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President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE
(Sri Lanka).

Address by Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister and Minister for Defence and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Sri Lanka

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister for Defence and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Sri Lanka. It is a unique honour and privilege for a President of the Assembly to welcome his own Head of Government to the Assembly for such an important purpose and on such a special occasion.

2. I have great pleasure in welcoming Her Excellency Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike and in inviting her to address the Assembly.

3. Mrs. BANDARANAIKE (Sri Lanka): It is my privilege today to appear before this Assembly, not merely as the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka but also as the current Chairman of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, which represent more than two and a half billion of the world's population and 86 nations. In accepting the chairmanship of the non-aligned movement, at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo a few weeks ago, I have been conscious of the great responsibility which has been thus entrusted to me. I have, however, welcomed it as an opportunity for Sri Lanka to contribute what it can to the success of a movement which is fully committed to the high ideals of the United Nations.

4. I take this opportunity on behalf of the non-aligned nations to welcome with great pleasure the membership of the Republic of Seychelles in the United Nations.

5. We meet in the shadow of the death of one of the giants of our time, Chairman Mao Tsetung, and I would like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to his great contribution to the creation of modern China and to the world of ideas in the service of mankind.

6. It is not always that a head of Government addresses this Assembly with the Permanent Representative of her country in the Chair. It is also, I think unique for the Chairman of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries to present the views of the group before a President who is himself a national of a non-aligned country. I hope I will not be misunderstood if I consider this a happy development for the United Nations, because the non-aligned countries share a deep and abiding commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of this Organization.

7. The delegation of Sri Lanka derives justifiable satisfaction, Mr. President, from your election to this high office. I should like to express our sincere appreciation to all the nations represented here for the honour they have bestowed on you and, through you, on Sri Lanka. I congratulate you on being the recipient of this great trust. I express our confidence that, in carrying out your duties as President of this Assembly, you will maintain the very high standards set by your predecessors in this office, and amply fulfil our expectations through your impartiality, objectivity and understanding. You have our best wishes for your success, and may rely on our co-operation at all times.

8. Mr. Secretary-General, it is also a very pleasant task for me, on behalf of Sri Lanka and of the non-aligned nations, to express our appreciation of your dedication to the objectives and ideals of this Organization and your untiring efforts to bring it closer to its goal of a world at peace, based on harmony, mutual respect and trust among nations, and fruitful co-operation for the realization of a fuller life for all peoples.

9. The Colombo Declarations and resolutions, both political and economic, and the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation are already before you [A/31/197]. We, the 86 nations in whose name I have the honour to present these decisions to you, look upon them as a testament of genuine international co-operation and collaboration, in place of the distrust and recrimination which have characterized international relations in past years. My remarks are therefore addressed principally to the developed nations, because all talk of co-operation would be meaningless if a significant part of the world's population did not understand or appreciate the objectives and motivations of the other.

10. The fundamental principles of non-alignment can be briefly stated. They are peaceful coexistence and the true independence of States, as distinct from formal sovereignty. The principles embodied in the Bandung Declaration¹ of 21 years ago and the criteria for membership in the movement

¹ Adopted at the African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung from 18 to 24 April 1955.

adopted at Belgrade² 15 years ago, are based on these two fundamental concepts.

11. In our perception, the polarization of the world around two power centres, as was the case in the immediate post-war years and until very recently, was neither conducive to world peace and security nor beneficial, even for the national or regional interests of the countries which became parties to the military alliances of that period.

12. This view does not require any elaborate explanation today, as the parties to the alliances have themselves come to the realization that confrontation is futile and polarization invalid.

13. Détente among the great Powers and between their alliance systems does not, however, meet the needs of the smaller and weaker nations as long as it perpetuates rivalry for spheres of influence, or condones manifestations of imperialism, colonialism and outside intervention in the internal affairs of States. It is even less attractive to us if it permits attempts at the domination of some countries by others and lends credence to concepts of balance of power or of unequal relations between States.

14. Such concepts strike at the sovereign equality of nations, large and small, which is the centre and core of the Charter of this Organization. Nor can this détente mean anything at all to peoples suffering for decades, even centuries, under the heel of racism, which has defied all principles of basic human rights enshrined in the Charter.

15. These concepts and practices are the antithesis of true independence and justice which non-alignment emphasizes, and the movement's mission will not have been accomplished until these remnants of the old order are consigned to the dust-heap of history.

16. It is against this background of a firm rejection of the outmoded concepts of an ailing order that the Colombo documents can be best understood.

17. The decisions of the Fifth Conference are nothing but the application of the time-tested principles of non-alignment to the prevailing international situation and a call for remedies for the short-comings and glaring injustices we find in it.

18. In the nuances of presentation, some of the terminology of the non-aligned countries is certainly emotive, but I do not believe that this calls for any apology. It should not be difficult for this Assembly and the world in general to understand the emotions of a man whose humanity is denied, as under the racist régimes in southern Africa, or of a people deprived of its birthright by decisions imposed on it, as in the case of the Palestinians.

19. I might add that the nations which have tended to resent what they consider intemperate phraseology in non-aligned declarations are the very nations that themselves indulged in the strongest appeals to the human emotions in their own recent histories. The fight against

injustice cannot but be emotional, and it will help mutual understanding if this simple truth is remembered.

20. Southern Africa is one area where the circumstances fully justify resentment and impatience.

21. The peoples of Africa have many hard-won victories against imperialism and colonialism to their credit. Yet, they have to contend today not only with the outmoded, inhuman and abhorrent practices of *apartheid* and racism, but with threats to their newly-won independence and their territorial integrity in the form of aggression from the same sources which now challenge their dignity and their self-respect.

22. Resistance movements of the oppressed black peoples in South Africa and Rhodesia have now reached the stage of national uprisings. What the Colombo documents seek to convey is that the river of history cannot flow backwards and that the longer the racist régimes take to realize this, the more serious will be the consequences for peace on that continent and elsewhere.

23. The message from Colombo, as far as it concerns southern Africa, is also directed to the nations which are continuing to collaborate with those régimes, thereby giving them a false sense of security and a semblance of respectability to which they are not entitled.

24. In the particular case of Namibia, vital principles of non-alignment are involved. It is not only the independence of a country long denied its rights by a usurpation of power and illegal occupation that is at stake here. The rights of a people to self-determination and to the integrity of their territory are also at issue.

25. All initiatives towards a just solution of these problems are naturally welcome as long as they are genuinely designed to expedite the transition from obduracy to reason. At the same time, I should make it clear from this forum that if reason were to fail and the peoples of Africa were forced to resort to the ultimate solution through armed struggle, every non-aligned nation would stand solidly behind them.

26. The situation in the Middle East is also a matter of grave concern to the non-aligned. The validity of some of the most fundamental principles of the movement and our commitment to those principles are on trial in the Middle East. No country, even if it has powerful patrons, can today embark on a policy of expansion and alteration of the political, demographic and cultural character of a region or persist in a denial of the inalienable rights of a whole nation without incurring the denunciation and condemnation of human society.

27. If the non-aligned nations have acclaimed the victories of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea in their valiant struggles against the forces of reaction and intervention, it is because their success has been a vindication of the basic principles for which the non-aligned movement has fought for over two decades. The call of the non-aligned for assistance to those countries in their task of reconstructing their war-torn economies is, on the other hand, a plea for justice which it should not be difficult for this Assembly to understand.

² First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961.

28. In the case of Korea, that country remains one of the very few which have continued to pay the price of territorial and national fragmentation for a world war which ended three decades ago.

29. The aim of the non-aligned in regard to Korea is to create the necessary conditions for converting the present armistice into a permanent peace agreement, in order to accelerate the self-reliant and peaceful reunification of the country and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

30. In Latin America, such essentials as self-determination, national sovereignty and territorial integrity are under serious threat. Leaders of non-aligned nations in that region have focused attention on the growing menace of destabilization of Governments and national institutions in that area through techniques of deliberate and organized attacks in the established media, the selective sale of arms and the exploitation of internal problems.

31. The devices used there by transnational corporations to perpetuate and consolidate their interests are too well known to need description. It is surely our duty as non-aligned nations to support the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Latin America and to express our solidarity with them in their pursuit of sovereign equality, true independence and peaceful coexistence with their neighbours.

32. I came here to the United Nations five years ago³ to present a proposal to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. With the support of a large number of non-aligned nations and many others, that proposal became a Declaration at the same session [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], and for five years the Members of this Organization—and especially the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean—have endeavoured to realize the objectives of that Declaration through its early implementation.

33. We have made it clear on innumerable occasions that the aim of the zone of peace is the extension of non-alignment to a substantial area of the earth's surface with a view to its insulation against great-Power rivalry and conflict, and that, far from circumscribing the freedom of navigation of the high seas, the implementation of the Declaration would ensure the safety of international navigation.

34. With notable exceptions, the great Powers and major maritime users have treated this worth-while cause with indifference.

35. Déjà, it has been presented to the world as a constructive step towards the promotion of international security through the relaxation of tensions. This has, in fact, been instituted in Europe through the Helsinki agreements,⁴ but the Mediterranean document of the Final Act of Helsinki has yet to be implemented. It is the view of the non-aligned nations that the security of Europe is inseparable from that of the rest of the world, and that

genuine peace will not have a chance until this is recognized.

36. As long as this détente is limited to Europe, we have reason to ask whether it could turn out to be mutual accommodation between the great Powers. If this were to happen, while it would spare their immediate regions the insecurity and instability of confrontation, it would shift the arena of their rivalries and conflicts to other areas, threatening the security and the peaceful development of the nations in those regions. A universal reduction of tensions based on the active participation of all nations is the best guarantee of international peace and security.

37. General and complete disarmament has been a declared objective of the United Nations and of the international community for nearly three decades.

38. Despite many initiatives taken by this Organization and by nations committed to the cause of disarmament, the world has witnessed not even the semblance of disarmament but a race for supremacy in destructive power, based on the myth that peace can be preserved only by strident and single-minded preparations for war and the refinement and sophistication of its techniques. It is, indeed, a sad reflection on the moral and intellectual standards of the twentieth century and of its values and priorities that so much of the world's resources, which might have been devoted to the eradication of poverty, ignorance, disease and hunger, are being committed instead to the production of monstrous weapons which, we are earnestly assured from time to time, are never to be used in aggression. If all these weapons, on all sides, are defensive, where are the aggressors?

39. The non-aligned nations, which have consistently rejected the notion that world conflict is inevitable, have no stake in war. On the other hand, they do not accept the thesis that disarmament is the special preserve of Powers that possess the paraphernalia of war. Every nation and every individual has a right to peace, and just as peace is indivisible so is the responsibility for its preservation. Hence the call of the non-aligned nations for a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and agreement for a world conference.⁵

40. As I indicated at the beginning of my statement, the non-aligned and the United Nations are on the same side of the struggle for a better world order.

41. At the Colombo Conference, as at all previous meetings of the non-aligned, we have reaffirmed our adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and we remain committed to the cause of strengthening its role in all aspects of international life.

42. A primary requirement for the strengthening of the United Nations is the universality of its membership. We cannot but express dissatisfaction and dismay at the continued denial, by the use of the veto, to nations which are qualified in every way and have won the recognition of more than two thirds of the membership of this Organization, of the opportunity to share in its endeavours.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1962nd meeting.

⁴ Concluded at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki and Geneva from 3 July 1973 to 21 July 1975.

⁵ See document A/31/197, annex II, resolution 12.

43. The veto was designed to place the primary responsibility for peace in the hands of a few nations which had the potential for waging war, at a time when more than half the present membership of this Organization was not even free. If it is to be used today, when the map of the world and the membership of this Organization have so dramatically changed, to thwart the wishes of the overwhelming majority of nations and peoples, then the time has surely come for a second look at this archaic instrument of privilege. This Organization cannot pay lip service to democratic principles and the sovereign equality of all nations, large and small, and continue to condone concepts and practices which make a mockery of those principles.

44. One of the important developments at the Fifth Conference at Colombo was the decision of the non-aligned countries to establish their own arrangements for a news agencies pool.⁶ This is because of the importance we attach to giving our peoples access to news free from the attitudes, opinions and prejudices of journalists, however honest or objective they may want to be, who have been schooled and conditioned in an environment which is not only unsympathetic but also unsuited to the hopes, aspirations and preoccupations of the peoples of the developing countries.

45. During the first 15 years of its existence, the non-aligned movement had of necessity to concern itself with immediate and pressing political issues—issues of freedom, equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Its record of achievement in the political sphere, as this Assembly knows, is substantial, although some of the evils it set out to banish still tenaciously linger on in some parts of the world. Our endeavours in the political field have, therefore, to continue into the foreseeable future. However, with the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Lusaka in 1970 and, especially, since the Fourth Conference at Algiers three years ago, economic issues have also received the increasing attention of the movement.

46. It is widely recognized today that political achievement by itself would be fruitless and meaningless if it did not lead ultimately to tangible gains in the economic sphere. Theoretical freedom and equality and concepts of sovereignty would, after all, mean nothing to a man if he were only free to starve and sovereign in his poverty.

47. This increasing emphasis on economic questions does not, however, mean that the non-aligned have accepted the view that political affairs should be left to nations which have the resources to match their political ambitions and that the developing countries should limit their initiatives to the task of their economic emancipation. The Economic Declaration, the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation and the economic resolutions adopted at Colombo are, therefore, also political.

48. As do the political decisions of the Fifth Conference, these, too, derive from the same commitment of the non-aligned to principles of equality and sovereignty and opposition to all forms of domination, intervention and unequal relations in the economic sphere. However, the

non-aligned have advanced today from the mere exhortations of the past calling for assistance and concessions from the developed countries to devising systems of active co-operation among themselves as a basis for co-operation with the developed nations.

49. A constant thread running through all the economic documents of the Colombo Conference is the emphasis on collective self-reliance.

50. I should make it clear that this approach is not one of hostility and confrontation towards any single country or group of countries. It has been the unfortunate experience of the developing countries, however, that, despite two decades of pious promises of partnership and interdependence, no real partnership has been possible; only that the strong have become stronger. Non-alignment has indeed always emphasized global co-operation, and this collective self-reliance, too, can be global, given the sincerity and the will on the part of all nations to make interdependence a way of life in the next two decades of this century and thereafter.

51. The realities of our time demand that genuine co-operation must begin now. The decisions of the Fifth Conference signify a determination to make that beginning, even if it be among the developing nations, as a first step.

52. There are indeed some areas in these documents which call for a more substantial contribution from the developed nations to the development efforts of the third world. These calls are made within the framework of co-operation between the developed and the developing countries so that real partnership between them for balanced progress is established as early as possible.

53. However, aid—whether it is bilateral or multilateral—is not, and cannot be, a permanent solution to the world's economic problems. At best, it can only be a temporary palliative, reinforcing the self-reliant efforts of poorer nations for a better future for their own peoples, thereby enhancing their ability to co-operate with other peoples and nations in equality and self-respect.

54. It is not my intention to plead here that the developed nations owe a living to the developing. I do plead indeed, on the other hand, that all nations, regardless of their levels of development, owe it to themselves and to future generations not to throw away the opportunity available today to find timely solutions for the problems of mankind and to establish, through mutual understanding and constructive co-operation, a just and therefore enduring pattern of international relations. That opportunity would be lost if the developed nations were to look upon the proposals of the developing for genuine interdependence as the unfortunate clamour of the indigent who must be pacified with grudging concessions and charity.

55. It is imperative that the world look upon the particular and pressing problems of the least developed countries with greater understanding and treat the call for greater access to the markets of the developed world for the products of the industries of developing countries, and fair prices for their commodities, as an indispensable corollary of true partnership. Just and equitable economic relations

⁶ *Ibid.*, resolution 16.

also require that there should be a realistic appraisal of the steep and spiralling differentials between the prices of the commodity exports of the developing countries and the manufactured goods they import from the developed countries. It is in this context that the performance of the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] in Nairobi this year and the current dialogue in Paris⁷ must be measured and evaluated.

56. Proposals for the establishment of a council of producers' associations of raw materials, the creation of a special fund for the financing of buffer stocks, contributions to the special fund on a basis of self-help, joint import procurement policies, increased trade exchanges among the developing countries, a countervailing currency backed by the economic potential of the developing countries, the establishment of a bank of the third world, the expansion of resource-based industries, the conclusion of long-term agreements on product specialization and the various other programmes for co-operation among the developing countries—all these are a manifestation of the realization on the part of the non-aligned countries that the only guarantee of equal partnership for them with the developed nations lies in their increasing dependence on their own resources and their own efforts. All this has been endorsed at the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries only recently concluded in Mexico.

57. In all the institutions that either have been established or are proposed for establishment there is a common purpose. They must all ensure an increased flow of real resources to the developing countries. Those countries have accumulated external debts owing mainly to world economic circumstances beyond their own control rather than to any economic mismanagement on their part. It is urgent that decisive action be taken by the developed nations to solve this problem without further delay.

58. The attitude of the developed countries to the question of resource transfers is a great disappointment to the developing countries. Even a simple issue like the replenishment of International Development Association resources—which by now should have been automatically resolved—has become a subject for detailed and prolonged negotiation. That is a matter of grave consequence to the developing nations. The developed countries should pledge a continuing and increased flow of resources to that agency.

59. To peoples which have no experience of real poverty or of the intensity of the suffering of its victims, the call of the non-aligned and other developing nations for a greater awareness of their problems and an acceptance of collective responsibility for their solution might sometimes sound peremptory or strident.

60. It is true that some of the declarations and decisions of the non-aligned in the sphere of economic relations appear militant and, at times, challenging. They are in fact intended to be a challenge, not to the welfare or the prosperity of the developed nations, but to the conscience and the claim of the world to a commitment to justice and equity. Their intent and substance emphasize international

co-operation of a level which has not been envisaged before. It would be easy enough to understand their tone if it was realized that this is nearly two thirds of humanity putting into words its fears and frustrations, not merely over recent decades but through centuries.

61. Before the peoples of the developed world wring their hands in exasperation at what they consider the incessant and insatiable clamour of those in the developing countries, I would wish that they first consider the justice of the current economic order which has enabled them over the last three or four centuries to reach their present heights of achievement and affluence, at the same time condemning millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America to a life of dire poverty and hopelessness.

62. What is the justice of an economic order in which nearly half the labour force of the developing countries are almost permanently unemployed, while the developed nations panic when a mere 7 to 10 per cent of theirs are seasonally out of work?

63. Is it reasonable to expect 1 billion of the world's peoples, more than one fourth of humanity, to find sustenance on an annual *per capita* income of a little over \$100, while those in the developed world are discontented with \$3,000 per annum?

64. Is there any moral or rational justification for the present distribution of the world's wealth, which would condemn 500 million people—one eighth of the world's population—to a life of daily starvation and serious malnutrition?

65. Is the world so insensitive that it would accept with nonchalance the fact that nearly half that number are children whose mental and physical development would be doomed to permanent retardation as a consequence of that poverty?

66. Is our collective conscience so impervious to tragedy that we would allow 10,000 men, women and children in the developing nations to die of starvation every day?

67. Is it possible to expect the developing nations, in all honesty, to divert their limited resources to what is extolled as development, and to objective priorities, sacrificing generations to such a fate?

68. Is it fair to criticize developing nations which give priority to those questions of life and death, through their social welfare expenditures, for neglecting textbook prescriptions for so-called development?

69. The problems to which I have drawn attention are not the product of a vivid imagination; nor are the solutions offered by the non-aligned nations an exercise in detached dialectics or arid philosophical speculation. What I have said here today is based on direct national experience and from personal involvement in the political, social and economic trials, as well as the achievements, of a small nation through nearly two decades.

70. Tea accounts for more than 50 per cent of Sri Lanka's export earnings. We have increased our production of tea

⁷ Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

and systematically improved its equality over the years, and in the 14 years since 1962 we have watched its real price, in terms of the prices we pay for our imports, plummet by more than 70 per cent. That represents a loss for Sri Lanka today of \$500 million per annum, which, expressed in our national currency, amounts roughly to 6 billion rupees. That is almost the entire budget of my country for one whole year. How long and how far can modern human society, even parts of it, expect to prosper or even survive with such an economic system?

71. In the 28 years since we attained independence, we have listened to expert advice and diligently applied ourselves to the diversification of our economy. We went into export-oriented industries which were considered appropriate for our levels of technology and our resources. As soon as our manufactures were ready, so were barriers against them in many of the developed countries.

72. There is, on the other hand, a pleasant side to this picture. When my country attained independence 28 years ago, it had been a colony of three foreign Powers, in turn, over more than four centuries. With independence, we inherited a society which was divided against itself between a small ruling *élite* and the masses who had nothing in common with their rulers, except their shared nationality.

73. The party I represent was in power twice before—from 1956 to 1959 and again from 1960 to 1965. During those eight years we were able to remedy the more glaring discrepancies between a colonial society and an independent, self-respecting nation.

74. Since we were elected to power again in 1970, with a popular mandate for fundamental change, we have been largely successful in implementing a policy of social and economic transformation under a constitution committed to the establishment of a socialist democracy.

75. In the last six years we devoted our attention largely to the establishment of a more just social and economic order within the country, through a more equitable sharing of the nation's wealth. With a ceiling on land ownership, we have redistributed arable land to ensure greater equity and productivity. A ceiling on ownership of houses has brought good housing within the reach of many and freed them from exploitation by landlords. I might add that both of these reforms were carried out on the basis of reasonable compensation to previous owners.

76. We have had notable successes in income redistribution which have won international acclaim. In the last 10 years, the share of the national income of the lowest 40 per cent of the population of the country registered an increase of from 13.7 to 19.3 per cent, and the share of the richest 10 per cent fell from 37 to 28 per cent. That was achieved through direct taxation, on the one hand, and food subsidies and other benefits to the non-taxable sector, on the other.

77. Developing countries with serious economic problems have often been blamed for their predicament because of the rate of this population growth. In Sri Lanka we have succeeded in reducing that rate from 2.8 per cent in the early 1960s to 1.6 per cent in the last two years.

78. We have taken measures of nationalization—again, with due compensation—in some areas of economic activity where overriding national interest demanded it. I should emphasize, however, that we do not look upon nationalization as an end in itself, because in our conception of co-operation for development there is an important role for private foreign and domestic investment.

79. We have had considerable success in involving the people directly in the planning and execution of development projects, through the decentralization of the national budget and the establishment of divisional development councils in which the administrative officials, the elected representatives and the people themselves participate.

80. We have long and rewarding experience of co-operation on a nation-wide scale through multipurpose co-operative societies and we have seen the flowering of rural enterprise and inventiveness through the extension of the co-operative principle to farming and to small- and medium-scale rural industry.

81. I might add, without wanting or appearing to be presumptuous, that some of our achievements in the sphere of reducing inequality and giving the people a direct say and a stake in the development process have earned recognition among many countries, and we believe that what has been proved possible on a national scale can be achieved on an international scale as well.

82. Our experience in Sri Lanka is relevant to other developing countries, particularly in the non-aligned world only because the peasants and workers in all our countries have a shared experience of deprivation, toil and poverty from which they seek emancipation for a better life. For solidarity among the non-aligned is not only the solidarity of our Heads of State or Government, but of our peoples on whose behalf all our efforts are directed.

83. I referred to our national experience for another reason. The choice of non-alignment as a way of international life by the 86 nations representing almost two thirds of the membership of this Assembly has been conditioned both by their national experience and by their conception of not only what is possible but also what is indispensable for the conduct of human relations on a basis of equality, dignity and mutual respect. Our policies and programmes, however, cannot succeed in a vacuum of mutual ignorance between the developed and the developing or in an atmosphere poisoned by misunderstanding and distrust.

84. Non-alignment is the deliberate choice of a large number of nations not to be drawn into the policies of confrontation implicit in the system of hostile military alliances of the post-war era. It was for that reason a refusal to contribute to a division of the world into camps, hardening suspicion and distrust into morbid fear, consuming conflict and, eventually, a war of mutual annihilation. To the extent that nearly two thirds of the membership of this Assembly has opted for non-alignment, nearly two thirds of the world has been insulated from the waste and futility of confrontation.

85. A movement which was founded on a refusal to contribute to a system of antagonistic blocs, cannot itself

become a bloc. I have said this before, but it will bear repetition as there are still some nations which look upon non-alignment as a new alignment, a new bloc, even a new threat. The world should not be victim to this fear and distrust of a movement which came into being as a creative alternative to mutual suspicion, recrimination and hate.

86. Far from leading to the formation of a new bloc, the policy of non-alignment attaches primary importance to the freedom of each nation to choose its policies and to decide on its actions without the inhibition and the inflexibility of alignments. I would like to declare unequivocally that, with such an emphasis on freedom, the non-aligned movement cannot and will not allow itself to become an instrument of propaganda for any ideology, system or camp. It is crucial that the world understands this because genuine co-operation can flourish only in an atmosphere of right understanding.

87. Non-alignment is not and was never intended to be, as has been mistakenly thought in some quarters, a neutrality as between ideologies or systems, in the domestic policies of member nations.

88. This is reflected in the diversity of the patterns of political, social and economic organization adopted by individual members of this movement, each to suit its particular circumstance. The crux of non-alignment is that member nations do not circumscribe their foreign policy options by alignment with any camp or become parties to military alliances and pacts within the framework of power rivalry.

89. Non-alignment was designed as a bridge across the chasm of misunderstanding, suspicion, hostility and confrontation of an artificially divided world.

90. The basis of its continuation today and its growing appeal is its emphasis on co-operation between nations of different social, political and economic systems, regardless of their size, power or influence. On behalf of the non-aligned, I would like to assure the world that we remain committed to this goal of co-operation.

91. I have attempted in the course of my statement to place the decisions of the Colombo Conference in perspective by explaining the motivations, methods and objectives of the non-aligned movement.

92. The unity which found expression and reaffirmation at Colombo confounded many critics who had expected the movement to flounder in disunity and even break up in disarray. Divergence of opinion is of course natural, and indeed no one in the non-aligned movement expects that 86 nations should think, speak and act alike on every issue. That would neither be truthful nor in keeping with the perfect independence of thought and response which the movement has always emphasized. But it gives me great pleasure to declare that there was complete unity and unanimity on every fundamental principle which has concerned the movement as a whole.

93. That unity will continue undiminished in the years to come. After all, it cannot be for nothing that even countries which have been parties to military pacts and alliances in

the past are today interested in joining the movement. Regardless of all claims to the contrary, those countries acknowledge the strength of the movement and its potential for productive change in the global pattern of political, social and economic relations.

94. We have made substantial progress in the last two decades in our united search for solutions to the world's most pressing problems. We view the Fifth Conference as an important stage in our progress towards peace and justice.

95. We have faith in our potential and our eventual success in establishing a world order of genuine peace, equity and justice, not so much because of the material power we wield but more because of the reasonableness of our proposals.

96. We cannot, of course, offer eyes to those who would not see, ears to those who refuse to listen, or hearts to those who have chosen not to feel. But everywhere we see the stirrings of a new world, the beginnings of a new revolution of consciousness, awareness and reason, especially among the youth.

97. There are statesmen and ordinary men and women in all parts of the world, developed and developing, who have the perception and the sensitivity to recognize the new challenges of our time and the new opportunities they present, and are capable of responding to them, creatively and constructively. In their perception of the world, there is no need for confrontation. It is the sensitive, the perceptive, the humane and the responsive who will fashion the new world and inherit it.

98. Today a *laissez-faire* approach would be irrelevant and out of date. So are concepts of well-being based on the gross national product. Happiness and well-being cannot be measured solely by the yard-sticks to which we have so far been accustomed. In human terms, the face of a smiling child, the look of fulfilment and purpose in the eyes of a man who has not been condemned to idleness, and the repose of a mother freed from fear and uncertainty about her family's next meal, are better indicators.

99. It has been fashionable to speak and write in terms of three separate worlds on this earth—a first world, a second world, and a third world—with connotations of comparative accomplishment, as if the human family can be so parcelled out into segments, huddled behind defensive barriers, in a state of perpetual confrontation against one another.

100. Such a view of the world would belie the very civilization of our time when man is more aware than ever before of the unity of his destiny. It is one world which we all inherited and it is in this one world that we have to build our hopes and realize our dreams, or, if we choose wrongly, face our collective failure.

101. For man, who has displayed so much ingenuity and brilliance in weaving an intricate fabric of technological and scientific achievement in so short a time in terms of his evolution, it should not be so difficult to respond to the call of humanity and justice.

102. I am confident that at this thirty-first session of the General Assembly we shall be equal to that call and

demonstrate in the coming years, the courage, the will and the vision it demands.

103. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, and on my own behalf, I thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Defence and Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka, Her Excellency Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike, for the important statement she has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

104. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, may I remind the representatives of the decision taken by the Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting that representatives should refrain from expressing their congratulations to speakers in the hall as a matter of courtesy to the following speaker. I trust that representatives will co-operate with me in enforcing this rule.

105. Mr. de la PUENTE RADBILL (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, in addressing this central United Nations forum as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru, I am pleased to express my Government's satisfaction at your election as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. Your brilliant professional career in a particularly difficult period for multilateral diplomacy, as well as the perseverance and distinction of your actions in favour of the fundamental interests of the third world and of peace, bode well for a fruitful session, during which I offer you the best efforts of the delegation which I lead.

106. At the same time, I should like to place on record the gratitude of the Government of Peru for the important and clear-sighted actions which have characterized the term of office of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, a period which has seen our Organization reach near universality in its membership and in which serious problems have been faced, problems rooted in a profound alteration of the structure of international relations.

107. Last year, when the United Nations had been in existence for three decades, attempts were made to assess its historical role. We then participated in the expression of a multiplicity of viewpoints and a rich diversity in emphasis as well as in the assertion of criticism. We thus witnessed how, by expressing our aspirations and pointing out the obstacles to them, we could reach a positive conclusion of cautious optimism about the international role of the United Nations.

108. In reaffirming Peru's support for this world Organization, I wish on this occasion to add a word of encouragement regarding our sincere concern about the future responsibility of the United Nations, specially in relation to the need for a change in the political will of the nations of the world in the direction of future collective action for peace.

109. Today we have fresh in our minds the struggle of peoples which have won their liberation and unity with their blood. Today when the passing away of one of the great leaders of mankind, Chairman Mao Tsetung, provides us with the serenity and the perspective to draw up a

precise balance-sheet of the evolution of the world; today when the vain arrogance of racist régimes is being shaken by the attacks of oppressed peoples and the pressure of the universal conscience, the time has come to ask ourselves with humility and above all with realism whether the time has not come to change an archaic and short-sighted mentality which refuses to perceive not only what is inevitable but also the advantages and benefits of the great historical change of our times.

110. On this occasion Peru reiterates its most genuine desire to participate loyally in the process of true understanding and co-operation and to maintain, within the necessary framework of the review and reform of the unjust structures which still prevail, the most open and fruitful relations with all the peoples of the earth so as to work together in that common task of ensuring for small as well as large, for poor as well as rich, that freedom and justice which today more clearly than ever are an irreplaceable and urgent requirement in the cause of maintaining peace and security, a cause to which this Organization is essentially and fundamentally committed.

111. It will avail us nothing at this stage for each side to endeavour to reiterate that in the economic field we have no wish for confrontation. That confrontation—which we do not wish to avow but which holds the industrial, commercial and financial world in suspense and which is at the root of the international economic crisis which we are unable to overcome—constitutes the most tangible proof of the interdependence which the new correlation of economic forces, and hence of political, military and strategic power, has brought to light in its full dramatic dimensions. We live in a world so interdependent that the mere rumour of the rise in the price of a single commodity is capable of shaking the foundations of the great industrial Powers, which in turn anticipate the possible repercussions of other adjustments in different sectors of the production of strategic natural resources.

112. In the process of seeking genuine world understanding which we advocate, we commit our most sincere and positive efforts without reservation, as befits the independent, tranquil and constructive nature of our revolution, which is nationalist, humanist and inspired by the principles of Christianity, respectful of liberty and human rights, committed only to the supreme and abiding interests of its people and to solidarity with other peoples which struggle for the same ideals; ours is a revolution which is not identified with any imported model and which stubbornly defends its conceptual autonomy and its ideological independence; it is a revolution, finally, which on the international level expresses itself through a foreign policy proudly independent and sovereign, deeply Latin American, third-world, non-aligned and avowedly universal.

113. It appears impossible to calculate the true importance of the contours defining the international context of the past few years. But it is symptomatic that the resulting configuration coincides, in its evolution and nature, with the essence of the work of this forum, with the political function of the United Nations. It shows the appropriateness of shaping this world institution for the future and not as a historical monument to the balance of power, to secret diplomacy, to the undeniable belief in the immutability of

the strength of the great Powers, or to foreign policy as a game of influence or a means of coercion.

114. In line with that reasoning it is relevant to sketch out certain central aspects of the agreements of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo, so brilliantly presided over by the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Bandaranaike, who has today so clearly explained the agreements arrived at which confirm the common views on the present nature of international relations. The precise reaffirmation of the fundamental principles of non-alignment, through an independent foreign policy, which is the dynamic essence of the movement, means that it is on the basis of free determination, independence and peaceful coexistence—principles originally put forward by a small but important group of Latin American, Asian and African countries—that the catalytic nucleus of developing countries in the recent phase of international relations is being built today.

115. I do not believe that I err in underscoring that the Colombo Conference will project above all a legitimate vocation for horizontal co-operation, a profound trend towards collective self-sufficiency, no longer of the members of the non-aligned group alone, but of the third world in its entirety. This paramount task of our countries will play a preponderant role in the future structuring of international relations.

116. Against that background there are three concrete concepts that could be included within the framework of our debates at this thirty-first session of the General Assembly. The first concept refers to the pressing task of making universal the process of détente set into motion by the super-Powers. But if détente were extended to the third world without first eliminating residual conflicts, that not only would be unrealistic but also could become a cause for growing competition and general risk, instead of a prelude to peace.

117. Needless to say, the elimination of the sources of tension to which I am referring is not a simple matter. Essentially it involves a historical cycle of adjustment and readjustment of the structure of international relations which are complicated by a state of dependence that is more acute than ever today and subordinates the economic aspirations of the countries of the third world to the so-called priority demands of the established global order. The political essence of the North-South economic confrontation, the polarization of the opposing interests of the developed and under-developed world in respect of the resources of the earth, their distribution and control, condition any final settlement and constitute the second concept to which I have referred.

118. The third task of this Assembly would thus be the positive projection of the aforementioned definitions—that is to say, the reformulation of the process of détente at the global level and the new political framework of the North-South economic confrontation.

119. The provisional or preventive character of solutions recently applied to critical questions in international relations is a total departure from the type of approach which we are suggesting and which is rooted in the

imperative need to bring into effect a world order based on the complementary nature of the process of effective democratization of international relations and the new international economic order.

120. The absence of the third world from effective decision-making has produced partial, incomplete emergency measures, particularly in the painful conflicts in the Middle East, Cyprus and South Africa. In each of these cases the absent factor is precisely the indispensable element for a complete solution. I am referring to the lack of consultation of the wishes of oppressed nations.

121. I believe that it is difficult to harmonize the wills of the developed world and the emerging world in terms of the reformulation of the future political context unless the will to dominate that has been manifest in the political and economic relations between nations for centuries is set aside in advance. A policy which allows institutions so repudiated as *apartheid*, which attempts to disguise the crudest racism beneath a paternalism which is as repressive as it is counter-productive, can only be the fruit of a distorted view of human values, which we, too, repudiate. It is on the basis of that judgement that our support for the liberation of southern Africa and our constant and definitive rejection of racist practices is derived.

122. My country supports the efforts recently made in the search for a peaceful solution in southern Africa, efforts in which, under the auspices of great African statesmen—who feel in their flesh and blood that there is an imperative need to find a solution to this tragic situation—we are pleased to note that distinguished European personalities and the United States Secretary of State personally are participating. Like everyone present here, we hope that these efforts will soon prove fruitful. I must add that in our view no solution can be definitive unless it takes into account the rights of oppressed majorities—that is to say, unless it contributes to the attainment of the legitimate aspirations of African peoples, aspirations which Peru has the honour to defend.

123. The Economic Declaration of the Colombo Conference [A/31/197, annex II] sets forth a programme for mutual co-operation which represents a step forward in the efforts to enabling developing countries to attain well-being.

124. The recovery of basic resources, the just pricing of those resources, and the constant and level-headed defence of our economic activity require co-operation among developing countries, not only in respect of raw materials but also in order to lay the groundwork for their just participation in the monetary and financial design of the future world economic system.

125. The shift in the balance-of-payments problem of the bulk of the third world, the alarming indebtedness, unemployment and recession in our economies are now added to the grave problems facing many independent régimes in the under-developed world. While that is occurring, we have witnessed the truncated dialogue that took place at the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi, as well as the impasse which arose as the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris.

Mr. Montiel Argüello (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

126. In a word, we realize that, side by side with an experiment in horizontal co-operation, ambitious in its dimensions, an economic crisis of enormous and unforeseeable effects persists, one against which there is no wish to apply structural solutions capable of mobilizing the vast resources of our peoples.

127. Against this background, at its last session the Third United Nations Conference of the Law of the Sea has achieved little that was fruitful in tangible terms. In part this can be attributed to the fact that it was convened prematurely, when political circumstances were hardly propitious for negotiations. The problems facing the Conference are very difficult, especially as regards the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction, an area which happens to provide an opportunity for the concrete application of the principles of the new international economic order. For this purpose, however, it is indispensable that the developed countries approach the question of the sea in that context so that we can progress and reach an agreement at an early date.

128. In putting forward general guidelines for international action emanating from a conception based on honesty and equity of treatment, I must confess that precisely for this reason the Government of my country finds it difficult to understand recent interpretations by various sectors which distort the essence of our political process and therefore jeopardize the exercise of responsible international opinion. I say this because I find these simplistic interpretations of Peruvian reality particularly inexplicable at the very time when my Government is setting out to implement a policy which lays down the pragmatic character of its actions on the basis of continuous consultation and dialogue, consultation which only at the national level can give us a true measure of the actions we are taking. I say "at the national level" because, the measures we adopt being Peruvian measures for a strictly Peruvian problem, certain distorted interpretations in the international arena can hardly be helpful.

129. I believe it is the unwavering duty of the Government of Peru to analyse and evaluate the trajectory and methodology which has been applied for eight years in an atmosphere of peace and profound human tolerance and has been aimed at achieving revolutionary objectives which remain unalterable.

130. If that analysis and evaluation, which are the clearest expressions of the humanist meaning of our revolution, are interpreted otherwise, they will be of little help for the pragmatism we seek at this phase of the Peruvian revolution coinciding with the development needs of our country in an atmosphere of peace and harmony.

131. I am convinced that world public opinion will find it possible to grant my country, which is imbued with a deep sense of responsibility and solidarity, an objective appraisal and more just treatment, particularly when, as is now the case in other countries, we are suffering a grave economic crisis the overcoming of which requires serious internal sacrifices and the broadest possible international co-operation.

132. Latin America has not only contributed to the strengthening of self-determination and non-intervention as basic principles of international relations; when it faced obstacles to the consolidation of its republican personality, it confronted incessant threats from the centres of power to the juridical rationale of its incipient nationalism. Through this long experience of national struggle and affirmation Latin American countries have been able to combine their varied internal and diplomatic resources. They have made key changes in internal power relationships. They have produced models for development of different types and have assumed a cultural mix which identifies us with our particular nature within the context of the third world.

133. In this long process of national formation in Latin America we see a liberating dynamism which is presented with the very first moments of national identity. It started three years ago, and at that time a dynamic current of social reform was unleashed, a current which has already achieved marked influence. I have in mind the gradual control and management of natural resources, the systematic defence of sovereignty over those resources, the preparation and adjustment of our different development processes to a preferential concern for social justice.

134. Externally, the Latin American republics have impressed a creative sense upon the process of their national formation. We have promoted this since the very beginning of our republican era 150 years ago. We have laid the foundations for a single nationality through the ideals of liberty and unity which inspired our liberators.

135. This very year we are celebrating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama, an early diplomatic event sponsored by Peru in which the vocation of Latin America for unity was manifested, and we established a precedent for a world conclave. It seems just and timely, therefore, that Latin America and the brother countries of the third world should turn their eyes to Panama and offer it their solidarity and support in its efforts to gain sovereign control of the Canal Zone, an anachronistic vestige and an obstacle to an understanding between the collective personality of Latin America and of North America.

136. In the present circumstances Peru thought it essential to stress its efforts to meet the desire for unity in Latin America and institutional models through which those purposes can best and more concretely be fulfilled.

137. The fulfilment of both conditions has so far made possible the vitality and vigour of the Andean Group and, in a wider context, the promising establishment of the Latin American Economic System, to which, as in the case of the Congress of Panama 150 years ago, Peru gave its full support, as it would in regard to all effective efforts at integration in Latin America.

138. Nevertheless, the mere existence of these institutional arrangements does not in itself guarantee fulfilment of the aims which constitute their *raison d'être*, as the destiny of the regional organizations will ultimately depend upon the unshakeable will of their Governments and their commitment to one of the earliest ideals of Latin America—integration.

139. In the case of Peru, the historical commitment to the cause of integration, from its closest and most intimate sphere, the Andean context, determines an obligation to enrich it permanently through joint action with our neighbours, who share the Bolivarian ideal of integration and the depth and wealth of aims on which the Cartagena Agreement⁸ was founded.

140. Latin America's historical participation in international affairs has led it to make a particularly constant contribution to the treatment of key United Nations issues. I am referring to, among others, the economic issues, the régime of the oceans and the disarmament and denuclearization formula, tasks within which Latin American thinking has played and continues to play a major role.

141. The notion of dependency as a conditioning factor of under-development leads us to a widely operative language in international economic forums and constitutes the very same structural link which Latin American countries have been defining in explaining the present economic crisis. Secondly, the legal system of three Latin American countries on the Pacific defending their sovereignty over the sea up to a 200-mile limit has become a substantial element of any solution to the problem of the law of the sea. Lastly, from the denuclearization of Latin America, established by the Treaty of Tlatelolco,⁹ to the proliferation of zones of peace, Latin America is one in steadfast safeguard and defence against the nuclear threat of the Powers.

142. The international commitment of the Revolutionary Government of Peru is, in the present phase, identified with the renovating, profoundly Latin American conception of the international *status quo*. The independent foreign policy of Peru, which has earned it notable solidarity and support, is based on a deep respect for the sovereignty and self-determination of peoples, as well as on the conviction that, parallel with the development of our own nationalities a personality is shaping itself of which all the many Latin American nations partake. That awareness of, and hope for, our common historical destiny arises from our own experience, at times frustrating but always rich, that leads us to favour unity, intercommunication and world peace, to which Peru has lent, and will continue to lend, its unwavering support within the framework of its solidarity with the third world in the constant quest for a better, more just future.

Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) resumed the Chair.

143. Mr. KISSINGER (United States of America): Let me first congratulate this body for electing Ambassador Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka to preside over this thirty-first session of the General Assembly. He is a diplomat of great international stature who, among his many distinctions, has provided indispensable leadership to the crucial negotiations on the law of the sea.

144. I would also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts on behalf of the world

⁸ Andean Agreement for Subregional Integration, done at Bogotá on 26 May 1969.

⁹ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. For the text, see United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068.

community. He successfully embodies the Charter's principles of fairness, impartiality and dedication to the causes of global peace and human dignity.

145. The United Nations was born of the conviction that peace is both indivisible and more than mere stability, that for peace to be lasting it must fulfil mankind's aspirations for justice, freedom, economic well-being, the rule of law and the promotion of human rights. But the history of this Organization has been, in considerable measure, the gradual awareness that humanity would not inevitably share a single approach to these goals.

146. The United Nations has survived—and helped to manage—30 years of vast change in the international system. It has come through the bitterness of the cold war. It has played a vital role in the dismantling of colonial empires. It has helped to moderate conflicts, and is even now manning truce lines in critical parts of the world. It has carried out unprecedented efforts in such areas as public health, development assistance and technical co-operation.

147. But the most important challenge for this Organization still lies ahead: to vindicate mankind's positive and nobler goals and help nations to achieve a new understanding of community.

148. With modern communications, human endeavour has become a single experience for peoples in every part of the globe. We share the wonders of science and technology, the trials of industrialization and social change, and a constant awareness of the fate and the dreams of our fellow men.

149. The world has shrunk, but the nations of the world have not come closer together. Paradoxically, nationalism has been on the rise at the precise time when the most serious issues we all face can only be resolved through a recognition of our interdependence.

150. Fragmentation has affected even this body. Nations have taken decisions on a bloc or regional basis, or by rigid ideologies, before even listening to the debate in these halls; on many issues positions have been predetermined by prior conferences containing more than half the membership of the United Nations. The tendency is widespread to come here for battle, rather than negotiation. If these trends continue, the hope for world community will dissipate and the moral influence of this Organization will progressively diminish.

151. This would be a tragedy. Members of this Organization are today engaged in a multiplicity of endeavours to find just solutions for complex and explosive problems. There is a fragile tranquillity, but beneath the surface it is challenged by fundamental forces of change—technological, economic and social. More than ever, this is a time for statecraft and restraint, for persistence but also for daring in the pursuit of peace and justice. The doctrines of perpetual strife produce only bloodshed and bitterness; they unleash the forces of destruction and repression and plant the seeds of future conflict. Appeals to hatred—whether on the basis of race or class or colour or nationality or ideology—will in the end rebound against those who launch them and will not advance the cause of freedom and justice in the world.

152. Let us never forget that the United Nations benefits the smaller and weaker nations most of all; for without the rule of law, disputes will be settled as they have been all too frequently and painfully in history: by tests of strength. It is not the weak that will prevail in a world of chaos.

153. The United States believes that this thirty-first session of the General Assembly must free itself of the ideological and confrontational tactics that marked some of its predecessors and dedicate itself to a programme of common action.

154. The United States comes to the General Assembly prepared to work co-operatively on programmes of common action. We will offer concrete proposals. We will listen carefully to the ideas of others. We will resist pressure and we shall seek co-operation.

155. Let me, in this spirit, discuss the three principal challenges we face: the problem of peace, the challenge of economic well-being, and the agenda of global interdependence.

156. The age of the United Nations has also been an age of frequent conflict. We have been spared a third world war, but we cannot assume that this condition will prevail forever or without exertion. Our generation must build out of the multitude of nations a structure of relations that frees the energies of nations and peoples for the positive endeavours of mankind, without the fear or the threat of war.

157. Central to American foreign policy are our sister democracies, the industrial nations of North America, Western Europe, the southern Pacific and Japan, and our traditional friends in the Western Hemisphere. We are bound to these nations by ties of history, civilization, culture, shared principles and generations of common endeavours.

158. Our alliances, founded on the bed-rock of mutual security, now reach beyond the common defence to a new range of issues: the social challenges shared by the advanced technological societies; common approaches to easing tensions with our adversaries; and shaping positive relations with the developing world. The common efforts of the industrial democracies are not directed at exclusive ends, but as a bridge to a broader, more secure and co-operative international system and to increasing freedom and prosperity for all nations.

159. The United States is proud of its historical friendships in the Western Hemisphere. In the modern era these friendships must be, and they are, based on equality and mutual benefit. We have a unique advantage in this Hemisphere: the great dialogue between the developed and the developing nations can find its most creative solution in the Hemisphere where modern democracy was born, and where co-operation between developed and developing, large and small, is a long-standing tradition.

160. Throughout history, ideology and power have tempted nations to seek unilateral advantage. But the inescapable lesson of the nuclear age is that the politics of tests of strength has become incompatible with the survival

of humanity. Traditional power politics becomes irrational when war can destroy civilized life and when neither side can gain a decisive strategic advantage.

161. Accordingly, the great nuclear Powers have particular responsibilities for restraint and vision. They are in a position to know the full extent of the catastrophe which could overwhelm mankind. They must take care not to fuel disputes if they conduct their rivalries by traditional methods; if they turn local conflicts into aspects of a global competition, sooner or later their conflicts will grow out of control.

162. The United States believes that the future of mankind requires coexistence with the Soviet Union. Tired slogans cannot obscure the necessity for a more constructive relationship. We will insist that restraint be reciprocal, not just in bilateral relations, but around the globe. There can be no selective détente. We will maintain our defences and our vigilance. But we know also that tough rhetoric is not strength and that we owe future generations more hopeful prospects than a delicate equilibrium of awesome forces.

163. Peace requires a balance of strategic power. This the United States will maintain. But the United States is convinced that the goal of strategic balance is achievable more safely by agreement than through an arms race. The negotiations on the limitation of armaments are therefore at the heart of United States-Soviet relations.

164. Unprecedented agreements limiting and controlling nuclear weapons have been reached. An historic effort has been made to place a ceiling on the strategic arsenals of both sides in accordance with the Vladivostok communiqué of 24 November 1974. And once this is achieved we are ready to seek immediately to lower the levels of strategic arms.

165. The United States welcomes the recent progress that has been made in further curtailing nuclear-weapons testing and in establishing a régime for peaceful nuclear explosions for the first time. The two treaties now signed and awaiting ratification should be the basis for further progress in this field.

166. Together with several of our European allies, we are continuing efforts to achieve a balanced reduction in the military forces facing each other in central Europe. In some respects this is the most complex negotiation on arms limitation yet undertaken. It is our hope that, through patient effort, reciprocal reductions will soon be achieved that enhance the security of all countries concerned.

167. But coexistence and negotiations on the control of arms do not take place in a vacuum. We have been disturbed by the continuing accumulation of Soviet armaments and by recent instances of military intervention to tip the scales in local conflicts in distant continents. We have noted crude attempts to distort the purposes of peaceful diplomacy and to impede hopeful progress towards peaceful solutions to complex issues. These efforts only foster tensions; they cannot be reconciled with the policy of improving relations, and they will inevitably be resisted. For coexistence to be something better than an

uneasy armistice, both sides must recognize that ideology and power politics today confront the realities of the nuclear age and that a striving for unilateral advantages will not be accepted.

168. In recent years, the new relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China has held great significance for global security.

169. We came together out of necessity and a mutual belief that the world should remain free of military blackmail and the will to hegemony. We have set out a new path—in wide-ranging consultations, bilateral exchanges, the opening of offices in our respective capitals and an accelerating movement towards normalization. And we have derived reciprocal benefits—a clearer understanding of the aspirations of our peoples, better prospects for international equilibrium, reduced tensions in Asia and increased opportunities for parallel actions on global issues.

170. These elements form the basis for a growing and lasting relationship founded on objective common interest. The United States is committed to strengthen the bonds between us and to proceed towards the normalization of our relations in strict conformity with the principles of the Shanghai communiqué of 27 February 1972. As this process moves forward, each side must display restraint and respect for the interests and convictions of the other. We will keep Chinese interests in mind on all international issues and will do our utmost to take account of them. But if the relationship is to prosper, there must be similar sensitivity to our views and concerns.

171. On this basis, the progressive development of our relations with the world's most populous nation will be a key element of the foreign policy of the United States.

172. The world today is witness to continuing regional crises. Any one of them could blossom into larger conflict. Each one commands our most diligent efforts of conciliation and co-operation. The United States has played, and is prepared to continue to play, an active role in the search for peace in many areas—southern Africa, the Middle East, Korea and Cyprus. Let me deal with each of these.

173. Racial injustice and the grudging retreat of colonial power have conspired to make southern Africa an acid test of the world's hope for peace and justice under the Charter. A host of voices have been heard in this chamber warning that, if we failed quickly to find solutions to the crises of Namibia and Rhodesia, that part of the globe could become a battleground with consequences for every part of the world.

174. I have just been to Africa, at President Ford's request, to see what the United States could do to help the peoples of that continent achieve their aspirations to freedom and justice.

175. An opportunity to pull back from the brink now exists. I believe that Africa has before it the prize for which it has struggled so long—the opportunity for Africans to shape a future of peace, justice, racial harmony and progress.

176. The United Nations since its beginning has been concerned with the issue of Namibia. For 30 years that Territory has been a test of this institution's ability to make its decisions effective.

177. In recent months, the United States has vigorously sought to help the parties concerned speed up the process towards Namibian independence. The United States favours the following elements: the independence of Namibia within a fixed, short time-limit; the calling of a constitutional conference at a neutral location under the aegis of the United Nations; and the participation in that conference of all authentic national forces, including specially the South West Africa People's Organization. Progress has been made in achieving all those goals. We will exert our efforts to remove the remaining obstacles and bring into being a conference which can then fashion, with goodwill and wisdom, a design for the new State of Namibia and its relationship with its neighbours. We pledge our continued solicitude for the independence of Namibia so that it may, in the end, be a proud achievement of this Organization and a symbol of international co-operation.

178. Less than a week ago the Rhodesian authorities announced that they were prepared to meet with the nationalist leaders of Zimbabwe to form an interim Government to bring about majority rule within two years. That is in itself an historic break from the past. The African Presidents, in calling for immediate negotiations, have shown that they are prepared to seize this opportunity. And the Government of the United Kingdom, in expressing its willingness to assemble a conference, has shown its high sense of responsibility and concern for the rapid and just independence of Rhodesia.

179. Inevitably, after a decade of strife, suspicions run deep; many obstacles remain. Magnanimity is never easy, and less so after a generation of bitterness and racial conflict. But let us not lose sight of what has been achieved: a commitment to majority rule within two years; a commitment to form immediately a transitional Government with an African majority in the cabinet and an African prime minister; and a readiness to follow that with a constitutional conference to define the legal framework of an independent Zimbabwe.

180. The United States, together with other countries, has made major efforts; and we will continue to do what we can to support the hopeful process that is now possible. But it is those in Africa who must shape the future. The people of Rhodesia and the neighbouring States now face a supreme challenge. Their ability to work together and their capacity to unify will be tested in the months ahead as never before.

181. There may be some countries which see a chance for advantage in fueling the flames of war and racial hatred; but they are not motivated by concern for the peoples of Africa, or for peace. And if they succeed they could doom opportunities that might never return.

182. In South Africa itself, the pace of change accelerates. The system of *apartheid*—by whatever name—is a denial of our common humanity and a challenge to the conscience of mankind. Change is inevitable. The leaders of South Africa

have shown wisdom in facilitating a peaceful solution in Rhodesia. The world community takes note of it and urges similar wisdom—while there is still time—to bring racial justice to South Africa.

183. As for the United States, we have become convinced that our values and our interests are best served by an Africa seeking its own destiny, free of outside intervention. Therefore we will back no faction, whether in Rhodesia or elsewhere; we will not seek to impose solutions anywhere. The leadership and the future of an independent Zimbabwe, as for the rest of Africa, are for Africans to decide. The United States will abide by their decision. We call on all other non-African States to do likewise.

184. The United States wants no special position or sphere of influence in Africa. We respect African unity. The rivalry and interference of non-African Powers would make a mockery of Africa's hard-won struggle for independence from foreign domination. It will inevitably be resisted.

185. Every nation which has signed the Charter is pledged to allow the nations of Africa, whose peoples have suffered so much, to fulfil at long last their dreams of independence, peace, unity and human dignity in their own way and by their own decisions.

186. The United Nations, since its birth, has been involved in the chronic conflict in the Middle East. Each successive war has brought greater perils, an increased danger of great-Power confrontation and more severe economic dislocations.

187. At the request of the parties, the United States has been actively engaged in the search for peace in the Middle East. Since the 1973 war, statesmanship on all sides has produced unprecedented steps towards a resolution of that conflict. There have been three agreements that lessen the danger of war; and mutual commitments have been made to pursue the negotiating process with urgency until a final peace is achieved. As a result, we are closer to the goal of peace than at any time in a generation.

188. The role of the United Nations has been crucial. The Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East met in 1973 under its aegis, and the implementation of subsequent agreements has been negotiated in its working groups. Security Council resolutions form the only agreed framework for negotiations. I want to compliment the Secretary-General and his colleagues in New York, Geneva and on the ground in the Middle East for their vigorous support of the peace process at critical moments.

189. The United States remains committed to help the parties reach a settlement. The step-by-step negotiations of the past three years have now brought us to a point where comprehensive solutions seem possible. The decision before us now is how the next phase of negotiations should be launched.

190. The United States is prepared to participate in an early resumption of the work of the Geneva Conference. We think a preparatory conference must be useful for a discussion of the structure and agenda of future negotiations; but we are open to other suggestions.

191. The groundwork that has been laid represents an historic opportunity. The United States will do all it can to assure that by the time this Assembly meets next year it will be possible to report significant progress towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

192. Since the General Assembly last met, overwhelming tragedy has befallen the people of Lebanon. The United States strongly supports the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of that troubled country. We oppose partition. We hope that Lebanese affairs will soon be returned to the hands of the people of Lebanon. All Members of the United Nations, and all the conflicting parties in Lebanon, have an obligation to support the efforts of the new President of Lebanon to restore peace and to turn energies to rebuilding the nation. And the agencies of the United Nations system can play an important role in the reconstruction effort.

193. The confrontation between North and South Korea remains a threat to international peace and stability. The vital interests of world Powers intersect in Korea: conflict there inevitably threatens wider war.

194. We and many other United Nations Members welcome the fact that a contentious and sterile debate on Korea will be avoided this fall. Let this opportunity be used, then, to address the central problem of how the Korean people can determine their future and achieve their ultimate goal of peaceful reunification without a renewal of armed conflict.

195. Our own views on the problem of Korea are well known. We have called for a resumption of a serious dialogue between North and South Korea. We are prepared to have the United Nations Command dissolved so long as the Armistice Agreement is either preserved or replaced by more durable arrangements. We are willing to improve relations with North Korea, provided that its allies are ready to take similar steps towards the Republic of Korea. We are ready to talk with North Korea about the peninsula's future, but we will not do so without the participation of the Republic of Korea.

196. Last fall the United States proposed a conference including all the parties most directly concerned—North and South Korea, the United States, and the People's Republic of China—to discuss ways of adapting the Armistice Agreement to new conditions and replacing it with more permanent arrangements.¹⁰ On 22 July, I stated our readiness to meet immediately with those parties. I reaffirm that readiness here today.

197. If such a conference proves impracticable right now, the United States would support a phased approach. Preliminary talks between North and South Korea, including discussions on the venue and scope of the conference, could start immediately. In that phase the United States and the People's Republic of China could participate as observers or in an advisory role, if the parties so desired. If such discussions yielded concrete results, the United States and China could join the talks formally. This, in turn, could

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2355th meeting*.

set the stage for a wider conference in which other countries could associate themselves with arrangements that guarantee a durable peace on the peninsula.

198. We hope that North Korea and other concerned parties will respond affirmatively to this proposed procedure or else offer an alternative suggestion.

199. The world community is deeply concerned over the continuing stalemate on the Cyprus problem.

200. Domestic pressures, nationalistic objectives, and international rivalries have combined to block the parties from taking even the most elementary steps towards a solution. On those few occasions when representatives of the two Cypriot communities have come together, they have fallen into inconclusive procedural disputes. The passage of time has served only to complicate domestic difficulties and to diminish the possibilities of constructive conciliation.

201. All concerned need to focus on committing themselves to achieving the overriding objectives: assuring the well-being of the suffering Cypriot people and ensuring peace in the eastern Mediterranean.

202. A settlement must come from the Cypriot communities themselves. It is they who must decide how their island's economy, society and government shall be reconstructed. It is they who must decide the ultimate relationship of the two communities.

203. The United States is ready to assist in restoring momentum to the negotiating process. We believe that agreeing to a set of principles might help the parties to resume negotiations. We would suggest some concepts along the following lines. A settlement should preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. The present dividing lines on Cyprus must be adjusted to reduce the area currently controlled by the Turkish side. The territorial arrangement should take into account the economic requirements and humanitarian concerns of the two Cypriot communities, including the plight of those who remain refugees. A constitutional arrangement should provide conditions under which the two Cypriot communities can live in freedom and have a large voice in their own affairs. Security arrangements should be agreed upon that would permit the withdrawal of foreign military forces other than those present under international agreement.

204. I have discussed this approach with the Secretary-General and with several Western European colleagues. In the days ahead, the United States will consult along these lines with all interested parties. In the meantime, we urge the Secretary-General to continue his dedicated efforts.

205. I shall now turn to the problems of economic development. The economic division of our planet between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres, between the industrial and developing nations is a dominant issue of our time. Our mutual dependence for our prosperity is a reality, not a slogan. It should summon our best efforts to make common progress, to bring mankind's dreams of a better life to closer reality in our lifetime.

206. There are many reasons why co-operation has not made greater strides. The industrial democracies have sometimes been more willing to pay lip service to the challenge of development than to match rhetoric with real resources. The countries with non-market economies are quite prepared to undertake verbal assaults, but their performance is in inverse ratio to their rhetoric. Their real contribution to development assistance has been minimal. Last year, for example, the non-market economies provided only about 4 per cent of the public aid flowing to the developing nations. The developing nations are understandably frustrated and impatient with poverty, illiteracy and disease. But often they have made demands for change that are as confrontational as they are unrealistic. They sometimes speak of new economic orders as if growth were a quick fix requiring only that the world's wealth be properly redistributed through tests of strength instead of a process of self-help extending over decades. Ultimately, such tactics lose more than they gain, for they undermine the popular support in the industrial democracies which is imperative to provide the resources and market access—available nowhere else—to sustain development.

207. I believe that the objectives of the developing nations and the objectives of the industrial nations are complementary. Indeed they must be, for neither side can achieve its aims at the expense of the other. They can be realized only through co-operation.

208. We took a major step forward together a year ago at the seventh special session of this Assembly, and we have since followed through on many fronts. We have taken steps to protect the economic security of developing nations against cyclical financial disaster. The newly expanded compensatory finance facility of the International Monetary Fund has disbursed over \$2 billion to developing nations in this year alone. Replenishments of the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank will provide additional resources for development. World-wide food aid has been expanded. With a United States contribution of \$200 million, we have brought the International Fund for Agricultural Development close to operation.

209. The United States has continued this process by putting forward a number of new proposals at the fourth session of UNCTAD in May 1976. We committed ourselves to improvements in the quality of aid. We agreed to a serious effort to improve markets of 18 basic commodities. These measures, undertaken since we met here just a year ago, assist, not with rhetoric and promises, but in practical and concrete ways, the peoples of the world that are struggling to throw off the chains of poverty.

210. Much remains to be done. First, the application of science and technology is at the very heart of the development process. The United States, conscious of its pioneering role in technology, has put forward three basic principles, which we shall support with funds and talent: to train individuals who can identify, select and manage the future technology of the developing world; to build both national and international institutions to create indigenous technology; and to spur the private sector to make its maximum contribution to the development and transfer of technological progress.

211. To achieve these goals, we are today extending an invitation to the world conference on science and technology for development, now scheduled for 1979, to meet in this country. In preparation for that meeting, we have asked members of the industrial, academic and professional scientific communities throughout the United States to meet in Washington in November. They will review the important initiatives this country can take to expand the technological base for development and they will strive to develop new approaches.

212. Secondly, the ministerial meeting of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris should be given new impetus. We are making several new proposals. We will seek to help nations facing severe debt burdens. We will advance new ideas for expanded co-operation in energy.

213. Thirdly, the industrial democracies have been far too willing to wait for the demands of the developing countries rather than to advance their own proposals. Now, however, the countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development have, at the suggestion of the United States, agreed to examine long-range development planning and to develop a more coherent and comprehensive approach to global growth and economic justice.

214. Fourthly, natural disasters each year take thousands of lives and cost billions of dollars. It strikes most those who can afford it least—the poorest peoples of the world. The United Nations has a unique capacity to address these global concerns and thus improve man's odds against nature. We urge this body to take the lead in strengthening international co-operation to prevent and alleviate natural calamity.

215. Our dream is that all the children of the world can live with hope and widening opportunity. No nation can accomplish this alone; no group of nations can achieve it through confrontation. But together there is a chance for major progress—and in our generation.

216. It is an irony of our time that an age of ideological and nationalistic rivalry has spawned as well a host of challenges that no nation can possibly solve by itself: the proliferation of nuclear weapons technology; the problems posed by the law of the sea; and the horrible new tool of terror that claims innocent victims on every continent.

217. The growing danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons raises stark questions about man's ability to ensure his very existence. We have lived through three perilous decades in which the catastrophe of nuclear war has been avoided, despite a strategic rivalry between a relatively few nations.

218. But now a wholly new situation impends. Many nations have the potential to build nuclear weapons. If this potential were to materialize, threats to use nuclear weapons, fed by mutually reinforcing misconceptions, could become a recurrent feature of local conflicts in every quarter of the globe. And there will be growing dangers of accidents, blackmail and nuclear terrorism.

219. Unless current trends are altered rapidly, the likelihood of nuclear devastation could grow steadily in the

years ahead. We must look to the roots of the problem. Since the 1973 energy crisis and drastic rise in oil prices, both developed and developing nations have seen in nuclear energy a means both of lowering the cost of electricity and of reducing reliance upon imported petroleum. In an age of growing nationalism some see the acquisition and expansion of nuclear power as symbols of enhanced national prestige, and, let us be frank, as a means to provide themselves a future option to acquire nuclear weapons.

220. A nation that acquires the potential for a nuclear weapons capability must accept the consequences of its action. It is bound to trigger offsetting actions by its neighbours and stimulate broader proliferation, thereby accelerating a process that ultimately will undermine its own security. And it is disingenuous to label as "peaceful" nuclear devices which obviously are capable of massive military destruction.

221. Time is of the essence. In no area of international concern does the future of this planet depend more directly upon what this generation can do or fails to do. We must move on the following three broad fronts.

222. First, international safeguards must be strengthened and strictly enforced. The supply and use of nuclear materials associated with civilian nuclear energy programmes must be carefully safeguarded so that they will not be diverted. The physical security of nuclear materials must be increased. The International Atomic Energy Agency must receive the full support of all nations in making its safeguards effective. Any violator of these safeguards must face immediate and drastic penalties.

223. Secondly, adherence to safeguards, while of prime importance, is no guarantee against future proliferation. We must continue our efforts to forge international restraints against the acquisition or transfer of reprocessing facilities and of enrichment facilities which produce highly enriched uranium.

224. Thirdly, we must recognize that one of the principal incentives for seeking sensitive reprocessing and enrichment technology is the fear that essential non-sensitive materials will not be made available on a reliable basis. Nations that show their sense of international responsibility by accepting effective restraints have a right to expect a reliable and economical supply of peaceful nuclear reactors and associated non-sensitive fuel. The United States, as a principal supplier of these items, is prepared to be responsive in this regard.

225. In the near future President Ford will announce a comprehensive American programme for international action on non-proliferation that reconciles global aspirations for assured nuclear supply with global requirements for nuclear control. In that way we hope that the atom can be seen once again as a boon, and not as a menace, to mankind.

226. Another issue of vast global consequence is the law of the sea. The negotiations which have just recessed in New York represent one of the most important, complex and ambitious diplomatic undertakings in history.

227. We have travelled an extraordinary distance in these negotiations in recent years, thanks in no small part to the skill and dedication of the distinguished President of this Assembly. Agreement exists on key concepts: a 12-mile territorial sea; free passage over and through straits; a 200-mile economic zone; and important pollution controls. In many fields we have replaced ideological debates with serious efforts to find concrete solutions. And there is growing consensus that the outstanding problems must be solved at the next session.

228. But there is hardly room for complacency. Important issues remain which, if not settled, could cause us to forfeit all our hard-won progress. The Conference has yet to agree on the balance between coastal-State and international rights in the economic zone; on the freedom of marine scientific research; on arrangements for dispute settlement; and, most crucially, on the régime for exploitation of the deep sea-beds.

229. The United States has made major proposals to resolve the deep sea-bed issue. We have agreed that the sea-beds are the common heritage of all mankind. We have proposed a dual system for the exploitation of sea-bed minerals by which half of the mining sites would be reserved for the International Authority and half could be developed by individual nations and their nationals on the basis of technical capacity. We have offered to find financing and to transfer the technology needed to make international mining a practical reality. And in light of the many uncertainties that lie ahead, we have proposed that there be a review—for example after 25 years—to determine whether the provisions on sea-bed mining are working equitably.

230. In response, some nations have escalated their demands and the stridency with which they advocate them.

231. I must say candidly that there are limits beyond which no American administration can, or will, go. If attempts are made to compel concessions which exceed those limits, unilateralism will become inevitable. Countries which have no technological capacity for mining the sea-beds in the foreseeable future should not seek to impose a doctrine of total internationalization on nations which alone have this capacity and which have voluntarily offered to share it. The United States has an interest in the progressive development of international law, stable order and global co-operation. We are prepared to make significant sacrifices for this—but these sacrifices cannot go beyond equitable bounds.

232. Let us therefore put aside delaying tactics and pressures and take the path of co-operation. If we have the vision to conclude a treaty considered fair and just by mankind, our labours will have profound meaning not only for the regimen of the oceans but for all efforts to build a peaceful, co-operative and prosperous international community. The United States will spend the interval between sessions of the Conference reviewing its positions and will approach other nations well in advance of the next session at the political level to establish the best possible conditions for success.

233. A generation that dreams of world peace and economic progress is plagued by a new, brutal and indiscriminate form of violence: international terrorism. In the year since I last addressed this body there have been 11 hijackings, 19 kidnappings, 42 armed attacks and 112 bombings perpetrated by international terrorists. Over 70 people have lost their lives and over 200 have been injured.

234. It is time this Organization said to the world that the vicious murder and abuse of innocents cannot be excused by the invocation of lofty motives. Criminal acts against humanity, whatever the professed objective, cannot be excused by any civilized nation.

235. The threat of terrorism should be dealt with through the co-operative efforts of all countries. More stringent steps must be taken now to deny skyjackers and terrorists a safe haven. Additional measures are required to protect passengers in both transit and terminal areas, as well as in flight.

236. The United States will support new initiatives which will ensure the safety of the innocent. The proposal of the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany against the taking of hostages [7th meeting, para.,113] deserves the most serious and sympathetic consideration of this Assembly.

237. The United States will do everything within its power to work co-operatively in the United Nations and in other international bodies to put an end to terrorism. But we have an obligation to protect the lives of our citizens as they travel at home or abroad, and we intend to meet that obligation. If multilateral efforts are blocked, then the United States will be forced to act through its own legislative processes and in conjunction with others willing to join us.

238. Terrorism is an international problem. It is inconceivable that an organization of the world's nations would fail to take effective action against it.

239. The final measure of all we do together, of course, is man himself. Our common efforts to define, preserve and enhance respect for the rights of man thus represent an ultimate test of international co-operation.

240. We Americans, in the year of our bicentennial, are conscious—and proud—of our own traditions. Our founders wrote 200 years ago of the equality and inalienable rights of all men. Since then the ideals of liberty and democracy have become the universal and indestructible goals of mankind. But the plain truth—of tragic proportions—is that human rights are in jeopardy over most of the globe. Arbitrary arrest, denial of fundamental procedural rights, slave labour, the stifling of freedom of religion, racial injustice, political repression, the use of torture, and restraints on communications and expression—these abuses are far too prevalent.

241. The performance of the United Nations system in protecting human rights has fallen far short of what was envisaged when the Organization was founded. The principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are clear enough. But their invocation and application in general

debates of this body and in other forums have been marred by hypocrisy, double standards and discrimination. Flagrant and consistent deprivation of human rights is no less grave in one country or one social system than in another. Nor is it more acceptable when practised upon members of the same race than when inflicted by one race upon another.

242. The international community has a unique role to play. The application of the standards of the Universal Declaration should be entrusted to fair and capable international bodies. But at the same time let us ensure that those bodies do not become platforms from which nations which are the worst transgressors pass judgement on the alleged shortcomings of others.

243. Let us together pursue practical approaches: to build on the foundations already laid at previous sessions of the General Assembly and in the Commission on Human Rights to lessen the abominable practice of officially sanctioned torture; to promote acceptance of procedures for protecting the rights of people subject to detention, such as access to courts, counsel and families, and their prompt release or fair and public trial; to improve the working procedures of international bodies concerned with human rights, so that they may function fairly and effectively; to strengthen the capability of the United Nations to meet the tragic problems of the ever growing number of refugees whose human rights have been stripped away by conflict in almost every continent. The United States pledges its firm support to these efforts.

244. The challenge to statesmanship in this generation is to advance from the management of crises to the building

of a stable and just international order, an order resting not on power but on restraint of power, not on the strength of arms but on the strength of the human spirit.

245. Global forces of change now shape our future. Order will come in one of two ways: through its imposition by the strong and the ruthless or by the wise and far-sighted use of international institutions through which we enlarge the sphere of common interests and enhance the sense of community.

246. It is easy and tempting to press relentlessly for national advantage. It is infinitely more difficult to act in recognition of the rights of others.

247. Throughout history the greatness of men and nations has been measured by their actions in times of acute peril. Today there is no single crisis to conquer. There is, instead, a persisting challenge of staggering complexity: the need to create a universal community based on co-operation, peace and justice.

248. If we falter, future generations will pay for our failure. If we succeed we shall have been worthy of the hopes of mankind.

249. I am confident that we can succeed.

250. And it is here, in the Assembly of nations, that we should begin.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.