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

*Address by Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez,
President of the Republic of Venezuela*

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear a statement by the President of the Republic of Venezuela.

2. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez, President of the Republic of Venezuela. In doing so, I should like to strike a personal note and recall with pleasure and gratitude the excellent hospitality that we enjoyed while in Venezuela in 1974 for the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. I now invite His Excellency Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez to address the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

3. Mr. PEREZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): One hundred and fifty years ago Simón Bolívar, who could already see signs of the end of the wars of independence in Latin America, convened the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama. His purpose was to unite all Latin America in a single nation as a result of the liberation efforts of its peoples.

4. The liberator Simón Bolívar was more than a century ahead of his time as regards the concept of constituting a union of nations, at that time restricted to his America, the America of mixed blood. The essential idea was based, as today, on a new ethic which was to guide the actions of man. It was therefore the first effort to build an organization of united nations.

5. With admirable historical perspective he was then challenging the emerging America to unite and to engage in dialogue in order to build the new world which was then still being born. He contrasted that ideal with the Holy Alliance, organized by the reactionary forces of that era, to ensure domination, predominance and the right of conquest over an immense portion of mankind, because in those days economic power was conquered by the force of arms and territorial occupation. Bolívar, with the same far-seeing

perspective looking towards the integration of our Latin American world, foresaw, as a visionary, universality and the fullness of world understanding. With emotion I quote his thought:

“In the unfolding of the centuries perhaps there may well emerge a single nation encompassing the universe: the federal nation.”

6. I recall here that antecedent of the forum which is today the United Nations, in my capacity as the President of the Republic of Venezuela, that part of the Latin American fatherland where Simón Bolívar was born. From there stems the internationalist vocation of Latin America. And from that historic antecedent I wish to substantiate the words that I bring to the family of man represented here. My voice and my presence respectfully seek, with a broad sense of universal solidarity, to recall those principles which have been and still are the great principles of international action, which unite all of us Latin Americans and under the inspiration of which the countries making up the Latin American community freed themselves from colonial domination.

7. Since then my country has made of freedom and independence a cult and a historic mission. Venezuela has made an ideal of peace and has always striven for it with faith and devotion. With legitimate pride, we can say that after the wars of independence which took Venezuelans down the many paths of America, no army has ever departed from our borders to fight against a sister nation. Venezuela is a country that can affirm in this forum of the United Nations that ever since its independence it has never fought wars against anybody nor has it ever nurtured warlike aims of any kind. Accordingly, I feel extremely honoured to address this world Organization for peace and the brotherhood of the human race and to bring to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General and to the representatives of the nations of the world, the greetings of my people.

8. We have faith in the United Nations. We believe that only by means of its concerted action in the political, social and economic fields can we find the genuine roads to peace, which should not be mistaken for mere efforts to avoid, limit or end wars but which must be understood as being based on social justice and the well-being of all human beings all over the world. The strengthening of the United Nations is the strengthening of peace and of hopes for a better destiny for mankind.

9. Latin America, within the third world, understands and accepts that it is in this Organization, which gathers together all the nations of the earth, that the weak countries, the small countries, the countries without a

history of colonialism and those freed from colonialism can fulfil themselves, give up the passive contemplation of world problems, in the determination to take part in the decisions that now and in the future will determine the course of international justice. The great Powers, when they assumed the right to resolve problems of interest to all mankind, have made themselves directly responsible for international injustice and for the wars that have occurred throughout history. While armed and economic might continue to generate domination and privilege, there will be no peace on earth because the actions and the authority of the United Nations are weakened. I say these words with no hostile feelings against any of them, but solely out of the frankness necessary and essential so that the world may take the sincere and precise path to peace. What is being discussed now is this fundamental fact. Euphemisms only serve to make us stray from global understanding. The words in which broken promises are shrouded and the words in which are written the proclamations and the agreements which the mighty nations do not keep constitute the long history of the frustrations and resentments of the countries of the third world.

10. If we Latin Americans have learned anything at all in the course of our long and painful existence it is not to trust entirely the value of words spoken in international forums or used in the speeches of the men who govern the great industrialized nations. We should like new and noble realities to allow us to change our minds.

11. We Latin Americans, and in general the peoples of the countries of the third world, are accused of intoxicating ourselves with beautifully turned phrases. But the fact is overlooked that that is what we were taught to do. For centuries we were intoxicated by the powerful nations, which gave us words together with trinkets. They spoke to us of liberty, independence and the equality of man. They spoke to us of democracy, progress and culture. But those powerful nations rarely made what we received from them correspond to their words. That is what is demanded today of us Latin American leaders by the new generations which were born with justified mistrust.

12. That is also what is demanded by many young countries represented here which still bear the scars of such a reality. Suffice it to recall here the beautiful documents, the agreements brimming with sincere love for mankind which gather dust on the shelves of the Organization, lacking the respect and the observance due them from the nations most obliged, best prepared and endowed with the resources necessary to implement them.

13. If I speak with such brutal frankness in this highly qualified world forum, it is because we have learned to strip rhetoric from oratory so that our ideas may lead us to the deeds on which alone anything durable can be built, which will justify, as is indispensable and necessary, the very existence of this Assembly of the United Nations.

14. We the nations of the third world want to be different. Although we do not feel obliged to agree on all matters—because to do so would be inconceivable and merely a facade, for we also have our own cultural and historical individuality and our own national identity—we can readily understand that, over and above all such differences or

characteristics and national styles, there exists a fundamental convergence on a new concept of solidarity between peoples.

15. We have in recent years seen how the old international economic order which emerged from the Second World War began to crack. It was a peace imposed by the victors, but its bases were quickly eroded by an unjust system of relationships based on inequality to the benefit of the countries which had been accumulating the fruits of technical advancement. An attempt was made to establish political equilibrium of the world based upon peaceful coexistence—words which in themselves imply only a truce of questionable duration. It means the separation, the dismemberment of the world into antagonistic blocs. Interdependence as a solution leading to equality and co-operation among equals has not been the system of relationships among powerful countries or between the powerful countries and the weak countries.

16. Today all of us, rich and poor, developed and developing, recognize that this state of affairs cannot and could not continue. The building of a new international economic order is an imperative for peace, which every day is increasingly threatened. Otherwise, the political balance of the world will be in serious jeopardy. Building this new international economic order is therefore an ethical duty of all nations, but especially of the developed ones.

17. We, the countries members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], have made a historic break-through towards a new negotiating power which for the first time is in the hands of the countries of the third world—an instrument for negotiation to build this new international economic order. The increase in petroleum prices is not a result of the selfish purposes of the OPEC members for the sole benefit of their countries. It represents an irrevocable decision to dignify the terms of trade and to confer their true value on the raw materials and other primary commodities of the nations of the third world.

18. An international intrigue, fostered by transnational interests and by certain developed countries, spread the myth that we, the oil-producing countries, are responsible for the inflationary process from which the world economy is suffering. We need not pause to prove the fallacy of this statement; that has already been done by world authorities here in the United Nations. The truth is that the position adopted by OPEC is contributing decisively to opening up a dialogue between developed and developing nations. The North-South dialogue is a clear expression of this new reality. And we do not even want to think about what would happen if that effort were to fail.

19. It is indispensable that it be known, because it is thus understood in solidarity by the third world, what is meant by the new international economic order. A degree of rationality and a level of balance which will correspond to the aspirations of international justice are required. Otherwise it could happen that the name “new international economic order” would conceal a copy of the present order, which is now pathetically showing its inefficiency. It is necessary that it be known that the third world aspires to a new international economic order which can no longer

serve to hide or disguise privi... but which aims at resolving the basic conflict of the inequality of men on the face of the earth. Essential moral concepts are involved in this definition.

20. We are witnessing a new world political order being forged out of the objective realities of the world in which we live. To disregard this fact is to make the optical error incurred by the large industrialized nations when they display such tenacious resistance to the new international economic order—which will be and must be the inevitable consequence of the new political world order.

21. Venezuela is actively participating in solidarity with the third world in all forums where discussions are held and efforts made to build this new international economic order, from special sessions in recent years here at the United Nations to the meetings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] and now as we share the honour of presiding over the North-South dialogue. Together with Latin America we have participated in the Manila agreements,¹ which constitute a responsible and organic vision on the part of the third world, or the Group of 77, of what the new international economic order should be.

22. Venezuela enthusiastically supports the UNCTAD integrated programme for commodities.² One of its components, the common fund, would allow new insights into that fundamental problem. Venezuela, together with the other developing countries, is willing to go ahead with this initiative. We hope that the developed countries will participate in it: not only those which courageously and firmly showed their will to do so in Nairobi³ but also those which at that time manifested their opposition to such an important matter with a selfishness that alarms and saddens us. It is in their position regarding this UNCTAD initiative that the goodwill of the powerful nations will be demonstrated—those nations which have taken advantage of their might for their own benefit and without contributing to redefining the rules of the game in international trade, which ultimately is a major obstacle for the development of the countries of the third world.

23. The increase in the purchasing power of the developing countries in itself benefits the industrial economies. To fail to understand this is, in essence, to contribute to the deepening of the maladjustments of the world economy, to the detriment of the whole. That is why it is also unacceptable for arrangements regarding the international monetary order to be reached having regard solely to the interests of a single group of nations. The countries of the third world insist that the monetary system must be built around the special drawing rights, as the central asset of the system, and that a link must be established between new issues of special drawing rights and the financing of

development. It has been demonstrated, in every case, that to let the exchange system drift through the modality of flotation—although that can be an expedient way to take care of a difficult situation—cannot become a system to be perpetuated indefinitely, because its effects are harmful for the weaker countries of the international community and, far from solving the problem of inflation perniciously generated at the powerful financial centres, adds elements of perturbation which favour an inflationary overflow such as the one we are living through now. The great Powers do not want to see it that way, for, as they have done throughout history, they cling to tradition and to the past. But we the nations of the third world are not willing to allow these decisions to continue to be taken in restricted circles, excluding the majority of the members of the international community, which inevitably will be affected by those decisions.

24. It is in the essential interest of Latin America and of the third world in general that the world economy be strengthened and that inflation be offset and defeated. But we are not prepared to let this be achieved at the expense of the developing nations, of the raw materials we produce—not only because that has been the root of international injustice, but also because to do so would mean once again basing the world economy on the unstable foundations which brought about the magnitude and the characteristics of the regressive phenomenon it faces today.

25. To reaffirm in this day and age the exploitation of the weak by the powerful would mean postponing, not solving, the grave crisis mankind is living through now. The irrevocable decision of the developing countries to exercise control over their natural resources should not be ignored or underestimated. There is no retreat from this decision. We have resolved to take our destinies in our own hands, assuming total responsibility for the consequences of this historic determination.

26. We the developing countries rely not only on the power of negotiation given us by petroleum, but also on the power given us by the moral strength of the unity of the third world. We are determined, as has been abundantly demonstrated, to use this power reasonably but resolutely. It is necessary to realize that the failure to understand this will expose the world to dangers which, should they materialize, will seriously affect the economy and the very life of all countries, particularly those that are the richest. It is inconceivable, at this stage of civilization, even to think that the hopes of hundreds of millions of people living in or near subhuman conditions could again be frustrated. The money spent on increased armaments by the great Powers—which continuously speak of disarmament—could substantially serve to solve the problems of mankind.

27. I venture to call attention to two matters whose indispensable and urgent solution is of high priority in the North-South dialogue. I am referring to the preservation of the purchasing power of export earnings of developing countries and their foreign-debt relief. International economic hypocrisy has its own name: "aid". Aid will never be the source of income necessary for development, which can be obtained only on the basis of balanced and just terms of trade. The servicing of the debt incurred by our countries on the bases of international injustice will cancel out the

¹ Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Manila from 26 January to 7 February 1976. See document TD/195 and Add.1.

² See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

³ Fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Nairobi from 5 to 31 May 1976.

benefits of aid and international trade as carried on at present.

28. Along that line of thought, I would remind the industrialized nations of their commitments made at the World Food Conference, held at Rome in November 1974, where we the members of OPEC proposed the creation of an International Fund for Agricultural Development. We the nations of OPEC have jointly offered a substantial contribution, in the expectation that the industrialized nations would offer an equivalent one. Regrettably, this important decision has not received the necessary response on the part of those to whom it was addressed—despite the fact that in speeches and declarations capital importance is given to the need to solve the agricultural problem, and economic co-operation is offered to tackle it.

29. The developing countries do not seek to place the load of our problems on the shoulders of the industrialized nations. Co-operation, based on collective self-reliance and on one's own efforts, was adequately reflected in the decisions taken in Colombo,⁴ and more recently in Mexico,⁵ for a third-world financial system—but, as is indispensable, with the necessary arrangements for co-operation with the rest of the international community. The industrialized countries should be more aware of their self-interest in the enlargement and strengthening of the external purchasing power of our countries through fair and adequate prices for our growing and increasingly diversified stream of exports. However successful the efforts to increase trade among the developing countries may be, the external purchasing power of those countries will always be directed for the most part toward the industrialized nations, thus contributing to the increased employment of their productive factors and to the stability of their economies.

30. In Latin America total production amounted to somewhat more than \$225 billion in 1975, four times that of 1950. If current trends continue, Latin America will have reached by 1985 a production equivalent to that of Europe in 1960, when the great experiment of the Common Market began.

31. The industrialized nations should better understand the importance of pondering the need to accept fair and adequate terms of trade when they see that, with respect to the export of capital goods, non-perishable consumer goods and chemical products, Latin America represents for Europe three fourths of the United States market and more than four times the Japanese market. For the United States, Latin America represents three times the Japanese market and a market as big as that of the European Economic Community.

32. Nevertheless, the exports of the third world represent only 25 per cent of the total world aggregate and the downward trend continues. If we exclude oil, the proportion is halved. Three quarters of those exports of the

countries of the third world are raw materials and other basic commodities the prices of which have suffered an average decrease of 2 per cent per annum over the past 25 years. Should these trends persist the developing countries will have to resort increasingly to external indebtedness over the next few years. It is estimated that by 1980 capital inflows needed will amount to \$90 billion. But more than 28 per cent of that will be used for repayment of and interest on debts. If it were possible merely to reverse the annual 2 per cent decrease, thus improving the purchasing power of the exports of the third world, its capital needs for 1980 would be reduced by \$50 billion.

33. It is necessary to state a truth that cannot be denied since it unequivocally defines a reality which undermines international justice. The significant monetary, financial and trade decisions taken by this Organization continue to be artfully managed or governed by the industrialized nations, which, as a matter of fact, are those which hold the power to make decisions.

34. Venezuela respects the interests of those great nations, but we must honestly recognize that, unless economic power is shared in the forums in which are taken the fundamental decisions which determine the rules of the game in international relations, our debates will continue to be academic and a wave of continually mounting frustration will lead us to disaster.

35. I do not hesitate to describe as one of the most far-reaching achievements of the United Nations in its quest for international justice the approval of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], the initiative for which was taken by the President of Mexico, Luis Echeverría. If that Charter were accepted by all nations and if this Organization had the authority fully to implement it, then the aspirations to justice of all the countries of the world would be satisfied and a new international economic order would become a reality.

36. This dramatic situation, which is the reason for the confusion the world is in, reminds me of words spoken many years ago by Winston Churchill, an outstanding man of long-lasting and glorious memory for all mankind. In his long life as a tough fighter, referring to an opponent, he once said, "He lives the strange paradox of being decided only to be indecisive, resolved only to be irresolute, stably diffuse, solidly fluid, powerfully impotent". Could this be a definition of the United Nations so far as the practical results of its noble global actions are concerned? We of the third world, at least, refuse to accept that possibility. The United Nations must become the great power in the world which has to choose and define the future of mankind. It would be a painful and sad paradox if the United Nations were to accept a future which was not the choice of the human family that constitutes it. Power consists in the ability to shape the future. The decisions of this world Assembly must reach those organizations that concentrate economic power so as to change the existing state of affairs. This would make it possible for all the countries of the earth to have the right to participate in the great monetary decisions, in decisions on the transfer of resources, on technology and on trade negotiations.

⁴ Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976. See document A/31/197.

⁵ Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Mexico City from 13 to 21 September 1976. See document A/C.2/31/7 and Add.1.

37. Let this be the moment to reaffirm our support for, and our belief in, the inescapable mission of the United Nations.
38. Once more we declare our solidarity with the countries of the third world.
39. My Government is concerned about the salient characteristics of world violence. I will not refer again to that violence which stems from the inequitable distribution of wealth and the unjust international economic order, to which I have devoted a major part of this statement. I am now referring to that violence which, undoubtedly aroused by that same international injustice, is now being projected on the world's political scene. In recent years, the kidnapping of persons, the hijacking of airplanes, the taking of hostages, the threats to and deaths of innocent people, the assaults and a variety of other such acts have increasingly demanded a coherent international response. Terrorism has no possible justification, whatever the cause to which it allegedly gives rise. It cannot be denied that it is dramatic evidence of the non-existence of peace.
40. I well know that this is a controversial and difficult subject. Our first obstacle is the difficulty inherent in defining international terrorism. I am not unaware of the efforts that have been made in this Organization to reach decisions that will facilitate containment of this scourge, which endangers world security and threatens the integrity of man.
41. But the United Nations must remember that measures against violence must be specific and designed to solve specific problems as they arise, because it is a matter not of working out an interpretation of violence but of facing and taking action against violence. If States agree on certain concrete measures it will be possible to face the danger in rational terms. I must insist that it is necessary to tackle this matter frankly and in politically precise terms, as we had occasion to state last year at a meeting between the Presidents of Colombia and Venezuela held on the border between our countries. We know that action is possible, and we are ready to make our modest contribution in order to reach agreements with other States on effective measures for that purpose.
42. I realize that the term "terrorism" cannot be applied to deeds which are really not such because they are part of the struggle for liberation of peoples in different parts of the world. I also appreciate the difficulty in trying to incorporate into decisions of the United Nations deeds which, while characterized as acts of terrorism, fall strictly within the jurisdiction of a given sovereignty and have no international implications. But I think that to limit the discussion in this forum to such deeds as can strictly be defined as international terrorism might lead to a narrowing of the conceptual gap and to possible agreement, even though I do not discount the desirability of countries with similar points of view entering into agreements within their own jurisdictions, as has been done between the Republic of Cuba and certain American countries in order to control and put an end to air piracy.
43. I firmly believe that violence which takes the form of criminal action can never be a political act. No cause whatsoever, however noble or justified, can mingle with deeds associating or identifying it with manifestations of delinquency or *lèse humanité*. It is not inappropriate to recall here the painful tragedy which we witnessed when, close to our own country, a commercial airliner of the Cuban Airlines was the object of a terrorist act which cost the lives of 73 fellow Latin Americans, many of whom were young athletes who had visited us and had won the affection and admiration of the Venezuelans.
44. Another form of violence that clamours for supra-national action is that which is committed by Governments in violation of human rights. The defence of human rights presupposes a fully independent, international authority to protect those rights and ensure respect for them. The problem could not possibly be solved if it were dealt with in purely conventional political terms on the basis of opportunistic attitudes. Irrespective of the political or social system, or the ideological principles supporting the plurality of régimes existing in the world, the essential thing is to make clear that on no pretext can the violation of human dignity be accepted.
45. The international political order that is in the making cannot be conceived without guarantees for human rights under all political systems.
46. In this as in other subjects already mentioned, we must take the utmost advantage of the possibilities offered by the United Nations. We must unfortunately acknowledge that full use is not being made of them.
47. As a democratic nation, we respect the political system of other States. We do not aspire to become a model. We can offer the experience that it is possible to combine democracy and development, and that freedom of speech, of dissent and of travel, as well as the principles of security and of respect for all forms of the human condition, are fully compatible with progress.
48. It might be useful to recall the lesson of history that no régime of force can guarantee lasting stability. Dictatorships accumulate violence and forces of resistance which end up expressing themselves through disturbances and violence.
49. Peace continues to be the great challenge for mankind, but as long as there is violence there can be no true peace. Economic violence, terrorism and the violation of human rights, as well as wars in different parts of the world, prove that we are still far from achieving a policy of peace. Through the United Nations we must arrive at a definition of constructive peace—which is not limited merely to the absence of war.
50. The figures on military expenditure cited here at various sessions are impressive. The weapons trade enjoys too many stimuli and affects the developing countries in particular. International corruption has been closely linked to the arms trade. Moreover, the strife between blocs of nations also reveals to us their connexion with the weapons trade, aimed mainly at the developing countries.
51. It is imperative to conduct a world apprenticeship for peace and to awaken a new conscience in human beings,

educating them from the earliest school levels onwards in the peaceful uses of man's strength. It is necessary to unburden the history books of our nations, and the history books of mankind, of the excessively bellicose accents that emphasize the wars and hatreds that have riven mankind, for they promote chauvinistic nationalism, which has kept open old wounds and maintained false national pride.

52. The Manichaeian interplay of good and evil leads to war. The idea that there exists a reason above all others' reasons is an act of war. That is why all dogmas are dangerous. We have sad memories of the cold war, which was based on this type of thinking.

53. We doubt the usefulness and efficacy of the steps being taken in the field of nuclear disarmament. My country views with growing concern the trend towards the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the diversion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy towards aggressive ends. As long as there are nations that arrogate to themselves the right to manufacture and possess nuclear weapons, will there ever be a moral authority that could help prevent the use of atomic energy in warfare? Will not the difference between a peaceful atom and a war atom become a myth? Only a supranational body of legislation conferring ample and sufficient powers on the United Nations can become an effective means of controlling this threat to life on earth. Present limitations are ineffective because they are based on calculations not precisely dictated by international sincerity.

54. Education for peace must not exclude the people of any country. Peace will be largely a question of world public opinion; hence it is necessary that international détente should benefit not only the great Powers, but all nations. It would be unacceptable to restrict the idea of détente to the reciprocal behaviour of the great Powers while they are in a position to stoke latent conflicts in all areas of the world.

55. There will be no stable peace unless all countries of the world participate in its establishment and defence. We reaffirm the right of the world Organization to participate in the discussion of all essential problems of mankind for collective action to ensure the enforcement of that peace. As we have already reaffirmed when referring to the new international economic order, to deprive this forum of the great topics of world political balance might seem to be a temporary solution, but it can never be a final goal. As members of the international community, we share the responsibility for the destiny of mankind. We sincerely believe in the principles of interdependence inspired by peace and international justice, and we claim the right to restore to this international forum not only debate, but effective participation in the solution of the vital problems of the international community. Otherwise, the Organization will never be able to discharge the role assigned to it by the San Francisco Charter.

56. A world Organization which is used merely when the great Powers deem it convenient is doomed to failure. The discussion of subjects of such universal interest as the environment, population and the law of the sea in this Assembly, which frankly recognizes the interdependence of nations within the framework of observance of the prin-

ciples of mutual equality and respect, arouses sympathy and stimulates the confidence of the world.

57. The formulation of a new law of the sea constitutes a far-reaching agreement for co-operation to give substance to international justice. The sea is the last frontier of mankind. This is how Venezuela sees it.

58. The contributions of the United Nations to enrich this field of international law have been many. We must continue to increase the areas of agreement. Mr. President, despite your very outstanding participation in the quest for solutions, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has not achieved a consensus on the new legal order for the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, the common heritage of mankind. This concept, together with that of the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources, will constitute basic foundations on which to build a new international economic order. In our opinion, that objective will be attained only in so far as we can allay the reservations that still persist regarding the efficacy of a formula conferring on the new international authority effective and direct power over the activities carried out in the zone.

59. The defence and institutionalization of complementarity in the agreement on the law of the sea is of particular importance. As is known, this principle is intended to regulate the exploitation of the resources of the zone with a view to protecting the export earnings of the developing countries, which depend to a high degree on minerals or raw materials that can be extracted from the bottom of the seas.

60. Venezuela comes to this Assembly reaffirming its Latin American identity. The history of our independence and the ideals of our liberators give us moral authority to present ourselves as such. We are and feel profoundly Latin American. We believe in Latin America as a community; we believe in its historic destiny and in the role it will have to play in the society of man. Developments in recent years, forceful and dynamic though far from satisfactory to us, particularly in the social and economic fields, have placed us in a new position vis-à-vis the international community. This compels us to be an active part of the third world.

61. Venezuela participates as an observer in the deliberations of the non-aligned countries. We recognize and applaud the efforts of that movement, which has made a significant contribution to world stability. We concur with the basic positions and aspirations of those countries.

62. Venezuela rejects and openly fights colonialism and racial discrimination. It vehemently repudiates *apartheid*, which oppresses millions of human beings. We condemn the South African régime and we share in the aims at emancipation of the peoples subjected to that disgraceful system. The lofty mission and the authority of the United Nations are not well served by the fact that its resolutions regarding the offence of *lèse humanité* have not been complied with. To consent to this horrible situation serves not only to justify improper extranational interventions but also creates the risk of the world's one day awakening to a threat such as nazism and fascism were in their day. Here I must confess that in Venezuela we have not done every-

thing that was necessary to affirm by deed that this is our position, as we have maintained a trade relationship with that régime which I have ordered to be discontinued.

63. Within our Latin America we unconditionally support the aspirations and struggles to liquidate the last remnants of colonialism. We specially wish to voice our deep concern regarding the circumstances in which the Republic of Panama finds itself. We try, as part of what our brotherhood in the hemisphere requires of us, to encourage the signing of a new treaty between the United States and our sister Latin American Republic, restoring fully to the latter its sovereignty over the Canal Zone. The great bicentennial nation, which set an example in the struggle against colonialism and established the first modern democratic structure, cannot accept this colonial heritage, which is not in keeping with its participation in two major world wars to strengthen the principles of self-determination, territorial integrity and the independence of peoples. Just as we do not believe in war or in confrontation or in violence, so we look to peaceful and just solutions of all those conflicts which affect our Latin American world and the universe in general, and which disturb international peace and security.

64. I cannot fail to mention here the importance for Latin America of providing a final solution to conflicts of greater or lesser significance that are still latent in the area and which in time will represent obstacles or difficulties of varying degrees for Latin American integration.

65. In particular I wish to recall in this forum the commitment with regard to Bolivia and its access to the sea entered into in Lima on 9 December 1974 between Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela, when we signed the Declaration of Avacucho on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the independence of Latin America. I want to say that:

“In reaffirming the historic pledge constantly to strengthen the unity and solidarity among our peoples, we fully appreciate Bolivia’s land-locked situation, which must be given the most careful consideration with a view to constructive understandings.”⁶

66. Latin America proclaims the need for new mechanisms governing world trade as the basis for a new dialogue with the industrial world and with the socialist world. I perceive that the division of the world into blocs is also responsible for the misery afflicting a good portion of mankind. World solidarity cannot tolerate this division into spheres of influence, and far less that any bloc or group of nations should elude their global responsibilities towards mankind. This is the new dimension of the debate created by the participation of the third world in decision making.

67. At the same time, Latin America needs to develop new principles in its relations within the third world. We are not only part of it but we must associate ourselves with the great causes that require concerted action for success, developing our own co-operation policies with those nations that today have lower income levels than Latin America.

68. We will have no moral authority to request a new deal for our region from the industrialized world and the socialist world if at the same time we fail to do the same for those countries which have not yet attained our levels of income. Venezuela has been developing this new concept of solidarity in its relations with several countries of Latin America, especially with the countries of the Caribbean and of Central America. We will give our complete support to horizontal co-operation with other developing nations, and within OPEC we favour all possible forms of co-operation for the attainment of similar purposes.

69. In the specific field of petroleum, just as we have defended the new prices for hydrocarbons so as to establish a balanced relationship between the primary commodities that we sell to the developed countries and the manufactures that they export and the technology that they transfer to us, so also do we think that the effects of increased prices of a commodity such as oil, which is so fundamental for the progress of nations, should not burden the developing countries that lack oil. That would be to create the same injustices as we have pointed to in the industrialized countries, because the other primary products do not yet enjoy a status like that of petroleum.

70. For this just reason we shall firmly advocate the prompt implementation of the arrangements governing the operation of the OPEC special fund, and for the purpose of establishing an automatic mechanism providing for financing, on concessional terms, any price increase that would have a negative effect on the economy of the poor countries.

71. Latin America feels it to be its duty to give and believes it has much to give to the rest of the developing world—our human resources, our incipient technologies, our experience. All this will strengthen our relations with other States, contribute significantly to our own development and permit us to fulfil an ethical duty to countries which today are struggling with difficulties far greater than ours in building their future.

72. We believe in regional co-operation and in integration, because we believe in Latin America and in its vital moral force in the achievement of its lofty objectives. Its participation within the third world strengthens its vast potential, both moral and geographical, for pursuing actively the implementation of the decisions of the international community. We have a great variety of natural resources, a growing, vigorous food-producing potential, perhaps the greatest reserves in the world, and human resources focused on this new concept of world solidarity and brotherhood. We have difficulties, just as have those more mature than we, but these crises, which are circumstantial, should not be seen as any sign of weakness of conviction or will power.

73. It is no coincidence that in our region there are at present under way four active plans of subregional integration. Nor is it a historical coincidence that plans of integration are appearing in many quarters, formulated in an innovative manner, with imagination and creativity.

74. The Latin American Economic System is the most recent example of such endeavours. It has been set up in

⁶ See document A/10044, annex, p. 3.

Latin America as a regional organization for joint consultation, co-ordination, co-operation and economic and social advancement, and is to be permanent. We hope that the Latin American Economic System will play a role of fundamental importance, particularly through an original mechanism envisaged within the system—the action committees for the implementation of concrete projects of interest to three or more countries.

75. An action committee has been set up for the implementation of a multinational project for the production of food supplements with a high protein content, in order to contribute to solving some of the nutritional problems of Latin American children. I am honoured and pleased to have been the originator of this idea, which is today accepted by the whole region.

76. Furthermore, an action committee has been set up for the establishment of a multinational fertilizer enterprise, which is to meet our needs for large-scale production of food-stuffs for the region.

77. Malnutrition is a scourge that threatens over three quarters of mankind. This Latin American initiative should be viewed in this light as regards the developing nations of Asia and Africa, for it is this battle, the battle for nutrition, that will enable us to join with our vigorous potential this world we hope to build and to which we have irrevocably committed our destinies as free and sovereign countries.

78. The Latin American Economic System has been devised not as a substitute for, but rather as a complement to, the various mechanisms for integration with which we are experimenting in Latin America. Among them, I wish to point out the importance of the Cartagena Agreement, or Andean Pact,⁷ whose innovative forms of co-ordination and programming of industrial, commercial, financial and fiscal policies agreed upon between its members make it a far-reaching instrument which will undoubtedly contribute to the invigoration of the Latin American Free Trade Association.

79. Venezuela believes in integration because it believes in Latin America and its high destiny.

80. Venezuela has adopted fundamental decisions during the years of my administration, decisions which are supported by the basic consensus of the sectors that constitute the pluralistic and democratic Venezuelan society. The nationalization of iron and oil and the passage of the Organic Environmental Law, to be complemented by another law under consideration by Congress calling for the nationalization of water resources, constitute an important part of these salient decisions.

81. The nationalization of the iron and oil industries has given back to Venezuela command over its natural resources, which we could no longer leave to non-Venezuelan interests. Our conduct was in accordance with serious and scrupulous international ethics. Nationalization is also very closely related to the conservationist policies which the Venezuelan Government applies for the management of its renewable and non-renewable natural resources.

⁷ Andean Agreement for Subregional Integration, done at Bogotá on 26 May 1969.

82. Wasting natural resources is incompatible not only with the interests of a given nation but with the future of man and his planet. That is why the Organic Environment Law has incorporated in the legal system of my country more stringent norms of immediate practical effect for the intelligent and rational use of nature and for preventing nature from being used politically as just another privilege. The Waters Law will permit us to ensure for future generations the existence of surface and underground waters, which are now in danger of depletion.

83. The defence of nature is inherent in the democratic system. Political democracy contains the basic principles of social conduct which reflect a certain attitude towards nature.

84. I have spoken as what I am—a citizen of Latin America, President of Venezuela, a nation historically ready to serve mankind, to transform its words into deeds; a country that places its resources at the service of its people, at the service of Latin America, at the service of mankind. We Venezuelans are present here in the United Nations carrying out the mandate given us by Simón Bolívar over 150 years ago.

85. I want to close by reaffirming my faith, the faith of Venezuela, the faith of Latin America, in the United Nations, in the firm conviction that there is a necessary and possible consensus among the diversity of peoples constituting the family of man. That will be the only valid answer to the immense challenge ahead of us. We are faced with a great risk, serious enough to jeopardize the life of man on this planet. But we are also faced with a great opportunity. It is imperative that we seize that opportunity. We aspire to be a nation of free men amid nations of free men.

86. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf, I thank His Excellency the President of the Republic of Venezuela for his important address.

AGENDA ITEM 28

Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: report of the Secretary-General

87. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic to introduce draft resolution A/31/L.18 and Add.1.

88. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): As has been the custom during these years, a draft resolution has been submitted by the African group of countries in document A/31/L.18 and Add.1 concerning co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. This draft resolution does not need a lengthy introduction, and, in my capacity as chairman of the African group for this month, I deem it my duty to call on the General Assembly to adopt it, because in general outline it is no different from the resolution on this subject adopted at the last session of the General Assembly [resolution 3412 (XXX)].

89. Aware of the great importance of co-operation between international and regional organizations in order to maintain international peace and security and to confront the dangerous challenges facing humanity in general, the African countries and peoples look forward to co-operation between OAU and the United Nations, view this co-operation very seriously and consider it as an important basis for their foreign policy. Co-operation between the United Nations and OAU started from the moment the latter organization came into existence, because the Summit Conference of Independent African States, held in Addis Ababa in May 1963, adopted a resolution entitled "Africa and the United Nations", in which the Heads of African States expressed the firm belief that the United Nations was an important instrument for the maintenance of peace and security among nations and for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples; and the African countries reiterated their desire to strengthen and support the United Nations.

90. The United Nations started to discuss the question of co-operation with OAU at its twentieth session, when the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU was invited to attend the sessions of the United Nations as an observer. The General Assembly requested consultation with the appropriate bodies of OAU so as to consolidate co-operation between the two organizations [resolution 2011 (XX)]. But co-operation began to take its real form and to be further strengthened from the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, when matters began to be studied within a broader framework, namely, that of co-operation between OAU, on the one hand, and the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other concerned organizations within the United Nations system, on the other.

91. Since we are discussing co-operation between these two organizations, we should refer to the similarity between their principles, their charters and their structure. The two organizations are fully integrated with and closely related to each other; both have great faith in the fundamental rights and dignity of man, the need to achieve justice and freedom, to maintain international peace and security and to promote international co-operation in all social, cultural and economic spheres.

92. Article II of the charter of OAU states that one of the purposes of that organization is "to promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations". In this connexion, we should also like to refer to the role of regional organizations mentioned in the United Nations Charter, in particular in Chapter VIII.

93. There is no doubt that all the delegations of Member States have studied with attention the report of the Secretary-General on co-operation between the United Nations and OAU in document A/31/217 of 1 October 1976.

94. That report is a source of great satisfaction for us with respect to such co-operation and the importance of consultations and the exchange of information between the two organizations, particularly as regards the condemnation of the policy of racial discrimination and as regards the policy of extending aid to the oppressed people in southern

Africa, of assisting liberation movements, of continuing the effective programme carried out by the United Nations in the field of education and training for South Africans, and of assisting newly independent countries. We also appreciate the steps taken in the field of co-operation with Africa in general with respect to economic and social development, industry, trade, agriculture, education, culture, health, information, publicity and so forth. That is in addition to the trend towards exerting further efforts to intensify that co-operation and increase its effectiveness in order to help in the attainment of the objectives for the benefit of the people in Africa and elsewhere.

95. As Africans we cannot but applaud on this occasion the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General in his continuing attempts to consolidate and step up this co-operation. I should also like to refer to the fact that Mr. Kurt Waldheim attended the African summit meeting held in Mauritius⁸ and to mention the resolution which was adopted at that session which expressed special greetings to the Secretary-General.

96. OAU is considered to be one of the largest regional organizations, its membership constituting one third of the membership of the United Nations. While we appreciate its great contributions to the work carried out by the United Nations, we feel that there is still an urgent need for further concerted efforts to be carried out by both organizations so as to provide a solution to the dangerous situation prevailing in southern Africa and to give further assistance to the victims of colonialism, *apartheid*, and racial discrimination. It is also necessary to take more effective steps on the widest possible scale to give aid to the liberation movements, to publicize the struggle of those peoples and to extend to them both moral and material support and assistance.

97. African States have always called for the adoption of effective measures for the liquidation of colonialism and its consequences and for resistance to racist régimes wherever they exist. They believe that there is still an urgent need to adopt effective measures to ensure the active participation of OAU in an organized manner in all the work of the United Nations which concerns Africa. African States, which are now passing through an important stage of economic development, attach considerable importance to co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, a course of action which could be mutually beneficial at this stage. Moreover, the consolidation of the Economic Commission for Africa and strengthening of its relationship with OAU is also considered fundamental in helping African countries to raise the level of their economies.

98. I am pleased to refer to the important statement made on 14 October 1976 by the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU in the General Assembly [31st meeting], in which he clearly expressed in the name of all the African States the basis of co-operation between the two Organizations and what the fruits of that co-operation could be.

99. It is a great honour for me, as the representative of a developing African country which has faith in the struggle

⁸ Thirteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976.

against domination, racism, colonialism and exploitation, to be asked, in my capacity as Chairman of the African group of States for the month of November, to present on behalf of the sponsors draft resolution A/31/L.18 and Add.1, which is entitled, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity". This draft resolution should enjoy the full support of members, which was the case with a similar draft that was adopted at the last session. This draft is very clear and should raise no objections or reservations.

100. The preamble recalls all the previous resolutions of the General Assembly on co-operation between the two organizations. It takes note of the relevant resolutions adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at its thirteenth ordinary session, held in Mauritius from 2 to 6 July 1976. It also takes into account the statement made by the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at the 31st plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 14 October 1976. It expresses awareness of the important role which OAU is playing in helping to achieve the objectives of the United Nations in the world in general and on the African continent in particular. It notes with satisfaction the continued efforts of OAU and the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to help to solve the serious problems which principally affect southern Africa. It also expresses awareness of the urgent need to give increased assistance to the victims of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* resulting from the intensification of repression against the African peoples by the racist government of South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Zimbabwe. It expresses the need to take effective steps for the widest possible dissemination of information relating to the struggle of the African people concerned for their liberation from colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Finally, the preamble stresses the positive results achieved in the work of the United Nations bodies concerned as a direct consequence of the participation of the representatives of the national liberation movements recognized by OAU in the relevant proceedings of those bodies in an observer capacity.

101. The operative paragraphs of the draft resolution can be summed up as follows. Paragraph 1 takes note of the report of the Secretary-General on co-operation between the United Nations and OAU and commends his efforts in promoting such co-operation. Paragraph 2 expresses again the Assembly's appreciation of the outstanding contribution made by OAU in the relevant work of the United Nations bodies concerned, including in particular the positive role played by the Administrative Secretary-General and the General Secretariat of OAU. Paragraph 3 welcomes the efforts of OAU to find African solutions to some of the issues of vital importance to the international community. Paragraph 4 reaffirms the determination of the United Nations, in co-operation with OAU, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa. Paragraph 5 requests the Secretary-General to continue to take the necessary measures to strengthen co-operation in the political, economic, cultural and administrative levels between the United Nations and OAU in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly with regard to the provision of

assistance to the victims of colonialism and *apartheid* in southern Africa, and, in this connexion, draws attention to the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and *Apartheid* established by OAU. Paragraph 6 once again draws the attention of the United Nations bodies, in particular that of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the United Nations Council for Namibia, to the continued need to take effective measures to associate closely OAU regularly with all their work concerning Africa. Paragraph 7 invites the specialized agencies and other organizations concerned within the United Nations system to continue and intensify their co-operation with OAU. Paragraph 8 requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session a report on the implementation of the present resolution and on the development of co-operation between OAU and the organizations concerned within the United Nations system.

102. In the name of the African group, I express the hope that the General Assembly will be able to adopt draft resolution A/31/L.18 and Add.1 unanimously and without a vote, as it adopted a similar draft resolution at its previous session.

103. Ms. POSTON (United States of America): As the General Assembly again considers the question of co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, the United States wishes to reaffirm its respect for OAU and the ideals embodied in its charter and to emphasize that it looks forward to maintaining close co-operation with OAU and with its members.

104. As a country which participated in the founding of the first of the regional organizations, we are aware of the essential role such organizations can play. We believe regional co-operation is a step on the way to global co-operation. We also believe that there are some issues which transcend regional concern and require global attention.

105. The year 1976 has been a crucial one in United States-African relations. In addition to building on the strong and significant ties which we have with the African nations, there has been in this past year an unprecedented level of United States involvement in trying to help find solutions to many of the pressing problems of the African continent. Secretary of State Kissinger's efforts in particular have underlined our commitment to assist the nations of southern Africa to find negotiated solutions to the problems of Namibia and Zimbabwe. While progress has been made—and we have tried to play a part—difficult decisions still lie ahead. The United States will not relax its efforts to see these crucial international issues resolved.

106. The past year has seen also concerted United States efforts in multilateral forums to solve the economic problems of the nations of Africa. Some progress has been achieved in eradicating poverty and ushering in a new era of economic development for all of Africa. Much still remains to be done. The United States remains committed to assisting the people of Africa to utilize their great potential

in human and natural resources in order to achieve economic progress in the years ahead.

107. Above all, 1976 has seen the realization of a spirit of co-operation by the United States in our relations with Africa. As Secretary Kissinger said in his toast at a luncheon for representatives of OAU nations on 8 October:

"There can no longer be any question that America is committed to Africa's goals and to working with the nations of Africa to solve the continent's problems... Let us set aside the suspicions of the past and work for our common future. Together we can constitute the community of man on the basis of mutual benefit and shared endeavour. We can show that races can live together—that there is an alternative to hatred."

108. The United States will do all in its power to make this spirit of co-operation a reality in our dealings with OAU and with all its members.

109. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question of co-operation between the United Nations and the numerically largest regional organization, OAU, has been examined at each session of the General Assembly and this in itself is proof of the importance which Members of the United Nations attach to co-operation between the United Nations and that African organization.

110. In establishing OAU in 1963, the Heads of State or Government of African States reaffirmed the dedication of OAU "to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and its acceptance of all the obligations contained in the Charter". Co-operation between the United Nations and OAU has now been implemented in many different spheres and is promoting the attainment of the noble aims which both organizations have set for themselves.

111. Co-operation between the United Nations and OAU has become wider and more fruitful during the course of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted on the initiative of our country, and this co-operation is also being developed successfully in the struggle for the complete elimination of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* on the African continent.

112. The Soviet Union gives high praise to the activities of OAU and, in their message to the thirteenth session of the OAU Assembly, Mr. N. V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and Mr. A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, said:

"In the general cause of fighting for peace and against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism and all manifestations of inequality and *diktat* a major role is played by the Organization of African Unity."

113. The activities of OAU, its efforts to unite all anti-imperialist and anti-colonial forces on the African continent, to strengthen good-neighbourly relations be-

tween African States and to resolve African problems in an African way are gaining the general recognition of all peoples which have thrown off the shackles of colonialism and attained independence. Indeed, OAU is now a great international force and its increasingly inspiring and important voice is being heard in all international forums, including here in the United Nations. The peoples of Africa now know full well that their contribution towards efforts to resolve disarmament questions, curb the arms race and ensure the non-use of force in international relations will bring them greater possibilities of receiving assistance from developed countries and the great Powers in resolving their vital domestic problems.

114. At the same time, we must recognize that certain Western circles—the transnational monopolies—are still trying to maintain their privileged positions in a number of African countries, notably in southern Africa but not only in that part of the continent. They are pursuing other aims by creating sources of tension which threaten peace in various regions of Africa. We are firmly convinced that the heroic and valiant struggle of the African countries for their free and independent development and for the complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism will be the more successful the closer is the co-operation between the developing African countries and the socialist countries and the greater the co-operation between the liberation movement and the socialist countries. The socialist countries are the natural allies of the African peoples in their struggle to strengthen freedom and independence and to achieve freedom for those countries still under the yoke of colonialism and oppression. We are living at a time when the final stage of the complete collapse of the colonial system in Africa is taking place.

115. A great victory over the joint forces of colonialism and its accomplices was won by the heroic people of Angola. The Soviet people is firmly convinced that in the not-too-distant future the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia and the indigenous population of South Africa will also become free. In any case, our country and all socialist countries will do everything possible to ensure that the problem of the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa will be settled and settled successfully as soon as possible. The Soviet people regards it as its international duty to promote by all possible means this historical revival and development of the free and independent African peoples.

116. At the recent Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of our country, the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples set forth as one of the most important tasks of the foreign policy of the Soviet Government the task of promoting the early elimination of all vestiges of colonial oppression and infringements of the equality and independence of peoples—all focal-points of colonialism and racism. The peoples of Africa, indeed the peoples of the whole world, know full well that the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, can be relied on in their struggle for freedom and independence.

117. The further promotion and development of comprehensive relations between OAU and the United Nations and

all its institutions is becoming ever more important for strengthening international peace and security, for widening détente and for putting an end, once and for all, to colonialism and all its consequences.

118. The Soviet Union and all other socialist countries will in the future as in the past give all necessary assistance in United Nations bodies to the efforts of OAU and the peoples of the African countries to defend their political and economic independence and increase their constructive contribution to the solution of all vital international problems.

119. The Soviet delegation therefore fully supports the draft resolution introduced so brilliantly today by the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic.

120. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/31/L.18 and Add.1. May I take it that the Assembly adopts that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/13).

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.