of concerted action whereby groups of nations agree on certain subjects. In that way, certain imbalances are being corrected and others can be rectified in the future.

143. The decision to raise the price of oil was not a mere whim of irresponsible or adventurous Governments with the intention of committing aggression against the industrial nations or disturbing the world's economic balance. It was a decision of sovereign countries which did not want to continue to permit the devaluation of their resources. It is impossible to think that the traditionally poor countries are prospering at the expense of the rich countries. That would be tantamount to saying that a plutocracy of the poor was coming into being.

144. The oil-producing countries are being accused of being the cause of the present economic imbalance, but the fact that the incidence of increased oil prices in the inflationary process is insignificant when compared to other inflationary prices which pre-dated the rise in the price of oil is overlooked.

145. During the years when oil prices were kept artificially low, the inflationary process continued to intensify. Inflation had been in evidence in previous years, while it was in the last two years that the oil-producing countries decided to increase their prices.

146. The changes which have occurred during the past two years pose unprecedented international problems, especially for the developing countries. It is assumed that the current account deficit of these countries might rise from \$10,000 million in 1973 to over \$30,000 million in 1975. Less than one third of that deficit can be attributed to oil prices. The remaining two thirds is the result of increased prices of manufactured goods and of food and the deteriora-

tion in the prices of products exported by the developing countries.

147. The members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] are aware of their international responsibility. The Conference of Sovereigns and Heads of State of the Member Countries of OPEC, held at Algiers in March 1975, is proof of their maturity and of a highly developed sense of international co-operation. OPEC is not an aggressive group intent on taking decisions against the industrial nations; it is a serious, thoughtful organization which in no way wants to assume irresponsible attitudes. One of the absurdities of the present economic order is the dichotomy which has been created between producers and consumers. In the world today we are all producers and we are all consumers.

148. Today every country, large or small, has an international responsibility. This is one of the most significant changes in the present political order of the world. The nation which I represent is fully conscious of this fact.

149. The President of Venezuela has proposed to other member nations of OPEC the setting up of a fund of between \$1,500 million and \$2,000 million for the non-imbursable financing of the increase in the price of oil resulting from the adjustment of prices, for the benefit of third-world countries which are not oil producers.

150. The basic problem of the current economic order is to provide stability for the development plans of the third-world countries, which have been hardest hit by inflation, deterioration in export prices and monetary upheavals. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming UNCTAD meeting will represent an important advance toward this objective. Poverty is an accusation against the entire present historical order.

151. The problem would be simplified if we quickly took concrete steps to create certain systems which, like the Agriculture Development Fund, established balances.

152. It would be, to say the least, arbitrary to imagine that responsibility lies exclusively with the oil-producing nations. That would mean absolving the great industrial nations from their international responsibilities and would also be contrary to the fundamental concept that in a world of increasing interdependence, responsibilities are also interdependent.

153. For Venezuela, the policy of defending natural resources is continuous and traditional, not only as a co-founder of OPEC, but also in carrying out important internal decisions. Recently, we have adopted two historic decisions: the nationalization of iron and the nationalization of oil.

154. Both decisions are the result of a national consensus which was arrived at within the pluralistic democratic society which is the essence of the Venezuelan political system. By enactment of pre-existing laws and regulations resulting from the free debate of public opinion and political parties, as well as from previously known programmes, we have nationalized iron and oil. Therefore, this is not an international conspiracy against any country, nor against any specific interests; it is the affirmation of a free and sovereign people, conscious of the importance of its

resources and conscious, too, of its will to administer them without any dependence or subordination.

155. This is part of an even broader policy to which the President of Venezuela is committed, namely that of developing ecological balance and all non-renewable natural resources. The Government of my country has fully identified itself with the goals of protecting the waters of rivers, lakes and oceans, the flora and the fauna from depredation and aggression. We are also aware that a policy of this type must be carried out on a world-wide level. That is why we believe in the increasingly important role which the United Nations can play in this respect over the coming 25 years.

156. We must defend the planet for all mankind and we must do so in universal democratic terms, so that the resources of nature may benefit the vast majorities and not be for the exclusive benefit of a few.

157. At this new session of the Assembly, we face the imperative necessity to remember that it is urgent to establish a climate of international trust. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held recently at Helsinki, and other events, have given rise to optimism. In connexion with that Conference the attempt by industrial countries better to appreciate the development problems of the third world must not be overlooked. Understanding must be followed by action. We think that the future conference to be held in Paris will provide an opportunity for a useful dialogue to define world international co-operation in specific terms. Most of what was said in the past serves no useful purpose today. We must find a new conceptual order to express the new political and economic system. Dialogue between industrialized countries and the developing countries is possible.

158. There exist alternatives for understanding and compromise. It will be necessary to strengthen the credibility of agreements and the good faith of arrangements. It is not possible to continue to deal with oversimplifications. We must place problems within a rational context.

159. Raw materials, development, oil prices, the cost of manufactured goods and food are not part of separate constellations. They are all integrated into a vital process of reciprocal interconnexions and clear ties.

160. In other words, in this Assembly new types of solidarity have been ushered in. My country had a concept of international solidarity from the time it emerged as an independent nation during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Oil was unknown to us then; we were simply a small agricultural society on the northern shores of South America. But even at that early stage Simón Bolívar convened a Congress in Panama to define the strategy for continental unity. Long before we became an oil-producing nation, we were a Latin American nation. Now we are fully convinced that to be identified with Latin America alone is not enough; we must, on the contrary, think and act within a broader framework: that of solidarity with the countries of the third world.

161. Beyond these alliances, Venezuela believes in its role as a participant in any and all initiatives aimed at fostering the mechanisms of world co-operation, which means simply that we are identified with the fate and future of mankind. In this effort, we recognize

no difference between great or small, capitalist or socialist, industrialized or non-industrialized nations, whether north, south, east or west.

162. As an oil-producing country Venezuela has, with modesty but good will, defined several programmes for international co-operation. With Central America, with nations of the Caribbean and other countries in the southern part of our continent, we have reached important agreements. Venezuela has pledged funds for international co-operation to a total of \$2,724 million, which amounts to more than 8 per cent of our gross national product, thus largely exceeding the quota fixed by the United Nations for the developed countries. We realize, however, that isolated initiatives are not in themselves sufficient, and that is why, with other oil-producing and non-oil-producing nations, we are developing a broader plan to contribute to international development.

163. In accord with the resolution unanimously adopted during the seventh special session of the General Assembly, which constitutes a substantive change in international economic relations, we must all act with the necessary loyalty to ensure that those principles will dispel doubts and suspicions and effectively contribute to the creation of an atmosphere favourable to the holding of concrete negotiations. We have agreed that we must not return to the past and therefore any manifestations of dissent from the agreements adopted here may cast serious doubts on the sincerity of the consensus and the flexibility demonstrated so far.

164. The forthcoming Paris Conference will meet under the auspices of the agreements adopted here. In our opinion, it will be the first negotiation with a historical perspective between industrial countries and developing countries, whose points of view concerning a global approach to world economic problems were fortunately accepted. We attach paramount importance to that Conference. Interdependence in the future, the soundness and stability of the world economy and of the new international economic order will depend on the wisdom, lucidity and understanding of the negotiators, as well as on the political will which is demonstrated.

165. Our active participation in the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination is already well known and forms part of the history of these 30 years of our Organization.

166. In welcoming today three new Member States, the Republics of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, thus adding independent countries to the United Nations, we cannot but rejoice to see the inevitable end of the colonial era in the world.

167. It is with equal pleasure that we greet the independence of Suriname, a Latin American country which is a brotherly neighbour of Venezuela and which we hope will join us in the United Nations during this session.

168. It is not only at the economic level that we express solidarity, but also in terms of global and regional politics. We seek a peaceful and lasting settlement in the Middle East which will solve the problem of the Palestinian people. We look forward to an equitable solution in Cyprus, Rhodesia and Namibia, and we hope, with most of the peoples of

the world, for the eradication of *apartheid* from South Africa. A similar sense of international solidarity leads us to hope for a prompt political solution in the Korean peninsula which may end for ever the unrest and disturbance in that area.

169. In Latin America, Bolivia and Panama have our complete solidarity. We hope that the problem of land-locked Bolivia, which was explained at this meeting by President Banzer of Bolivia, will be solved harmoniously by the countries concerned, and we are pleased at the progress which he announced. We also hope that the matter of the Panama Canal will not become a source of growing irritation between Latin America and the United States. We look forward to practical solutions in those two cases and to rational and balanced formulas. The case of Panama affects the dignity for all the countries of Latin America.

170. International solidarity is inconceivable without a world disarmament system and without the extension of denuclearized zones, concerning which Latin America sets a precedent. The peaceful use of nuclear energy is an opportunity not to be wasted, and my country is interested in increasing the possibilities of its development. But we do not forget that the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] must be made more comprehensive. Nuclear energy should be used under stable, assured conditions, and any prohibition tending to avoid abuse will be welcome. Means of mass destruction must be subject to controls to protect mankind from the risk they represent. The United Nations must tackle boldly one of the most dramatic problems that can affect the international rule of law: the nuclear threat. Dire warnings to that effect have been heard at this Assembly. The use of nuclear energy should be subject to reliable control so that its peaceful use may not unexpectedly be turned into an instrument of aggression. The strength of this Organization depends largely in the future on the means of inspection and control that may be developed to deal with the nuclear threat. In this matter no warnings or scruples could ever be exaggerated. Nuclear non-proliferation, like disarmament, must become an accomplished fact. It is also necessary, as a practical formula, to study the relationship that should exist between the gross national product of a country and its expenditure on weapons.

171. Disarmament will not create Utopia, but it presupposes the development of a policy and of action.

172. The maturity being shown by the international community is undeniable. That is why it is important for each country to be convinced that regional conflicts are factors not only of local disturbance, but of contagious, world-wide unrest. Fortunately, it is now possible to envisage world peace in practical terms. Peace is no longer merely an abstract ideal, an illusion or a hope, but a necessity originating largely in the forces of development which the world society has created in recent years. International confrontation increasingly becomes so costly a risk that it is possible and more realistic to explore and exploit the definite alternative of peaceful coexistence. Peace is no longer an ideal, it is a real political possibility.

173. In the years to come I think we should be engaged in accelerating in the world the processes of political democratization and of greater participa-

tion by citizens in the decisions of society. Similarly, efforts must be intensified to assert the value and dignity of human existence. In this respect the United Nations has achieved much undeniable progress, but a great deal remains to be done. Venezuela, as a democratic nation, is fully aware of the importance of these values.

174. Similarly, we must think of the action necessary to control the phenomena of violence of any and all types, and all their manifestations. Some of these phenomena originate in economic imbalances or centuries-old injustices. But political solutions will be necessary, and the time is right to devise them and plan for them.

175. All this, in short, leads us to affirm that the condition of mankind and of the ethical forces of individual and social conduct will prevail over the distortions and mutilations that industrialized civilization has developed. World order can be based on mankind, and mankind alone. The trust, hope and optimism we invest in the United Nations therefore raise these essential questions: Can we be optimistic about the future of mankind, or is it necessary to remain motionless? Can the present be changed? Is it possible to raise the idea of justice in political and ethical terms? And do we or do we not accept the fact that the condition of mankind is based on freedom and the free exercise of man's creative powers? To

that end we must rescue the irreplaceable principle of international honesty from wreck.

176. Venezuela is a country which believes in and identifies with the fundamental values of human life, democracy and freedom, and we wish to reaffirm that in international controversies or dissension we are willing to listen and to understand. As a nation of Latin America and of the third world, we hope that our motives will be understood; that our dignity will be valued, for it is not incompatible with the dignity of any other country; and that our word will be respected as an expression of good faith.

177. There are two ways to conclude an address to the General Assembly: with pessimism or with optimism. I conclude my statement with optimism.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTE

¹ Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone, Convention on the High Seas, Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas and Convention on the Continental Shelf.