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AGENDA ITEM 9

Opening of the general debate

1. Mr. GIBSON BARBOZA (Brazil): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to congratulate you on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your unexcelled experience in international affairs, your proven competence in all matters pertaining to the theory and practice of the Organization, your outstanding contributions as professor, statesman and diplomat, and the fact that you are a national of a country which loves peace and is dedicated to the great causes of mankind are a pledge of the kind of action and leadership which will guide us in the debates that we are now starting. Allow me also to express our gratitude to Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph for the tact, impartiality and keen political sense with which she presided over our work during the twenty-fourth session.

2. At the same time, it behoves me, on behalf of the Government I represent, to express to all representatives here assembled our gratification upon the election of Brazil to one of the Vice-Presidencies of the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth anniversary session. Brazil accepts this honour and this trust as a mandate for the active defence of the ideals, the rights and the aspirations which the Latin American nations share with other developing countries.

3. If you will allow me now a remark of a personal nature, I should like to say that I am now reliving in spirit the experience of twenty-five years ago, when, in the early years of my diplomatic career, I was assigned as a Junior Adviser to the delegation of Brazil to the San Francisco Conference. Like many others in this hall, I had a small share in the creation of this Organization, and it would be less than human of me to fail to contrast the dreams and illusions of 1945 with the disturbing realities of the year 1970.

4. I do not wish to begin my statement without a special, albeit brief, mention of three highly significant recent events in the domain of international relations.

5. In the first place, I would cite the re-establishment of the cease-fire in the Middle East and the concurrent creation of better prospects for a peaceful solution to the crisis. The developments of the last few days are showing, however, how fragile and precarious is the present cease-fire régime, which will be meaningful and effective only if accepted as a first step towards the political settlement of the problem on the basis of resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council and the purposes and principles of the Charter. Time and again Brazil has stressed in the organs of the United Nations the need for an open and frank debate on the fundamental causes of the conflict. For historical reasons, very special responsibilities devolve upon the United Nations in connexion with the question of the Middle East. It is imperative, therefore, that the Organization, with the support of all its members, fulfil the obligations it has assumed.

6. Secondly, we have the conclusion of the German-Soviet treaty of 12 August 1970, an important milestone in the history of international relations and a concrete step towards at long last breaking the bonds which hold us to 1945, thus superseding the post-war concept. It cannot be denied that the significance of this agreement transcends the scope of bilateral relations involving the two signatories. It affects European politics as a whole, and even the over-all pattern of international relations. Its impact upon the United Nations is equally significant; it would not be far-fetched to point out that it is tantamount to a supersession of Articles 53 and 107 of the Charter. Here is additional evidence that the world has not stood still during the last twenty-five years, and that the structure of international life does not cease to evolve.

7. Finally, I could not fail to mention the convening of the first special session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, putting into effect the changes in the structure of the OAS provided for in the Buenos Aires Protocol of 1967. In bringing the machinery for co-operation up to date, the nations of the western hemisphere reaffirm their decision to broaden the scope of their common endeavours for development and justice. They take this positive stand at a time when very small minority groups, in obedience to an outside guidance which they blindly follow, try in vain to use the weapons of terrorism to undermine the progress of their own peoples. Insane acts such as the hijacking of aircraft, armed assaults and robberies, the seizure and holding of innocent hostages,

particularly diplomatic representatives, dastardly, brutal assassinations—these are crimes at which world public opinion recoils, vehemently condemning the perpetrators. The Organization of American States has classified these as common crimes, and even as crimes against humanity. Echoing this line of thought, at the first special session of its General Assembly, the Organization of American States reaffirmed its emphatic repugnance for such methods of violence and terror.

8. Brazil is particularly sensitive to this situation. For over a month and a half, we have been suffering the agonizing drama of having a member of our diplomatic corps held by despicable kidnappers, the defenceless victim of heinous brutality.

9. Moreover, the serious incidents of the last few days are demonstrating that the problem of aircraft hijacking and the imprisonment of hostages demands clear and effective measures on the part of this Organization, as an instrument of the collective will of the community of nations.

10. By instinct man attempts to evade eternity, and in doing so resorts to artificial divisions and demarcations of time, to the expedients of clepsydras, clocks and calendars. Man himself continues to be the measure of all things, and he feels the need to impose upon the measuring rod of his existence certain marks and points of reference, way stations, stop-overs, from which he can look back at the road he has already travelled and prepare himself for the rest of the journey. In this moment for pause and reflection it is important not to allow ourselves to be lulled into the unrealistic attitude of imagining the past and remembering the future.

11. The Assembly of the twenty-fifth anniversary is indeed one of these way stations at which we can stop for a brief moment before proceeding along the road which will hopefully lead us to peace, justice and progress.

12. This year we are also commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was one of the most important decisions ever taken by this Organization. It embodies the formal reaffirmation of the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination. My country here and now reiterates its full support for this principle, just as it cannot fail to reiterate its concern over the persistence of policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, objects of the most formal repudiation and strongest condemnation by the Government and people of Brazil.

13. Peace is no longer a simple ideal, a dream or a Utopian scheme. It has become the most pressing, the most elementary, of all needs. It has ceased to be an objective and has become a premise. Either we have a peaceful future before us or we run the risk of having no future at all. It is no longer a matter of evoking ideals of self-denial and altruism. It is no longer a matter of emphasizing the necessity for moral

and political advances to match the prodigious scientific and technological progress of our day. It is a matter of appealing to the fundamental interest of man, to his instinct for self-preservation, for what is really at stake is the survival of man.

14. No institution is more important than the men who set it up or the purpose it was designed to serve, and no political institutions are to be more revered than the people whose interest they are intended to protect. For that very reason, as far as the United Nations is concerned, we should first of all ask ourselves if our world Organization measures up to the ideals and desires vested in its creation at San Francisco and, then, what we can do today to improve it in the light of the experience we have acquired during the last twenty-five years.

15. As for our first question, there is no doubt that the United Nations has not played the full role it was intended for in a world of crises, open conflicts, war communiqués, shocks and counter-shocks. Without solving and at times without even discussing in depth the problems of peace, collective security and economic development, the United Nations has managed to give the impression that we have found it possible to content ourselves with the so-called new tasks—matters of science and technology, the preservation of the environment, population growth and others. Of course no one underestimates the importance of all these problems and, in some cases, the need for their adequate treatment through effective international co-operation with all due deference to the principles of the Charter which guarantee the national sovereignty and juridical equality of Member States. It is obvious that we have no objection to dealing with these matters in this forum, although it might seem more logical and practical to turn them over to the specialized agencies, *ratione materiae*. However, we must be careful to avoid turning the scale of priorities upside down. We cannot afford to reduce this Organization to the meagre proportions of an international institute of technology. We must not forget that the United Nations represents the only specialized agency we have for peace, development and collective security. Should the Organization fail to carry out the fundamental tasks entrusted to it by the Charter it would be so debilitated that it would not even be able to cope with the ancillary assignments.

16. One has the impression that there has been a retreat from the ideals and principles of San Francisco. If this were allowed to happen world peace would shrink to a mere process of détente or relaxation of tensions; the concept of general and complete disarmament, which strictly speaking should be inscribed among the purposes and principles of the Charter, would be superseded by the concept of "limitation of armaments" or "arms control"; the concept of collective security would dissolve into mere "security assurances" more limited in scope than those already provided for in the Charter. In the process dubious concepts would gain ground: "political realism", "spheres of influence", "balances of power" and above all the uncouth doctrine of "limited

sovereignty'', which stands for the very negation of international law and the freedom of nations.

17. An attempt is being made to present the objective of general and complete disarmament as chimerical or Utopian while in reality it is no more Utopian or chimerical than the purposes and principles of the Charter which preclude the use of force in international relations. To relegate disarmament to the roll of unattainable objectives would be tantamount to denying as a premise the validity of the principles of the Charter in the world of today. In this context abandoning disarmament as the end objective of our efforts would be equivalent to rejecting the norm of peaceful settlement for international litigation. If force cannot be used, why do States persist in accumulating arms?

18. It is up to us to forgo any tendency to consider some of the purposes and principles of the Charter as outmoded or bypassed by events. Supranationalism and interdependence may well constitute desirable goals, but they presuppose a stage, still to be reached, of political and economic independence and of effective juridical equality of all nations. Before declaring that the purposes and principles listed in Article 2 of the Charter are obsolete or outmoded, we should make a common effort to implement and observe them. Legitimate and lasting interdependence can only be attained through full sovereignty and equality.

19. It is often said that although the United Nations has had little success in the specific field of peace and international security, it should not be forgotten that significant results have been achieved in the area of economic and social development. Unhappily, we are not in a position to share this optimistic view. The First United Nations Development Decade presented an unmistakable balance-sheet of failures and the Second Development Decade may well follow in its footsteps if we do not succeed in defining the strategy for it in stronger, more definite terms. In the final analysis, it must be determined whether or not the nations that make up the Organization are ready to accept, both in theory and in practice, a concept of collective security in the economic field, paralleling those for peace and security among nations.

20. The failure of the First Development Decade lies as much in the field of planning and co-ordination as in the field of implementation and, above all, in the political field. The measures adopted were inadequate when compared to the needs of the developing countries. But beyond that, in the crucial moments of taking decisions, as for example during the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,¹ the conceptual framework of the United Nations system suffered from the lack of a global theory of development and, primarily, from the absence of the indispensable political will.

21. Now, as we approach the end of the task of elaborating the strategy for the Second Development Decade, the United Nations has before it a clear new

option that will determine the future of the system of international economic co-operation for development. It must choose between a strategy of stability, designed only to maintain the indices of poverty at their present levels, or a dynamic strategy for development.

22. The strategy of stability, though for obvious reasons never couched in explicit terms, seems to contain three main elements: a demographic policy that fails to take into account the dynamic implications of the process of population growth; an agricultural policy directed towards a quantitative increase in the production of foodstuffs, as an end in itself and not as part of a global policy of industrialization for development; and, finally, an employment policy which, if necessary, is ready to sacrifice the greater objective of development to the attainment of sectorial employment goals.

23. The dynamic strategy, on the other hand, is designed to go beyond a mere freezing of the present international economic imbalance. This has always been the guiding principle followed by Brazil in all the bodies in which there was any discussion of the prospects for the Second Development Decade: the strategy for the seventies should be, in our view, a programme for action with converging and additional measures. Essentially, it should consist of three elements: firstly, global and sectorial objectives that, by the end of the Decade, will make it possible for the developing countries to increase their gross national products so significantly as to narrow the income gap between the north and the south; in the second place, a combination of measures mutually agreed upon in the fields of trade, financing and technology; and, finally, target dates for the implementation of these measures, of which the most important is the goal of 1 per cent of financial transfers.

24. It should be emphasized that the amount of information and research already available within the United Nations system makes it perfectly feasible to adopt such a dynamic strategy, if—and this is the main point—the Governments of the developed countries, both those with a market economy and the centrally planned ones, gird themselves with the indispensable political will to accept their commitments and to see that they are carried out. The alternative would be a sad realization that the scheme of international co-operation for development can only result in failure, a failure that it is impossible to cover up with half-way measures and declarations of good intentions.

25. Such a failure would not imply that economic and social development would become unattainable, though, for many, the road would certainly be rendered more painful and more difficult. We all know that some Member States achieved notable growth indices by internally mobilizing their own resources—may I be allowed to say that my own country, Brazil, for instance, in 1969 had a 9 per cent increase in its gross national product. I do, however, have some doubt as to the possibility of developing countries as a whole finding viable formulae for economic and social progress if we have a continuation of present tendencies

¹ Held at New Delhi from 1 February to 29 March 1968

towards stagnation in the flow of trade and of economic co-operation. We are not pleading for a solution to our national model. We are fully aware that the development of Brazil is our own responsibility, and we do not shrink from it. What we are attempting to do is to pose the problem on a world-wide basis.

26. Brazil has repeatedly declared itself in favour of a revision of the Charter of the United Nations so as to adapt it to present-day conditions and relate it to the problems of the contemporary world. We do, however, recognize the political realities and difficulties standing in the way of an immediate revision. We see the revision as an essential step forward. But there is a danger that the prevailing conditions in the world, where power is used every day—political power, economic power, military power, scientific and technological power—may force us a step backwards, and a new Charter under these conditions may take the form of just one more element for freezing world power, as one of the factors for the maintenance of the *status quo*. Anyhow, it would be impossible to undertake a sober stock-taking of the achievements and short-comings of the Organization in these last twenty-five years without a full and thorough analysis of the international instrument which gives life to and governs the working of our Organization.

27. That is why the problem of the revision of the Charter should be posed, and that is why we consider it highly significant that the General Committee should have decided yesterday to recommend the inclusion on our agenda of item 88 relating to the "Need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations".

28. As of now it is imperative to bring back to the forum of the United Nations certain problems which clearly fall within its competence and are now being discussed behind closed doors in dwindling circles. As a concession to the realities of power, the United Nations Charter conferred special prerogatives upon the permanent members of the Security Council. The permanence of their powers in the field of peace and international security is already in itself one of these prerogatives. But the Security Council as an institution cannot abdicate from its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security by acknowledging a new world order based upon a co-chairmanship in the hands of a very reduced number of Powers, in direct opposition to the spirit of the Charter. Powerless before the conflicts and dissensions that threaten and disrupt world peace, the Security Council seems little by little to be taking on the shape of a public registry office for the filing of complaints and counter-complaints, claims and counter-claims. It is well known that the methods of work of the Council have changed substantially during recent years with the result that now decisions are reached after a series of informal consultations rather than in open debates at formal meetings of the collective organ. Despite this development, which has been accompanied by a trend towards unanimity, the Council has been unable to ensure the enforcement of its decisions. This is largely due to the fact that the consultations carried on by

the members of the Council are, as a rule, directed at collateral aspects of the problems and not towards the search for a political solution capable of eliminating the causes of the conflicts. Moreover, it so happens that consensus and unanimity are almost always reached at the expense of the relevancy of the texts adopted, language so vague and ambiguous being employed that the decisions are open to varied interpretations by the Council members. We are thus threatened with the emergence of a "veto by interpretation".

29. In a memorandum dated 3 April 1970 [see A/7922], in reply to a consultation by the Secretary-General of the United Nations under the terms of resolution 2606 (XXIV), the Brazilian Government took the opportunity to declare that any effort to reactivate the security system of the United Nations should lead the Security Council to a substantive examination of the differences underlying every specific situation that presents a threat to peace and security. The substantive consideration and study of the questions would be greatly facilitated by the active participation of the litigants in the informal process of consultations which is now prevalent. For that very reason and with the objective of institutionalizing these consultations, the Brazilian Government advanced the suggestion—which I now reiterate—that the Council, utilizing the faculties with which it is endowed by Chapter VI of the Charter, should in each case consider the advisability of the establishment of *ad hoc* committees for the pacific settlement of disputes, such committees to be made up of the parties to a conflict together with other delegations chosen by the Council at the suggestion of the litigants. These committees would have the broadest and most flexible mandates and would function, unhampered by records or a predetermined agenda, under the authority of the Security Council with the objective of harmonizing and reconciling the positions of the parties to the dispute.

30. All of us are aware of the difficulties that arise whenever, once the means provided for in Chapter VI have been exhausted, an attempt is made to choose among the range of coercive measures set forth in Chapter VII. This is only natural considering that we can almost always count on a lack of unanimity among the permanent members and that if coercive measures were to be applied certain consequences would arise. What we should ask ourselves in a good number of cases is if the potentialities of Chapter VI have really been explored to the fullest. It is our earnest conviction that the United Nations and, more specifically, the Security Council should make greater use of the large variety of means and resources authorized by Chapter VI of the Charter.

31. In short, what Brazil proposes now is a diplomatic reactivation of the United Nations. The adoption of procedures similar to the one suggested would afford the Organization much greater efficiency and authority as well as a more active role in the major problems of the world.

32. Why should this suggestion strike anyone as unrealistic or impractical, and why should the eternal argument of "political realism" be levelled against it?

33. Let us not forget that this so-called political realism has pushed us to the brink of war and destruction and is the chief cause for the \$200,000 million spent every year in the arms race. Apart from possible catastrophic consequences, the arms race has already done irreparable damage to mankind by draining off enormous means and resources which could have been used to further peace, justice and progress.

34. Our problems and difficulties are not outside the reach of human intelligence and its creative power. With all its short-comings and frustrations the United Nations is the only forum in which we can still opt for life, peace and development.

35. At this stage, my country does no more than advance the most modest and the least original of proposals: let us use our Organization and let us apply the Charter; no more, no less. The acceptance of this proposal, which is a commonplace in the statements delivered in the general debate of every Assembly, could none the less have a dramatic impact upon the shape of our future.

36. Brazil will never forsake this great hope: the hope for peace, justice and progress.

37. Mr. PEIRANO FACIO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my country, may I congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election as President of this Assembly, a choice that not only honours a citizen of the noble nation of Norway and guarantees equanimity in the guidance of our debates, but also is a well-deserved tribute to a statesman and distinguished jurist who has rendered such valuable services to the United Nations.

38. I also feel that it is my duty to pay tribute to Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph, the distinguished representative of Liberia, who presided over the past session of the General Assembly with undoubted wisdom and maturity.

39. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is an excellent opportunity for this Assembly to pause and ponder and discuss the progress and direction of the Organization, and carefully to take stock of the problems which it has dealt with and resolved and, in particular, those problems which are still with us in the present and lie before us in the future, darkening the horizon of our civilization which, in spite of the amazing progress of technology, seems to be about to lose control over the human and social problems which it must deal with.

40. The world today is obviously not what it was twenty-five years ago. The political events which led to the creation of the United Nations are no longer as relevant, and the health of this great Organization cannot today be considered satisfactory. The faith, optimism and enthusiasm of which the founders of the Charter were possessed has very largely yielded to scepticism, disappointment and fear of the future.

41. We must begin this plenary session which brings to a close a quarter of a century of work with the profound conviction that looking backward is of no avail if this is not accompanied by a firm determination to face and resolve, within the spirit of the United Nations Charter, not only the serious disputes and conflicts which are of concern to us today, but also those more vast and transcendent problems of universal dimension which will be of concern to mankind in the three decades before the end of this century.

42. In order to achieve this age-old goal in an atmosphere of peace and progress, it is not necessary to create new and complicated international structures, nor for the time being will substantive changes in the United Nations Charter be required. On the contrary, it is sufficient to implement its provisions in good faith and, in particular, its purposes and principles which forbid the use or the threat of the use of force, and require non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, sovereign equality, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with justice and international law, assistance to the Organization and its Members to maintain international security, respect for self-determination of peoples, co-operation in the economic and social areas and the constant development and furtherance of human rights. These purposes and principles were agreed upon at an exceptional moment in history and they reflect a level of understanding and agreement among States which it would be difficult to match in the present circumstances. We have, then, the institutional framework required for nations to face and successfully resolve the problems which we must deal with in the coming decades.

43. Among these problems priority should be given to the need to attenuate or lessen the growing economic inequality which exists among nations, to control and slow down the burdensome arms race, to protect and improve the human environment and intensify food production to meet the needs of population of our constantly growing world. These are all questions which require more intense international co-operation on a greater scale, so that social tensions can be reduced and so that we can live in a better and more just world, in which men of all nations in their own countries may find the necessary conditions to develop their personalities and achieve the happiness they deserve as human beings.

44. It is only in this way that the United Nations can secure the support of the peoples of the world and especially the support of "succeeding generations", as mentioned in the very first sentence of the Charter. We should not forget the fact that those born since 1945 make up more than half of the present population of the world.

45. In disarmament problems, which play a prominent role on the agenda of the Assembly, there are unavoidable physical reasons why there are distinctions among nations. There are those nations which, like ours, have practically no armed forces on a world-

wide scale and must therefore play the role of a non-protagonist which someone once compared to that of the chorus of ancient tragedies. In spite of this, Uruguay has supported and will continue to support all resolutions designed to bring about progressive and balanced disarmament, prohibiting the use of nuclear power for any warlike purposes.

46. So it is that we have supported all initiatives to suspend nuclear tests and we have ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] and the Treaty of Tlatelolco.² Uruguay, together with other Latin American countries, has introduced an item to the Assembly for consideration, to implement resolution 2456 B on the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty banning nuclear weapons in Latin America.

47. During this session the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples will be celebrated. One of the great achievements of the United Nations has been the role which it has played in combining the effort of the peoples of the world and the Governments of many countries, including several ex-colonial Powers, which is very much to their credit, in this process of decolonization, which is one of the irreversible signs of our times.

48. Uruguay, even before the Declaration of 1960, when the membership of this Assembly was quite different from what it is today, adopted a very clear anti-colonialist position, for we felt that any colonialist ties or bonds were incompatible with the present system of the international community.

49. My country was honoured to be a member of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in its initial composition during the first seven years of its existence. We were determined to help make a reality the principle of the self-determination of peoples in the purest and most authentic sense.

50. What remains to be done to put an end to colonialism throughout the world is one task before the United Nations which cannot be delayed. It is a task which all States must support most decisively.

51. During this first stage of its existence the United Nations has adopted the Universal Declaration on Human Rights [*resolution 217A (III)*], the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*resolution 2200A (XXI)*], and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106A (XX)*]. Uruguay has given priority attention and firm support to all those covenants.

52. Consistent with our deep-seated political philosophy, shared by all our people, our country has

always advocated broad and unrestricted recognition of human rights without any distinction as to religion, race or sex. And it does seem now that those principles, as principles, have peacefully been accepted by civilized nations.

53. But that acceptance cannot be considered a goal. It is only a starting point towards a more arduous undertaking. We would be flouting humanitarian sentiments which are the heritage of mankind if we allowed those principles which have been adopted today not to be applied and respected. It seems quite clear now that we must, as we have proposed in the past, have effective means at the international level to protect the rights of human beings, and that this should be done primarily through judicial bodies to which individuals whose rights have been infringed upon may have easy access.

54. It is only in this way that we can fully secure legal guarantees for human rights, which in the history of institutions seem to have been protected first by law, then by constitutions and finally by international convention. In this way their final protection will be entrusted to international bodies, which will act in accordance with objective, impartial and automatic protective machinery, which will not be of an *ad hoc* nature or dependent on the political expedient.

55. One symptom of the deterioration of genuine international peace may be seen in conflicts which threaten to become chronic and which create fluid areas of strife filling mankind with fear, because we do not see the end of those conflicts and indeed we realize that they might expand.

56. Recently the Middle East has been in the forefront of our attention. This is an area in which, in spite of the undeniable efforts of the United Nations and of Governments that have lent their co-operation, significant progress has not been made towards a just and lasting peace.

57. For this reason we are pleased to point to the recent acceptance by States involved in that conflict of the plans presented by the United States of America, which seems to have had the beneficial effect of attenuating the dangerous spiral of violence which has been a characteristic sign of recent times.

58. Acting from a feeling of solidarity with these peoples—many of whose representatives live with us and are an important and conspicuous part of the population—the Government of Uruguay invited its sister nations of Latin America to co-ordinate their views on this subject and to offer in the United Nations, if the opportunity presents itself, a contribution to the solution of the disputes in the Middle East.

59. This initiative should not be interpreted as a new source of disturbance in the already turbulent area where so many forces are already at work on this problem. The sole purpose is to prevent possible dispersion of effort which would ensue if many Latin American countries, joined together by international traditions and peaceful and universal feelings, did not act together and co-operate in a way which they deemed most effective—perhaps even by remaining

² Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, opened for signature on 14 February 1967.

cautiously silent—in the face of this difficult problem which has disrupted areas so dear to our people and their traditions.

60. One very prominent item on the agenda of this Assembly is the item on the sea-bed, the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, which is closely connected with moves that have been made to bring about a new conference on the law of the sea.

61. In this field, as is well known, the Government of Uruguay, taking into account developments in the international practice of States relating to the law of the sea and the oceans, decreed on 3 December 1969 an executive order which extended its territorial sea for the purpose of guaranteeing the defence of its national interests, the well-being of the people and opportunities for development and progress. In taking this decision it was borne in mind that in recent years an increasing number of States, particularly in Latin America, have extended their sovereign rights, demonstrating in this way the absence of norms of positive international law which are capable of limiting the power of States to establish the extent of their maritime jurisdiction and their territorial sea.

62. In May of this year our Foreign Ministry arranged a meeting of Latin American States which had already extended the authority of the government to zones adjacent to the coasts. The result of that meeting was the Declaration of Montevideo, signed on 8 May 1970, which embodied basic principles on the law of the sea, on which participant States agreed unanimously. Pursuing this promising initiative, the States of Latin America, with two exceptions, sent their representatives to Lima to take part in another Latin American meeting on certain aspects of the law of the sea, which reiterated in very much the same terms the essential principles of the Declaration of Montevideo, and adopted other resolutions setting forth joint policy on the main problems of the law of the sea, particularly having in mind debates to be held in the sea-bed Committee³ and in this Assembly.

63. Consistent with these principles, my Government, with regard to the convening of an international conference on the law of the sea, has as a matter of principle given a favourable reply, subject to the understanding that we should like to see the items mentioned in resolution 2574 A (XXIV) of the General Assembly discussed at such a gathering. On the other hand, we regard as inappropriate the convening of one or more conferences with agendas limited to various partial aspects of the law of the sea.

64. With regard to the extent of the continental shelf, my delegation is opposed to any reform of the definition of the continental shelf contained in the Geneva Convention on the Continental Shelf of 1958, which, as is well known, is Latin American in origin.

65. In the enormous area of economic and social problems viewed on a world-wide scale, as this Assembly should view them, the star item remains under-

development, and we are inclined to believe that it will continue to occupy the leading place in the scenario, as it were, of our concern.

66. To be understood in its proper dimensions, the basic aspect of under-development must be complemented by the realization that under-development of the countries of the "third world", and particularly the Latin American countries, contrary to earlier belief, can no longer be considered to be a mere stage in the life of peoples, comparable to certain short-comings which can be seen uniformly throughout the evolution of living organisms. Under-development is not a normal crisis of growth but rather a pathological disturbance within the economic and social evolution of human communities. Like any illness, it calls for adequate therapy. The responsibility of our generation is precisely to prove wise enough to determine what this treatment should be and to be strong enough to apply it. Contemporary man, more than man at any other time in history, feels that the world is not remaining static; it is necessarily changing, whether through evolution or revolution. Our difficult job is to place our faith and our hard work on the side of the balance where evolution lies, so that we shall not be caught off guard by the inevitable consequences of revolution.

67. All this leads me to reiterate once again that the proposals for the Second United Nations Development Decade constitute one of the fundamental items of this Assembly.

68. The Government of Uruguay has expressed in other forums of the United Nations, such as the Economic and Social Council, its resolute support for such proposals and also for the new strategy which they presuppose, emphasis being placed not exclusively on purely economic growth, that is, on increasing the gross national product, but on a more equitable distribution of income and on other social objectives such as the expansion of employment, the improvement of housing and opportunities for education in keeping with the needs of development.

69. In particular my delegation welcomes the recommendation to intensify, through new agreements on primary products, international trade in those goods that have unstable markets. In our capacity as a producer and exporter of wool, my country regards as well justified the recommendation of the Committee for Development Planning in which "special recognition should be given to the difficulties encountered by producers of natural goods which face competition from synthetic materials", advising in such cases the elimination of "all tariff and non-tariff barriers against such imports, whether in primary or processed form".⁴

70. Beyond any doubt, the prime prerequisite to development is the determination of each country. My country in the past two years has made a tremendous and successful effort to hold back the scourge of inflation, which upsets and in fact makes impossible any real attempt at economic development. As Minister of Industry of my country at that time, I had occasion

³ Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

⁴ *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 7, para. 63.*

to initiate in June 1968 a policy of stabilization, which has become consolidated recently, with a sharp decline in the cost-of-living index, which now indicates an annual rate equivalent to only 10 per cent of the rate that existed in 1967. The increase in international reserves, the increase in exports and the considerable growth in the gross product, which in that short period was doubled—all these are favourable signs that show the favourable results that can be brought about by a sound policy properly backed up by the public authority.

71. As far as trade with developed countries is concerned, I should like to make a brief reference to the meeting of the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination, which was convened in Buenos Aires at the ministerial level to co-ordinate economic, financial and technological relations among Latin American States with regard to contacts with the European economic communities.

72. It is our hope that, as is occurring in the dialogue now proceeding between Latin America and the United States in regard to trade matters, a constructive understanding can be arrived at, which will permit the tightening of our traditional economic bonds with Western Europe, inspired as the Declaration of Buenos Aires says, by principles of justice, equity, international solidarity and mutual respect.

73. Among the questions that are of concern to the world today there is one which has particular political and social implications : that relating to crimes against humanity. In Uruguay we have had occasion to deplore a crime of this type which cost the life of a citizen of a country that is traditionally a friend of ours, an innocent victim of an act which stirred the deepest feelings of our people. I should like to reiterate here most solemnly, and in doing so I express the sentiments of the Uruguayan people, the angriest repudiation of that crime and also of the other kidnappings of citizens of friendly countries, committed by small groups of conspirators who, setting themselves up as crusaders for a new and violent gospel, perpetrate crimes of the most ruthless and arbitrary sort.

74. Attempts were made through kidnapping to force the liberation of detainees and condemned persons who are not political prisoners but simply the perpetrators of common crimes and are subject to ordinary justice, which acts quite apart from political power, and within which they have access to due legal process with all guarantees for their defence. In such circumstances any attempt at extortion or blackmail is quite inadmissible, even where the noble purpose of saving precious and innocent lives is concerned; for that would presuppose not only a violation of the Constitution and laws but would set a very grim precedent for man's future as a member of society. The suppression of crime, essential for any human group that has gone beyond the primitive stage of private vengeance, would *ipso facto* be prevented, because it would be impossible then to punish those who break the penal laws, even those laws which protect the most sacred rights of man : life and freedom.

75. On the initiative of the President of our Republic, Mr. Pacheco Areco, a policy was established—as was explained by our country in the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States—which has been recognized and understood by many friendly Governments as the doctrine which really constitutes the best safeguard for diplomats, since it prevents the kind of blackmail that seems to be constantly increasing and involving new victims or encouraging the commission of other crimes against humanity.

76. Our Government, always a zealous defender of the principle of non-intervention, would state, as an essential factor for the development of this whole item, its belief that these matters—which through their external repercussions can affect bilateral relations in the international field—are by their very nature a subject which properly falls within the competence of each State, that each State should assert the right to handle these matters as it understands them, in accordance with the circumstances of time and place, it being understood of course that at the same time a uniform mode of conduct in this respect, freely agreed upon by the different countries, would be the best way of guarding against this kind of ruthlessness.

77. Important international gatherings, with the affirmative vote of my country, have decided that this kind of offence cannot be regarded as being covered by the treatment which, as far as concerns extradition and asylum, is reserved for political offences. The *raison d'être* for this kind of treatment is the idea that the political offender is not a danger in a foreign country, but on the other hand in his country the courts at a given time might not prove able to offer adequate guarantees of impartiality. This reasoning does not apply to criminals who have recourse to such measures as the use of foreign diplomats as hostages and victims, which is an act of odious barbarity prohibited even by the laws of war. Methods such as these strike not just against a régime or a given political system, but against all forms of organized society, whether internal or international; and they truly constitute acts of lese-humanity, offences which no longer are *jure civitate* but *jure gentium*.

78. Acts such as these, as we have demonstrated, which try to break up the cohesion necessary for any organized social group, creating in the chosen sector the tense atmosphere caused by repeated acts of terrorism, which many times affect innocent civilians—such acts are not the sad privilege of just one country or one continent. Everywhere, on all sides, you see kidnappings, hijacking of aircraft, coercion on the normal development of individual freedoms, on the exercise of public authority. All these acts are carried out with ambivalent purposes for the publicity thus gained or for the ransoming of accomplices who have been apprehended by the duly constituted authorities.

79. In the light of this picture my Government feels that this Assembly could well devote its attention to an analysis of the idea behind the interesting initiative recently presented at the meeting of the Organization of American States in Washington, designed to provide

special protection for affected property and persons, and this for the benefit of international relations and the progress of mankind as a whole.

80. Our Government has co-sponsored the inclusion in the agenda of the Assembly of the item referring to the revision of the functioning of the International Court of Justice.

81. By historical tradition and also through constitutional precepts, Uruguay is always prepared to accept the peaceful solution of any international controversy—and is a resolute supporter of judicial and arbitration procedures. Fifty years ago, in 1921, Uruguay accepted without any reservation the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. This declaration, which still remains in force, is the longest-standing case of acceptance of the optional clause. We also ratified the Pact of Bogotá⁵ in the drafting of which the Uruguayan internationalist Dardo Regules took part. The essence of this instrument lies in the undertaking entered into by the American States to resolve their legal differences by having recourse to the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

82. Therefore my country cannot simply remain on the sidelines, seeing the difficult situation in which the Court finds itself now, having no business before it, especially when this comes precisely at about the time that the Court has finished its first fifty years of existence. Happily, this situation has been corrected with the important and happy precedent set by the Security Council in calling, for the first time, for an advisory opinion from the Court.

83. Notwithstanding this, we also regard as a very timely and useful idea the study which we have proposed, and we will promote the need for a more general acceptance of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

84. We must sincerely recognize that this Assembly would be rendered incapable of carrying out, the sacred functions which belong to it on a world-wide level if it did not succeed in perceiving with all clarity that the world as a whole wishes to shake itself free from its classic structures.

85. It is only by remembering this truth, and sometimes because it is so obvious we forget about it, that we can raise our eyes and our efforts and join this earth—such a hapless and wretched earth—to that remote infinite point towards which we are drawn all the time by that thirst for perfection that all men harbour within themselves and which draws them towards the perfection of created things.

86. Mr. CALVANI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of my Government may I convey to you our sincerest congratulations on the honour which has been conferred upon you by

your being elected President of this General Assembly. Your personal qualities, your experience and your important contribution to the study of the United Nations Charter assure us that we will enjoy effective and fruitful guidance of our work during the course of this session.

87. I should also like to pay tribute to the admirable work accomplished at the past General Assembly session by your distinguished predecessor, Mrs. Angie Brooks-Randolph.

88. In this general debate we shall refrain from stating our position in detail on all the specific items on the agenda. Our delegation will state its views on all these items when they come up for debate.

89. Men, in their desire not to forget the past, have performed acts to mark great moments in history. So it is that we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations at this session. There have been twenty-five years of efforts to maintain international peace and security, to promote friendship among peoples, to co-operate in the solution of the various problems before them and to serve as a centre to help achieve these goals. During these twenty-five years man's weaknesses have at times led to the shipwreck of fine ideals, but at the same time heroic virtues and a feeling of human solidarity have asserted themselves on many occasions.

90. As this long journey draws to a close it is only fitting that we pause and carry out a critical analysis of the results achieved. We must have a critical turn of mind as we endeavour to make the proper judgement. We believe that our primary goal can only be the one which led to the creation of this international Organization, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security.

91. It is obvious that many positive results have been achieved by the United Nations in the economic, social, cultural, legal and health fields. However, we feel that it is necessary not to disregard the negative aspects of the situation confronting us today. We must concentrate on them if we wish to correct the errors which we have committed in the past. In our opinion the United Nations continues to be the best instrument of the international community in its search for peace and justice in the world. But let us have no illusions, the existing international order shows many serious shortcomings which must be squarely faced.

92. It would be impossible to take up each and every one of the specific features of today's world. It is only feasible to take stock of the more relevant events which in our opinion determine the march of mankind at this moment of singular importance.

93. There is a great gap between the principles proclaimed as the basis of international relations and their concrete application. The important leaders of the major countries of the world assert in their speeches

⁵ American Treaty on Pacific Settlement, signed on 30 April 1948.

rules for international behaviour which are admirable for their beauty and content. However, all too frequently they are mere theoretical expressions, for these rules have not been made a reality in relations among States.

94. Equality among nations is, to be sure, enshrined in texts. In reality, however, there is only token recognition reflected in a mere right to speak and vote in international organizations.

95. International order as we know it is based on the preponderance of the major Powers, and peace is solely the result of a policy of balance of power among them. This fact is brought out very clearly in the tendency of the major Powers to disregard the United Nations when considering the principal international problems. The most important political issues are aired and in fact solved without the participation of the developing nations.

96. There are very great economic and social differences dividing the peoples of the world. Statistics show that the absolute and relative difference between the industrial and backward States is growing every year; this imbalance grows in fact daily. Wealth and progress continue to exist solely in the same States.

97. It might be thought that as a result of scientific and technological progress the under-developed countries could in fact develop, but this would be a mere illusion. Scientific and technological development will be, in the normal course of events, beyond the reach of the developing countries, or at least their development will not be such as to overcome their backwardness. No matter how one looks at it, the lack of three fundamental elements for development—capital, educational level and technology, which are indissolubly related—creates a vicious circle of poverty.

98. These economic and social differences lead to domination of the under-developed countries by the developed countries as a result of the so-called assistance they provide. We made this point in our statement in the general debate in this Assembly last year. We said:

“The policy of blocs and the division of world power between the two great Powers has introduced deep-rooted evils in international assistance.

“Under one system, economic domination of necessity leads to political and cultural penetration. Under the other system, political and ideological domination implies equally economic control and exploitation. Both systems result in terms of different emphasis and methods in what can only be described as an objective position of subjugation.” [*1779th meeting, paras. 85 and 86*].

99. The profit motive on the one hand and the desire for ideological penetration on the other have, in international systems, existed to the detriment of many countries which need the co-operation of the major countries of the world.

100. Hunger continues to be a scourge for two thirds of mankind. In spite of all the efforts and programmes being pursued hunger continues to prevail in enormous areas of the world. Thousands and thousands of men are still literally starving to death every day.

101. This fact points to just one more injustice which divides the peoples of the world today into a club of wealthy nations, an exclusive club with closed doors, and poor nations.

102. We have already spoken of an international order based on the balance of power between the various blocs. The maintenance of this balance, precarious at best, requires the investment of gigantic sums of money for the acquisition of attack and defence systems which are increasingly complex and costly. The possession of the atomic bomb has been the point of departure in a constant arms race designed to end the balance of terror by some decisive discovery or by establishing the kind of material superiority which would have an unquestionable effect.

103. With a very small percentage of the investments that are made for destruction, the face of the earth could indeed be changed. However, the struggle for control of the world makes it impossible for the competitors to act in everyone's best interests.

104. Thus, at a time when man has made the most sensational discoveries, at the international level we must witness enormous efforts to achieve superiority in weaponry while at the same time more than two thirds of mankind remain victims of under-development.

105. We have seen how precarious the peace has been over the past twenty-five years. Armed conflicts have indeed not come to an end and the blood of the dead and the wounded has been shed in the remotest areas of the earth. We have grown accustomed to all this. We are not even so worried any more about living on the brink of disaster. And I say “the brink of disaster” because in a situation where there is a balance of power, events cannot always be controlled and indeed may take us unawares and lead us to a catastrophe.

106. According to the ordinary approach to history, by war we mean a way of resolving differences among States when diplomatic action fails. But when mankind discovered the atomic bomb the feeling was that war would no longer exist due to the deterrent nature of nuclear weapons.

107. But a new phenomenon has emerged: war in peace. This paradox has a name: a system of permanent subversion. No nation can escape this fact. Both the developed and undeveloped, all may be victims of this evil. Subversion may exist at any point of tension or antagonism, wherever it may exist.

108. In addition to subversion carefully developed into a system, we find at the international level, the cult of violence. Let me define my terms very clearly. In ordinary language violence is often confused with force. But this is an error. Force is the body of all means and procedures used by law for the enforcement of law. On the other hand, violence signifies the illegal use of force—meaning the indiscriminate use of force not in accordance with pre-established principles.

109. A new fact about today's world then is this cult of violence; what it amounts to is the consecration of the use of indiscriminate force for whatever purposes are being pursued. Violence is an end in itself. Those who support this new religion of violence proclaim that they will not stop at any crime in order to put an end to injustice. They forget that violence can only lead to further acts of injustice, and if these acts are pursued nothing can be changed on the surface of the earth, for, qualitatively speaking, we would all be living at the same level of injustice.

110. In this way the consequences of violence now strike individuals who had nothing to do with the drama being played out around them. As a corollary of fanaticism and divinely sponsored aggression, there has been a whole host of crimes of all kinds: kidnappings, assassinations, hijackings, attacks, and so forth. All these acts occur at the expense of innocent human beings, as a way of committing acts of violence against others who are thought to be guilty. In this way mankind has gone back to a time which we thought was permanently in the past. We have released instincts which lead to the explosion of passions, which are characterized by special interests or fanaticism.

111. What we have said, of course, does not exclude the right of peoples to rebel against tyranny, colonialism, racism, or any other form of oppression. In this case, of course, it is the oppressors who practice violence; and the right to rebellion, legitimately exercised, represents the people's striving to restore juridical order.

112. Together with all these things, there is a growing process of lowering of individuality and the arrival of the mass phenomenon. Progressive depersonalization is taking place. There is a loss of a feeling of the human person understood as a rational free being, which is now being replaced by that of the interchangeable man, the individual in the mass.

113. Critical judgement has been replaced by the emotional reaction, and rational life by the life of feeling. In the disappearance of the critical judgement, man has lost his true status as a human being and his fundamental characteristic reason. The man of today remains in this way at the mercy of those who are able system-

atically to use the levers of the subconscious and of instinct.

114. This picture of the growing advent of mass phenomena is completed with a picture of very considerable mental confusion. Societies see collapsing around them, apparently or really, the scale of values which support them. The phenomenon affects mankind as a whole. There is no country in the world which has not seen challenged all the principles on which we have lived so far. This confusion about values applies to the international sphere too. Norms which have governed relations between peoples since time immemorial are now at a critical stage. It is not a question of violation of these norms. Violations or infractions of rules have always existed in mankind. The infraction, to some extent, ratified the true nature of the norm. But this is something different. What we are talking about is a contempt for rules, a disregard for their ethical content. An obvious example can be found in the acts of kidnapping and aerial hijacking which have occurred in recent months.

115. This is a disturbing picture. We believe that it affects the historical reality that we are experiencing now. It dispels all of our illusions and compels us to act. It also makes it possible to understand that fate condemns us if we do not act.

116. But, also, we must ask ourselves: why have so many efforts to produce peace given such results? Why have we confused the avoidance of war with the quest for peace? To understand this, the best way to proceed is to examine the manner in which the United Nations came into existence.

117. The United Nations Charter has an original sin. The United Nations was born of a war and tried to end war in general. The victorious parties in the last world war imposed their peace. However, there is no such thing as an imposed peace. Peace, to be authentic, has to be shared.

118. The United Nations, born of the historic trauma of war has not been able to go beyond that first anxiety of preserving men from the scourge of war. In this respect we could go so far as to say that all that has really been avoided is world war. As such, the phenomenon of war has been a permanent reality even though it has been confined to certain different regions of the earth.

119. But peace cannot simply be reduced to a mere absence of wars. The absence of armed conflict is only the negative aspect of peace, not its true essence. This leads us, then, to ask ourselves what are the conditions necessary for real peace among nations.

120. The first condition is real equality among national communities. For this purpose a radical change is required, a change which will involve the thoroughgoing alteration of existing structures.

121. No country on earth, however powerful or developed, has more dignity than any other. Each people has its own personality and specific ways of

living that deserve respect. We must accept ourselves as we are, with both our good qualities and our shortcomings.

122. Frank and sincere dialogue must start between nations as the best way to bring about mutual understanding. Reciprocal respect between national communities, which is a prime condition for peace, excludes relations based on domination and subjection between developed and developing countries, and even also among the industrialized States themselves. What is needed is real participation, more social and more democratic, by the community of peoples. Moreover, in order to be authentic, peace must be shared in both the obligations and rights it involves. In this way, also, international authority will not be regarded as an instrument for world domination. Equality and dignity among States lastly presupposes the elimination of racism as a source of discrimination between States.

123. The second condition for the establishment of peace among nations is the ordering of relations between peoples along the lines of international social justice.

124. At this point I would echo the words of my Head of State, Dr Rafael Caldera:

“The formula for bringing about happy relationships which will take the form of friendship and international co-operation cannot be a fierce struggle to buy more cheaply for ourselves and to sell ourselves at a higher price. The idea that more trade will make aid less necessary is true but only so long as trade becomes fairer and justice for the peoples of the developing countries takes the form of a greater chance to bring about the urgent changes they need. I believe in international social justice. As Aristotle saw it, justice demands that one should give everybody that which is his. As his thought has been developed in Christian philosophy, that which is his as a concept does not apply merely to individual men but also to society for the common good. There is no difficulty at all in applying this concept to the international community.

“Just as society at the national level has a right to impose various relationships upon its members, so the international community requires of the various peoples participation in accordance with their capacity so that everybody may live a human life. The obligations and rights of the various peoples have to be gauged, therefore, according to the capacity and needs of each people, in order to make peace, harmony and progress feasible so that we shall all advance in real friendship.”

125. Therefore, if we believe that the development of every man and all men is the new name for peace this implies a fundamental shift in the principles which lie behind the present international order. Otherwise our aid programmes will establish new forms of colonialism and will reinforce existing injustices, and the gap between the rich and poor countries will widen constantly.

126. At this point in man's evolution it is impossible to admit that a developed country can impose upon

an undeveloped country to which it provides “aid” a counterpart equal to—usually it is greater than—the “value” of the “service” provided. Under such conditions how will it ever be possible to emerge from underdevelopment? When we spoke before this august Assembly last year we quite rightly said that “the wealth of the developed countries sinks its roots in the poverty of the developing nations” [1779th meeting, para. 88].

127. This means that it is necessary for relations between nations to become ordered in accordance with the principles of international social justice, which leads me to quote again from the words of President Caldera:

“... if we believe that there is an international community, and if we truly maintain that all men, all of us, are part of a great society and that this great society has the right to exist and prosper, it is indispensable that on its behalf appropriate responsibilities and burdens, functions corresponding to the possibilities, strength, level of development and wealth of certain peoples vis-à-vis others should be required of peoples”.

128. The third condition for peace is the establishment of active solidarity which will truly bind the different peoples of the world together. This solidarity will be dynamic only to the extent that it is directed towards the universal common good, and only if it is based on international social justice.

129. The profound social, political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological changes that have taken place have altered human relations within the various societies, both national and international. The earth is shrinking, and we men are drawn closer to each other. National communities have become aware of their individuality. It is all the time being more clearly understood how the fate of each is bound up with the fate of the rest. Also, admittedly in a confused form but quite visibly, there is emerging the idea of a universal common good over and above the desires of each nation, towards which the interests of mankind should be directed. The solidarity of mankind is no longer a subject for discussion.

130. But, the barriers to international solidarity must be surmounted. These are two: first, there is the proliferation of overblown nationalism. This nationalism exalts beyond all measure national egoism and creates obstacles to a balanced co-ordination among peoples. Second, there are ideological hatreds which lead to divisions among nations and engender divisive fanatical attitudes which are quite negative and are a rich fertilizer for the appearance and flourishing nature of violence as a system. While there is one part of mankind which considers that the economic and social way of life of another part of mankind is an evil to be destroyed, it will obviously be difficult for real solidarity to prevail; we cannot go beyond mere tolerated coexistence, which is a kind of marking time, or holding war at bay, as it were, simply holding off the destruction of one party by another. Coexistence in this way will

remain simply a stage in the game of the unstable balance between blocs.

131. If we want to achieve a shared and non-imposed peace, active solidarity between nations will compel us to embark upon successive processes of integration to get from the sphere of national autarchy towards the creation of a supernational society. This is what we might call the stage of pluralist integration, a more appropriate method than the system of defensive and offensive alliances which is characteristic of bloc politics.

132. Active solidarity among nations requires of us the elimination of the machinery of political-economic subjection imposed *de facto* by the developed countries of East and West, to the detriment of the underdeveloped countries.

133. Active solidarity among nations, lastly, imposes on us an obligation to impart a new ideological concept to the new civilization, to the new international order which is already knocking impatiently at our doors. This new ideology must start from the historic reality that we are living in now and the profound aspirations of peoples. It will be a social and revolutionary humanism founded on the recognition of the unity and indivisibility of the fate of mankind and of the eminent dignity of the human person. Its goal will be the development

of the whole man and of all men. It will regard as a fundamental right of each national community active participation in the decisions which concern it in the international order. It will at all times be directed towards the promotion of the universal common good, inspired by an ideal of social international justice.

134. A durable and lasting peace is to be the goal that it will try to achieve. It will not be an imposed peace, but a voluntary peace, a peace sought for, a peace accepted and shared.

135. Is this Utopian? I put it to you whether it is not more Utopian to continue on the road that we are on now and to believe that it will take us towards peace and international security.

136. In examining all these problems we must necessarily think of the heavy burden which our Secretary-General, U Thant, bears on his shoulders.

137. Our children, the men of tomorrow, will require of us categorically at this twenty-fifth anniversary session of the United Nations that we construct a human and just international order in which peace and freedom of spirit shall reign in the hearts of men. Let us all unite our efforts, so as not to disappoint them.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.