



**34th SESSION OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE
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**Fidel Castro
October 12, 1979**

**SPEECH GIVEN BY COMMANDER IN
CHIEF FIDEL CASTRO RUZ, FIRST SECRE-
TARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA, PRE-
SIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND
OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE
REPUBLIC OF CUBA AND PRESIDENT OF
THE MOVEMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUN-
TRIES, IN THE 34TH SESSION OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
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Esteemed Chairman;
Distinguished Representatives
of the World Community:

I have not come here to speak about Cuba. I have not come to denounce in this Assembly the attacks to which our small but worthy country has been subjected for 20 years. Nor have I come to use unnecessary adjectives to wound a powerful neighbor in his own house.

We have been charged by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to present the United Nations with the results of its deliberations and the positions that are derived from them.

We are 95 countries from all the continents, representing the overwhelming majority of mankind. We are united by our determination to defend the co-operation among our countries, free na-

tional and social development, sovereignty, security, equality and self-determination. We are associated in our determination to change the present system of international relations, that is based on injustice, inequality and oppression. In international politics, we act as an independent world factor.

Meeting in Havana, the Movement has just reaffirmed its principles and confirmed its objectives.

The non-aligned countries stress the fact that it is necessary to do away with the abysmal inequality that separates the developed from the developing countries. We are struggling to eradicate the poverty, hunger, sickness and illiteracy from which hundreds of millions of human beings still suffer. We aspire to a new world order, based on justice, equity and peace, to replace the unjust, unequal system which now prevails, in which, as proclaimed in the Havana Final Declaration, "wealth is still concentrated in the hands of a few Powers whose wasteful economies are maintained by the exploitation of the labour as well as the trans-

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fer and plunder of the natural and other resources of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world."

Among the problems that will be debated in this session of the General Assembly, peace is a concern of the first order. The search for peace also constitutes an aspiration of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and has been the object of its attention in the Sixth Conference. But, for our countries, peace is indivisible. We want a peace that benefits large and small, strong and weak, equally, a peace that embraces all the world and reaches all citizens.

Ever since its inception, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has considered that the principles of peaceful coexistence should be the cornerstone of international relations; constitute the basis for the strengthening of international peace and security, the relaxation of tensions and the extension of that process to all regions of the world and to all aspects of international relations; and should be universally applied in relations

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among States. But, at the same time, the Sixth Summit Conference considered that these principles of peaceful coexistence also included the rights of peoples under alien and colonial domination to self-determination, independence and sovereignty; the territorial integrity of States; and the right of each country to ensure the termination of foreign occupation and of the acquisition of territory by force and to choose its own socio-economic and political system.

Only thus can peaceful coexistence be the basis for all international relations.

This cannot be denied. When we analyze the structure of today's world, we see that these rights of our peoples are not yet guaranteed

This cannot be denied. When we analyze the structure of today's world, we see that these rights of our peoples are not yet guaranteed. The non-aligned countries know full well who our historic enemies are, where the threats come from and how we should combat them. There-

fore, we resolved in Havana to reaffirm that

...the quintessence of the policy of non-alignment, in accordance with its original principles and essential character, involved the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, *apartheid*, racism including Zionism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony, as well as against great-Power and bloc policies.

From this, you can see that the Havana Final Declaration associated the struggle for peace with "political, moral and material support for the national liberation movements and joint efforts to eliminate colonial domination and racial discrimination."

The non-aligned countries have always placed great importance on the possibility of and need for détente among the great Powers. That is why the Sixth Conference pointed with great concern to the fact that, in the period after the Colombo Summit Conference, there was

a certain stagnation in the process of détente, which has also continued to be limited "both in scope and geographically."

Basing themselves on this concern, in their Conference the non-aligned countries — which have made disarmament and denuclearization one of the permanent, most prominent objectives of their struggle and took the initiative in convening the tenth special session of the General Assembly on disarmament — examined the results of the negotiations on strategic arms and the SALT II agreements. They consider that those agreements constitute an important step in the negotiations between the two main nuclear Powers and could open prospects for more comprehensive negotiations that should lead to general disarmament and a relaxation of international tensions. However, for the non-aligned, those treaties are only a part of the advance toward peace. Even though the negotiations between the great Powers constitute a decisive element in the process, the non-aligned countries reiterated yet again that

the endeavour to consolidate détente; to extend it to all parts of the world; and to avert the nuclear threat, the arms build-up and war was a task in which all the peoples should participate and exercise their responsibility.

Mr. Chairman, basing ourselves on the concept of the universality of peace and on the need to associate the search for peace, extended to all countries, with the struggle for national independence, full sovereignty and equality among States, we Heads of State or Government who met in the Sixth Summit Conference, in Havana, gave our attention to the most pressing problems in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world. It is important to emphasize that we started from an independent position that was not tied to policies that could stem from the contradiction between the great Powers. If, in spite of this objective, uncommitted approach, our review of international events became an anathema of the supporters of imperialism and colonialism, this simply reflects the essential reality of today's world.

Thus, on beginning our analysis of the situation in Africa and after recognizing the advance made in the African peoples' struggle for their emancipation, the Heads of State or Government stressed, as a fundamental problem of the region, the urgency of eliminating colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* from the continent, especially from southern Africa.

We had to emphasize that the colonial and imperialist Powers were continuing their aggressive policies with the aim of perpetuating, regaining or extending their domination and exploitation of the African nations.

This is precisely the dramatic situation in Africa. The non-aligned countries could not fail to condemn the attacks on Mozambique, Zambia, Angola and Botswana; the threats against Lesotho; the destabilization efforts that are constantly being made against that area; and the role of the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. The pressing need for Zimbabwe and Namibia to be completely
10 liberated quickly is not just a cause of

the non-aligned countries or of the most progressive forces of our era but is *contained* in resolutions that the international community has passed in the United Nations and implies duties that must be taken up and whose *infractio*n must be denounced internationally. Therefore, in the Final Declaration, when the Heads of State or Government approved the condemnation of a group of Western countries — which they named — and headed by the United States for their direct or indirect collaboration in the maintenance of South Africa's criminal policy and racist oppression and recognized the role that the non-aligned countries, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the socialist countries and the Scandinavian countries and other democratic and progressive forces play in supporting the struggle of the peoples of Africa, this didn't involve even the slightest manifestation of ideological leanings. It was simply a true expression of objective reality. To condemn South Africa without mentioning those who make
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its criminal policy possible would have been incomprehensible.

More, forcibly and urgently than ever, the Sixth Summit Conference expressed the need not only to end the situation in which the Zimbabwean and Namibian peoples' right to independence and the black men and women of South Africa's pressing need to attain a status in which they are considered as equal, respected human beings are denied but also to guarantee conditions of respect and peace for all the countries of the region.

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Continued support for the national liberation movements, the Patriotic Front and SWAPO was a decision that was as unanimous as it was expected. And this — let us state this very clearly — is not a case of expressing a unilateral preference for solutions through armed struggle. It

is true that the Conference praised the people of Namibia and SWAPO, their sole authentic representative, for having stepped up the armed struggle and for advancing in it, and it requested all-out, effective support for that form of combat. But this was due to the fact that the South African racists have closed the door to any real negotiation, and the efforts to achieve negotiated solutions go no farther than mere stratagems.

The attitude toward the commonwealth's decisions in its Lusaka meetings last August to have the British Government, as an authority in Southern Rhodesia, call a conference to discuss the problems of Zimbabwe confirmed that the non-aligned countries do not oppose solutions that can be achieved without armed struggle — as long as they lead to the creations of a real Government representing the majority; an independence is achieved that is satisfactory to the fighting peoples; and this is done in accordance with the resolutions of such bodies as the OAU, the United Nations and our Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

Mr. Chairman, the Sixth Summit Conference once more had to express its regret that United Nations General Assembly resolution 1514, concerning the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, has not been applied in Western Sahara. We should recall that the decisions of the non-aligned countries and the resolutions of the United Nations — especially General Assembly resolution 3331 — have reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. Cuba feels a special responsibility with regard to this problem because it has been a member of the United Nations Committee that investigated the situation in Western Sahara, which enabled our representatives to verify the Saharawi people's total desire for self-determination and independence. We reiterate here that the position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is not one of antagonism toward any country. Nothing but the application of our principles and the agreements of the United Nations should be seen in its welcoming the agreement between the Republic of

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Mauritania and the POLISARIO Front and the Republic of Mauritania's decision to withdraw its forces from the territory of Western Sahara and in its deploring the extension of Morocco's arming of the southern part of Western Sahara previously administered by Mauritania. Therefore, the Conference expressed its hope that the *Ad Hoc* Committee established at the 16th OAU Summit Conference would provide a guarantee that the people of the Sahara could exercise their right to self-determination and independence as soon as possible.

The same principle and the same position determined the resolutions on Mayotte and the Malagasy islands and the need for them to be reintegrated in the Comoros and Madagascar, respectively.

Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt that the problem of the Middle East has become one of the situations that provides most cause for worry in the world today. The Sixth Summit Conference examined it in its double dimension.

On the one hand, the Conference reaffirmed that Israel's determination to

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pursue its policy of aggression, expansionism and colonial settlement in the occupied territories with the support of the United States of America constitutes a serious threat to world peace and security.

The Conference also examined the problem from the point of view of the rights of the Arab peoples and of the Palestinian question.

For the non-aligned countries, the Palestinian question is the crux of the problem of the Middle East. They are an integral whole, and neither can be settled in isolation from the other

For the non-aligned countries, the Palestinian question is the crux of the problem of the Middle East. They are an integral whole, and neither can be settled in isolation from the other.

No just peace can be established in the region unless it is based on total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories and the recovery by the Palestinian people of all their inalienable national rights,

including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State in Palestine, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3236. This implies that all measures taken by Israel in the Palestinian and other Arab territories since their occupation, including the establishment of colonies or settlements in Palestinian and other Arab territories — whose immediate dismantlement is a prerequisite for the solution of the problem — are illegal and null and void.

As I said in my address to the Sixth Summit Conference, "...we are not fanatics. The revolutionary movement has always learned to hate racial discrimination and pogroms of any kind. From the bottom of our heart, we repudiated the merciless persecution and genocide that the Nazis once visited on the Jews, but there's nothing in recent history that parallels it more than the dispossession, persecution and genocide that imperialism and Zionism are currently practicing against the Palestinian people. Pushed off their land, expelled from their country,

scattered throughout the world, persecuted and murdered, the heroic Palestinians are a vivid example of sacrifice and patriotism, living symbols of the most terrible crime of our era". (*Applause*)

How could anyone be surprised that the Conference — for reasons that stemmed not from any political prejudice but rather from an objective analysis of the facts — felt called upon to note that the United States' policy in aligning itself with Israel and in supporting it and working to obtain partial solutions that are favourable to Zionist aims and to guarantee the fruits of Israeli aggression at the expense of the Palestinian Arab people and the entire Arab nation played a major role in preventing the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace in the region?

The facts — and only the facts — led the Conference to condemn the United States' policies and manoeuvres in the region.

When the Heads of State or Government arrived at the consensus which condemned the Camp David agreements and the March 1979 Egyptian-Israeli treaty,

their formulations had been preceded by long hours of detailed study and fruitful exchanges which enabled the Conference to consider these treaties not only as a complete defection from the Arab countries' cause but also as an act of complicity with the continuing occupation of Arab territories. The terms are hard, but they are true and just. It is not the Egyptian people who have been subjected to the judgment of the Movement's bodies. The Egyptian people command the respect of each and every one of our countries and have the solidarity of all our peoples. The same voices that were raised to denounce the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty eulogized Gamal Abdel Nasser, a founder of the Movement and sustainer of the fighting traditions of the Arab nation. No one is or ever will be unaware of Egypt's historic role in Arab culture and development or its merits as a founding nation of and driving force in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

The Conference also gave its attention to the problems of Southeast Asia. 19

The growing conflicts and tensions there are a threat to peace that must be avoided.

The Sixth Summit Conference expressed similar concern in relation to the Indian Ocean situation. The Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, adopted eight years ago by the United Nations General Assembly, has not fulfilled its objectives. Far from being reduced, the military presence in the area is growing. Military bases have reached South Africa and are also serving as a means for surveillance of the African liberation movements. The talks between the United States and the Soviet Union are still suspended, despite the recent agreements between the two countries to discuss their resumption. All this resulted in the Sixth Summit Conference's invitation to all States concerned to work effectively to fulfill the objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

20 The Sixth Conference analyzed other issues of regional and world interest, such as European security and co-operation and the Mediterranean problem — the

tensions that subsist there and that have now increased as a result of Israel's aggressive policy and the support given it by certain imperialist powers. The situations in Cyprus — still partially occupied by foreign troops — and Korea — still divided, in spite of the Korean people's desire that their homeland be peacefully reunified — were examined, which resulted in the non-aligned countries' reaffirming and broadening their resolutions of solidarity aimed at fulfilling the aspirations of both peoples.

It would be impossible to refer to all the political decisions of the Sixth Summit Conference. If we were to do so, we would be unable to enter upon what we consider to be one of the most fundamental aspects of our Sixth Summit Conference: its economic projection — the clamor of the developing countries' peoples who are weary of backwardness and the suffering it engenders. Cuba, as host country, will present all the member countries of the international community with copies of the Conference's Final Declaration and additional resolutions. But, before telling 21

you how the non-aligned countries view the world economic situation and what their demands and hopes are, I would like to take a few minutes to inform you of what the Final Declaration's approach is concerning Latin-American issues of the moment.

The fact that the Sixth Summit Conference was held in a Latin-American country gave the Heads of State or Government meeting there the opportunity to recall that the peoples of that region initiated their efforts to obtain independence at the beginning of the 19th century

22 The fact that the Sixth Summit Conference was held in a Latin-American country gave the Heads of State or Government meeting there the opportunity to recall that the peoples of that region initiated their efforts to obtain independence at the beginning of the 19th century. They did not forget either, as it says in the Declaration, that "Latin America is one of the regions of the world that historically

has greatly suffered from the aggression of United States and European imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism." The participants in the Conference were forced to point out that, in that area of struggle, remnants of colonialism, neo-colonialism and national oppression still remain. Therefore, the Conference spoke out in favour of eradicating colonialism in all its forms and manifestations; condemned the presence of foreign military bases in Latin America and the Caribbean, such as those in Cuba and Puerto Rico; and again demanded that the Government of the United States and the other colonial Powers restore to those countries the part of their territories occupied by those bases against the will of their peoples.

Experience in other areas led the Heads of State or Government to reject and condemn any attempt to create in the Caribbean a so-called security force, a neo-colonial mechanism which is incompatible with the sovereignty, peace and security of the countries.

On requesting the restitution of the Malvinas Islands to the Argentine Republic and on reaffirming its support for the inalienable right of the people of Belize to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity, the Conference corroborated once more what its Declaration defined as the quintessence of non-alignment. It welcomed the fact that the Panama Canal Treaties, concluded between the Republic of Panama and the United States, would enter into force on October 1; gave its full support to those treaties; demanded that they be respected in both letter and spirit; and called on all the States of the world to adhere to the Protocol of the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality of the Panama Canal.

24 In spite of all the pressures, threats and flattery that were brought to bear and despite the United States Government's obstinacy in demanding that the Puerto Rican issue be considered an internal United States problem, the Heads of State or Government reiterated their solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people and with their inalienable right to self-

determination, independence and territorial integrity; they called on the Government of the United States of America to refrain from any political or repressive manoeuvres that tend to perpetuate that country's colonial status. (*Applause*)

No homage could be more appropriate than this for Latin America's traditions of freedom and for the heroic Puerto Rican people, who have just celebrated another anniversary of the Cry of Lares — which expressed their indomitable will for freedom almost a hundred years ago.

In referring to Latin-American reality, the Heads of State or Government — who had already analyzed the significance of the liberating process in Iran — could not fail to refer to the revolutionary upheaval in Grenada and the tremendous victory of the people of Nicaragua and their vanguard, the Sandinist National Liberation Front, (*Applause*) and emphasize the enormous historic significance of that event for the peoples of Latin America and the world. The Heads of State or Government also stressed something new in Latin-American relations that 25

sets an example for other regions of the world: the way in which the Governments of Panama, Costa Rica and Mexico, as well as the member countries of the subregional Andean Pact — Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela — acted in solidarity and unity to achieve a just solution to the Nicaraguan problem, as well as Cuba's traditional solidarity with that people's cause.

I confess that those considerations on Latin America alone would have justified all the Cuban people's efforts and the concern of the hundreds of thousands of men and women in our country who were determined to enable Cuba to worthily welcome the fraternal nations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at the Havana Summit Conference, but there was far more for Cuba — something which, on behalf of our people, we would like to thank you for in this forum of the United Nations. In Havana, the Cuban people's right to choose their political and social system was supported, as was their claim to the territory occupied by the naval base at Guantánamo. Moreover, the

unjust blockade with which the United States Government continues its efforts to isolate the Cuban Revolution, seeking to destroy it, was condemned. (*Applause*)

We appreciate the deep sense and universal resonance of the Movement's recent denunciation in Havana of the hostile acts, pressures and threats against Cuba by the United States, declaring them a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law and a threat to world peace. Once again we reply to our brothers, assuring the international community that Cuba will remain true to the principles of international solidarity.

History has taught us that, when a people that frees itself from a colonial or neo-colonial system obtains access to independence, that is, at one and the same time, the last action in a long struggle and the first one in another difficult battle

Mr. Chairman, history has taught us that, when a people that frees itself from

a colonial or neo-colonial system obtains access to independence, that is, at one and the same time, the last action in a long struggle and the first one in another difficult battle, for the independence, sovereignty and freedom of our apparently free peoples are continuously threatened by external control over their natural resources; financial imposition by official international bodies; and the precarious situation of their economies, which reduces their full sovereignty.

For this reason, at the beginning of their analyses of world economic problems, the Heads of State or Government

...once again solemnly emphasized the paramount importance of consolidating political independence by economic emancipation. They therefore reiterated that the existing international economic system runs against the basic interests of developing countries, is profoundly unjust and incompatible with the development of the non-aligned and other developing countries, nor does it contribute to the

elimination of the economic and social evils that afflict those countries. . .

and emphasized

...the historic mission that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries should play in the struggle to attain the economic and political independence of all developing countries and peoples, to exercise their full and permanent sovereignty and control over their natural and all other resources and economic activities, and to promote a fundamental restructuring of the world economy through the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

They concluded that

...the struggle to eliminate the injustice of the existing international economic system and to establish the New International Economic Order is an integral part of the people's struggle for political, economic, cultural and social liberation.

It is not necessary to go into how profoundly unjust and incompatible with

the development of the underdeveloped countries the existing international economic system is. The figures are already so well known that it is unnecessary for us to repeat them here. There are discussions on whether there are only 400 million undernourished people in the world or whether the figure has once more risen to 450 million, as certain international documents state. Even 400 million hungry men and women constitute too heavy a charge.

What nobody doubts is that the hopes raised in developing countries appear extinguished and dashed at the closing of this Second Development Decade.

The Director General of the FAO Council has acknowledged that "Progress is still disappointingly slow in relation to the long-term development goals contained in the International Development Strategy, the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the establishment of the New International Economic Order and the Resolution of the World Food Conference and in several subsequent

conferences." We are still far from having achieved the modest 4 per cent per annum average increase in the developing countries' food and agricultural production which was proposed ten years ago in order to solve some of the most pressing problems of world hunger and to approach consumption levels that are still low. As a result, the developing countries' food imports, which right now constitute an aggravating factor in their unfavourable balance of payments, will soon — according to the FAO — reach unmanageable proportions. In the face of this, official commitments of foreign aid to agriculture in the developing countries are falling off.

This panorama cannot be embellished. Certain official documents sometimes reflect circumstantial increases in the agricultural production of some areas of the underdeveloped world or stress the cyclical price increases registered by some agricultural items, but it is a case of transitory advances or shortlived advantages. The developing countries' agricultural export revenues are still unstable and

insufficient to meet their import needs for foodstuffs, fertilizers and other items required to raise their own production. In Africa, food production per inhabitant was 11 per cent lower in 1977 than ten years earlier.

If backwardness in agriculture is perpetuated, the industrialization process cannot advance, either. It cannot advance because most of the developed countries view the industrialization of the developing countries as a threat.

The 1975 Lima World Conference on Industrialization proposed to the developing countries that we be responsible for 25 per cent of the world's manufacturing output by the year 2000, but the progress made since that conference has been so insignificant that, if the measures proposed by the Sixth Summit Conference are not implemented and a crash programme is not put into effect to modify the economic policies of most of the developed countries, this will be yet another goal that won't be met. We now account for less than 9 per cent of the world's manufacturing output.

Our dependency is once more expressed in the fact that the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America import 26.1 per cent of the manufactured goods that enter international trade and export only 6.3 per cent of them

Our dependency is once more expressed in the fact that the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America import 26.1 per cent of the manufactured goods that enter international trade and export only 6.3 per cent of them.

It may be said that there is some industrial expansion, but it does not take place at the required rate or in the key industries of industrial economy. This was pointed out at the Havana Conference. The world redistribution of industry, called industrial redeployment, should not consist of a new confirmation of the deep economic inequalities that emerged in the colonial era of the 19th century. At that time, we were condemned to be producers of raw materials and cheap agricultural products. Now, an effort is being made to use our countries'

abundant labour, and starvation wages, and to transfer obsolete and polluting industries to developing countries. We categorically reject this.

Developed market economy countries today absorb more than 85 per cent of the world's manufactured goods, including those whose industrial production requires the highest technology. They also control over 83 per cent of all industrial exports. Twenty-six per cent of those exports go to the developing countries whose markets they monopolize. The most serious aspect of this dependent structure is that our imports — consumer items as well as capital goods — are manufactured according to the demands, requirements and technology of the most developed industrial countries and the patterns of consumer society, which are introduced through the chinks of our trade, contaminating our own societies and thus adding a new element to the already permanent structural crisis.

The result of all this — as was noted by the Heads of State or Government in
34 Havana — is that the gap between the

developed and developing countries not only persists but has substantially increased. The latter's relative share of world output decreased considerably during the last two decades, which has still more disastrous effects on such problems as malnutrition, illiteracy and poor sanitation.

Some would like to solve the tragic problem of mankind with drastic measures to reduce the population. They remember that wars and epidemics helped to reduce it in other eras. Going even farther, they seek to blame the population explosion for underdevelopment.

The population explosion is the result — not the cause — of underdevelopment. Development will both bring solutions to the problem of poverty and, through education and culture, help our countries to attain rational and adequate rates of growth.

A recent report put out by the World Bank shows an even worse perspective. It says that, by the year 2000, some 600 million people may still be submerged in absolute poverty.

Mr. Chairman and representatives, the state of agricultural and industrial backwardness from which the developing countries have not managed to emerge is — as the Sixth Summit Conference pointed out — undoubtedly a result of unjust and unequal international relations, but — as was also pointed out in the Havana Final Declaration — the prolonged world economic crisis is an aggravating factor in this.

I shall not dwell too long on this aspect. Let us state now that we Heads of State or Government consider that the crisis of the international economic system is not merely a phenomenon of a cyclical nature but a symptom of underlying structural maladjustments and basic imbalances, aggravated by the unwillingness of developed market economy countries to control their external imbalances, high levels of inflation and unemployment. The inflation has been engendered precisely in those developed countries that now refuse to implement the only measures that would eliminate it. We further point out (we will refer to

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this later, and it is also set down in the Havana Final Declaration) that this crisis also results from the persisting inequity in international economic relations — so that eliminating that inequality, as we propose to do, will contribute to reducing and eliminating the crisis itself.

What are the main guidelines that the representatives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries were obliged to formulate in Havana?

We condemned the persistent channeling of human and material resources into an arms race — which is unproductive, wasteful and dangerous to mankind

We condemned the persistent channeling of human and material resources into an arms race — which is unproductive, wasteful and dangerous to mankind (*Applause*) — and demanded that a substantial part of the resources now devoted to arms, particularly by the major Powers, be used for economic and social development.

We expressed our grave concern over the negligible progress that has been made in the negotiations for the implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the establishment of the New International Economic Order. We pointed out that this was due to the lack of political will on the part of most of the developed countries, and we specifically condemned the dilatory, diversionary and divisive tactics adopted by these countries. This situation was evidenced by the recent failure of the Fifth UNCTAD.

We confirmed that the unequal exchange in international economic relations enunciated as an essential characteristic of the system has become, if possible, even more unequal. Whereas the prices of the manufactured goods, capital goods, foodstuffs and services we import from developed countries are constantly rising, the prices of the primary products we export are not — and, in addition, are subject to constant fluctuation. The terms of trade have worsened. We emphasized that protectionism — one of the aggrava-

ting factors in the great depression of the '30s — has been re-introduced by some developed countries. The Conference deplored the fact that the developed countries that belong to GATT did not take the interests and concerns of the developing countries, especially the least developed countries, into account in their negotiations.

The Conference also denounced the increased use by certain developed countries of domestic production subsidies that redound against products of interest to the developing countries.

The Conference deplored the shortcomings in the scope and operation of the Generalized System of Preferences and, in that spirit, condemned the discriminatory restrictions contained in the United States Foreign Trade Act and the inflexible positions adopted by some developed countries, which prevented the adoption of agreements on this issue at the Fifth UNCTAD.

We expressed our concern over the constant deterioration of the international monetary situation. The instability of the

exchange rates of the main reserve currencies, together with inflation, increases the imbalance in the world economic situation, creates additional economic difficulties for the developing countries and reduces the real value of the export earnings and foreign currency reserves. We also pointed out another negative factor: the disorderly growth of international liquidity mainly through the use of devaluated United States dollars and other reserve currencies. We noted that, while the inequality of international economic relations had increased the developing countries' accumulated foreign debt — to over \$ 300 billion — the international financial bodies and private banks had raised their interest rates and imposed shorter terms of loan amortization, thus strangling the developing countries financially. As was denounced by the Conference, this constitutes an element of coercion in negotiations that permits these financial institutions to obtain political and economic advantages at our countries' expense.

The Conference noted the neo-colonialist efforts to prevent the developing countries from exercising their full, permanent and effective sovereignty over these natural resources and reaffirmed this right. In this regard, it supported the efforts of raw-materials-producing non-aligned and other developing countries in seeking just and remunerative prices for their exports and to improve in real terms their export earnings.

Moreover, the Conference paid more attention than ever to the strengthening of economic relations and to the scientific-technical transfer of technologies among the developing countries. The concept of what could be defined as "collective self-reliance" — that is, mutual support and co-operation among the developing countries so they depend, in the first place, on their own collective forces — is given more importance than ever in the Havana Final Declaration. Cuba, as President of the Movement and co-ordinating country, intends, along with the Group of 77, to do whatever is necessary to promote the Programme of

Action on economic co-operation drawn up by the Conference.

Nevertheless, we do not conceive of "collective self-reliance" as anything even remotely resembling autarchy. Rather, we consider it to be a factor in international relations which mobilizes all the means and resources of that considerable, important part of mankind represented by the developing countries and incorporates them in the general flow of resources and economies that can be mobilized in both the capitalist camp and the socialist countries.

The Sixth Summit Conference rejected the attempts of certain developed countries to use the issue of energy to divide the developing countries

Mr. Chairman, the Sixth Summit Conference rejected the attempts of certain developed countries to use the issue of energy to divide the developing countries.

42 The energy problem can only be examined in its historic context, taking into

account the fact that the wasteful consumption patterns of some of the developed countries and the role played by transnational oil corporations has led to the squandering of hydro-carbons and noting the plundering role of transnational corporations, which have benefited from cheap energy supplies — which they have used irresponsibly — up until only recently. The transnationals have been exploiting both the producers and consumers and reaping unjustified windfall profits, while at the same time falsifying facts by shifting the blame for the present situation onto the developing countries exporters of oil.

Permit me to remind you that, in my opening address to the Conference, I pointed out the desperate situation of the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries — especially the least developed ones — and expressed my confidence that the non-aligned oil-producing countries would find formulas for helping to alleviate the situation of those countries that are already hit by world inflation and unequal trade and have serious balance 43

of payments deficits and sharp increases in their foreign debts. But this does not obviate the principal responsibility of the developed countries, their monopolies and their transnational corporations.

Adopting that approach, the Heads of State or Government emphasized that the international energy issue should be discussed in the context of global negotiations within the United Nations with the participation of all c o u n t r i e s and in relation with such other issues as the problems of development of developing countries, financial and m o n e t a r y reforms, world trade and raw materials, so as to make a comprehensive analysis of the aspects which have a bearing on the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

No review of the main problems that affect the developing countries in terms of the world economy would be complete without an analysis of the transnational corporations. Once again, the policies and practices of transnational corporations were declared unacceptable. It was
44 charged that, in their desire for profits,

they exhaust the resources, distort the economies and infringe the sovereignty of developing countries; infringe the peoples' right to self-determination; violate the principles of non-interference in the affairs of States; and frequently resort to bribery, corruption and other undesirable practices through which they seek to and do subordinate the developing countries to the industrialized countries.

In view of the inadequate progress achieved in the work carried out within the United Nations to draw up a Code of Conduct to regulate the activities of transnational corporations, the Conference reaffirmed the urgency of early completion of the work on the Code in order to provide the international community with a legal instrument with which at least to control and regulate the activities of the transnational corporations in accordance with the objectives and aspirations of the developing countries.

In setting forth all the overwhelming negative aspects in the economic situation of developing countries, the Sixth Summit Conference called special atten-
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tion to the mounting problems of the least developed, disadvantaged, land-locked countries and isolated hinterland ones and asked that urgent steps for the implementation of special measures be taken to alleviate them.

This, Mr. Chairman and representatives, was the far from optimistic, rather sombre and unencouraging panorama with which the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries meeting in Havana were faced.

Nevertheless, the non-aligned countries did not allow themselves to be carried into positions of frustration or exasperation, however understandable that might be. While drawing up strategic concepts for advancing their struggle, the Heads of State or Government reiterated their demands and defined their positions.

46 The first fundamental objective in our struggle consists of reducing and finally eliminating the unequal exchange that prevails today and that makes international trade a useful vehicle for the further plundering of our wealth. Today,

the product of one hour's work in the developed countries is exchanged for the product of ten hours' work in the under-developed countries.

The non-aligned countries demand that serious attention be paid to the Integrated Programme for Commodities — which, thus, has been so manipulated that it has been buried in the so-called North-South negotiations. Likewise, they ask that the Common Fund, projected as a stabilization instrument to establish a permanent correspondence between the prices they receive for their products and those they pay for their imports — which has just begun to be integrated — be given a big boost. For the non-aligned countries, this correspondence — permanently linking the prices of their export items with prices of the basic equipment, industrial products and technological raw materials and technology that they import from the developed countries — constitutes an essential pivot for all future economic negotiations.

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The developing countries demand — and will maintain their struggle to achieve this — that the industrial products of their incipient economies be given access to the markets of developed countries; that the vicious protectionism which has been re-introduced in the international economy and which threatens to lead us once again into an ominous economic war be eliminated; and that generalized and non-reciprocal tariff preferences be applied without deceptive falsehoods, so their young industries may develop without being crushed in the world

market by the superior technological resources of the developed countries.

The non-aligned countries consider that the negotiations which are about to be concluded on the Law of the Sea should not be used — as certain developed countries seek to do — to ratify the existing imbalance as regards sea resources but should serve as a vehicle for its equitable redress. The Conference on the Law of the Sea has once again brought out the arrogance and imperialist determination of some countries which, putting their technological possibilities before the spirit of understanding and accommodation requested by the developing countries, threaten to take unilateral action in undertaking deep-sea mining operations.

The underdeveloped countries now have a foreign debt of \$335 billion. It is estimated that around \$ 40 billion a year goes to servicing this foreign debt — more than 20 percent of their exports. Moreover, average per capita income in the developed countries is now 14 times

greater than in the underdeveloped countries. This situation is untenable.

The developing countries need a new financial system to be established through which they can receive the necessary financial resources for the continuous and independent development of their economies. It should provide long-term, low-interest financing. These financial resources should be completely at the disposal of the developing countries, to enable them to establish priority system in their economies in accordance with their plans for industrial development and to prevent those funds from being absorbed, as is the case at present, by transnational corporations — which use alleged financial contributions for development to aggravate the deformations of our economies and reap maximum profits from the exploitation of countries' resources.

50 The developing countries — and, on their behalf, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries — demand that a substantial part of the immense resources now being wasted by being poured into

the arms race be used for development — which would both contribute to reducing the danger of war and help improve the international situation.

Expressing the position of all the developing countries, the non-aligned countries call for the establishment of a new international monetary system which will stop the disastrous fluctuations to which the main currencies used in the international economy — especially the United States dollar — are subject. The financial disorder also hits the developing countries, which hope that, when the outlines of the new international monetary system are drawn up, they — as the majority of the countries in the international community, representing more than 1500 million men and women — may have a voice in the decision-making process.

In brief, Mr. Chairman and representatives, unequal exchange is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!

Inflation, which is being exported to us, is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!

Protectionism is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!

The disequilibrium that exists concerning the exploitation of sea resources is abusive; and it should be abolished!

The financial resources received by the developing countries are insufficient; and should be increased!

Arms expenditures are irrational. They should cease, and the funds thus released should be used to finance development.

The international monetary system that prevails today is bankrupt; and should be replaced!

The debts of the least developed countries and those in a disadvantageous position are impossible to bear and have no solution. They should be cancelled! (*Applause*)

Indebtedness oppresses the rest of the developing countries economically; and it should be relieved!

The wide economic gap between the developed countries and the countries that seek development is growing rather than diminishing; and it should be closed!

Such are the demands of the under-developed countries.

Mr. Chairman and representatives, response to these demands, some of which have been systematically presented by the developing countries in international forums, through the Group of 77 and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, would permit a change of course in the international economic situation that would provide the developing countries with the institutional conditions for organizing programmes that would definitely place them on the road to development.

But, even if all these measures were implemented and the mistakes and evils of the present system of international relations were rectified the developing countries would still lack one decisive element: external financing.

All the internal efforts, all the sacrifices that the peoples of the developing countries are making and are willing to make and all the opportunities for increasing their economic potential that would be achieved on eliminating the

inequality between the prices of their exports and imports and on improving the conditions in which their foreign trade is carried out would not be enough. In the light of their real financial situation at present, they need enough resources to be able both to pay their debts and to make the huge expenditures on a global level which development requires.

Here, also, the figures are too well known for us to repeat them. The Sixth Summit Conference was concerned not only because the underdeveloped countries' foreign debt was practically unbearable but also because it was increasing annually at an alarming rate. The data contained in the World Bank report that came out while we were holding the Havana Conference confirm that the situation is growing worse and worse. In 1978, alone, the foreign public debt of 96 developing countries rose by some \$51 billion. This rate of growth has resulted in their foreign debt's reaching the astronomical figure already mentioned.

54 Mr. Chairman, we cannot resign ourselves to this gloomy prospect.

The most renowned economists — both Western ones and those who ascribe to Marxist concepts — admit that the developing countries' system of international indebtedness functions in a completely irrational manner and that its maintenance could lead to a sudden interruption that could endanger the whole precarious, unstable balance of the world economy.

Some try to explain the surprising economic fact that the international banking centres continue to provide funds to countries that are technically bankrupt by adducing that these are generous contributions to help those countries meet their economic difficulties, but this is not so. Actually, it is an operation for saving the international capitalist order itself. In October 1978, the Commission of European Communities admitted, by way of clarification, that

The present balance of the world economy depends to a considerable extent on continuing the flow of private loans to non-oil-producing developing countries...on a scale un- 55

precedented prior to 1974, and any obstacle to that flow will endanger that balance. (Translated from Spanish).

World bankruptcy would be very hard, in the first place, on the underdeveloped countries and on the workers in the developed capitalist countries. It would hurt even the most stable socialist economies, but it is doubtful that the capitalist system would survive such a catastrophe, and it would be difficult for the resulting terrible economic situation not to inevitably engender a world conflagration. Mention has already been made of the special military forces to occupy the oil fields and the sources of other raw materials.

But, while everyone should be concerned over this gloomy prospect, this duty applies first of all to those who possess the most wealth and material abundance

56 But, while everyone should be concerned over this gloomy prospect, this

duty applies first of all to those who possess the most wealth and material abundance.

In any case, the prospect of a world without capitalism is not too frightening to us revolutionaries. (*Applause*)

It has been proposed that, instead of a spirit of confrontation, we employ a sense of world economic interdependency that will enable us to call on the resources of all our economies in order to obtain joint benefits, but the concept of interdependency is only acceptable when you start by admitting the intrinsic and brutal injustice of current interdependency. The developing countries will not accept the unjust, arbitrary international division of labor which modern colonialism imposed on them with the English Industrial Revolution and which was deepened by imperialism as "interdependency."

If confrontation and struggle — the only road that seems to be open to the developing countries, a road that offers long and difficult battles whose proportions no one can predict — are to be

avoided, we must all seek and find formulas of co-operation for solving the great problems which, while affecting our peoples, cannot be solved without also affecting the most developed countries, in one way or another.

Not so many years ago, we said that the irrational squandering of material goods and the subsequent waste of economic resources by developed capitalist society had become intolerable. Which, then, has been the cause of the dramatic energy crisis we are faced with right now? Who, if not the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries, are bearing the brunt of it?

It is now a widely held opinion that the consumer societies' wasting of resources must be ended.

A recent document put out by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization states:

The present way of life, especially in the industrialized countries, may have to undergo a radical and painful change.

Naturally, the developing countries cannot and do not hope that the transformations they seek and the financing they require will come to them as a gift derived from mere analyses on international economic problems. In this process, which implies contradictions, struggle and negotiations, the non-aligned countries must depend, first of all, on their own decisions and efforts.

This conviction emerges clearly from the Sixth Summit Conference. In the economic section of the Final Declaration, the Heads of State or Government acknowledge the need to carry out in their countries the necessary economic and social structural changes, considering that it is the only way to eliminate the present vulnerability of their economies and to turn the simple statistical growth into true development. The Heads of State or Government recognize that it is the only way their peoples would be willing to pay the price required for them to be the main protagonists in the process. As I said on the occasion, "...if the system is socially just, the possibilities of survival and eco-

conomic and social development are incomparably greater."

The history of my country provides irrefutable proof of this.

The emerging crying need to solve the problem of underdevelopment brings us back, Mr. Chairman, to the problem I mentioned just a little while ago, which is the last one I would like to submit to this 34th General Assembly of the United Nations. I refer to international financing.

One of the most serious phenomena that accompany the accelerated indebtedness of the developing countries, as we already said, consists of the fact that the developing countries are forced to use most of the money they receive from abroad to cover their current account and trade deficits, renew debts and make interest payments.

The non-oil-exporting developing countries for example — to whose situation I referred in the Havana Conference — ran up deficits in their balance of payments of over \$200 billion in just the
60 last six years.

In view of this, the developing countries require truly enormous investments — primarily, and with practically no exception, in those branches of production that yield low profits and, therefore, do not appeal to private foreign lenders and investors.

In order to increase the production of foodstuffs so as to do away with the malnutrition that affects the 450 million we have mentioned, we must provide many new land and water resources. According to specialized estimates, 76 million more hectares of land in the developing countries would have to be cultivated and over 10 million more hectares of land irrigated in the next ten years.

Irrigation systems for 45 million hectares of land would have to be repaired. Therefore, even the most modest estimates admit that \$8-9 billion is required annually in international financial aid — aid, not the total flow of resources — in order to obtain agricultural growth rates of from 3.5 to 4 percent in the developing countries.

With regard to industrialization, the estimates are far higher. On outlining the goals mentioned in its Lima meeting, the Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization determined that financing should be at the heart of international development policy and that it should reach annual levels of \$450-500 billion by the year 2000, a third of which — that is, \$150-160 billion — will have to be financed from external sources.

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But, Mr. Chairman and representatives, agriculture and industrialization are only two aspects of development. Mainly, development involves attention to human beings, who should be the protagonists and goal in all development ef-

forts. To cite the example of Cuba, during the past five years, our country invested an average of nearly \$200 million a year in school construction. Investments in medical equipment and the construction of hospitals, polyclinics, etc. are averaging over \$40 million a year. And Cuba is just one of nearly a hundred developing countries — one of the smallest in terms of geography and population. Therefore, it may be deduced that the developing countries will need to have billions of dollars more invested every year to overcome the results of backwardness in education and public health services.

This is the big problem facing us.

And, gentlemen, it is not only our problem, a problem for the countries victimized by underdevelopment and insufficient development; it is a problem for the international community as a whole.

On more than one occasion, it has been said that we were forced into underdevelopment by colonization and imperialist neo-colonization. Therefore, the task of helping us to emerge from underdevelopment is, first of all, a historic and

moral obligation of those who benefited from the plunder of our wealth and the exploitation of our men and women for decades and for centuries. (*Applause*) But, at the same time, it is the task of mankind as a whole, as the Sixth Summit Conference has declared.

The socialist countries did not participate in the plunder of the world, and they are not responsible for the phenomenon of underdevelopment. But, even so, because of the nature of their social system, in which international solidarity is a premise, they understand and assume the obligation of helping to overcome it.

Likewise, when the world expects the oil-producing developing countries to contribute to the universal flow of external financing for development, it does so because of a hope and duty of solidarity among underdeveloped countries, not because of obligations and duties which no one could hope to impose. The big oil-exporting countries should be aware of their responsibilities.

64 Even those developing countries that are relatively more advanced should make

their contributions. Cuba — which is not speaking here on behalf of its own interests and is not defending a national objective — in accordance with its means, is willing to contribute thousands, tens of thousands of technicians: doctors, teachers, agronomists, hydraulic engineers, mechanical engineers, economists, middle-level technicians, skilled workers, etc.

The time has therefore come for all of us to join in the task of pulling entire peoples, hundreds of millions of human beings, out of the backwardness, poverty, malnutrition, illness and illiteracy that keep them from having full human dignity and pride. (*Applause*)

We should, therefore, mobilize resources for development, and this is our joint obligation.

Mr. Chairman, there are so many special, multilateral, public and private funds whose purpose is to contribute to some aspect of development — agricultural, industrial, the meeting of balance of payments deficits or whatever — that it is not easy for me, on presenting the economic problems discussed by the 65

Sixth Summit Conference to the 34th Assembly, to formulate a concrete proposal for the establishment of a new fund.

Undoubtedly, however, the problem of financing should be discussed deeply and fully in order to find a solution. In addition to the resources that have already been mobilized by various banking channels, private loan organizations, international bodies and private finance agencies, we must discuss and determine how, from the onset of the next development decade, the additional contribution of no less than \$300 billion (1977 real values), be included in its strategy to be invested in the underdeveloped countries and to be made in yearly installments of at least \$25 billion right from the beginning. *(Applause)* This should be in the form of donations and long-term, low-interest soft credits.

It is absolutely necessary to mobilize these additional funds as a contribution of the developed world and of other countries with resources to the underdeveloped world during the next ten years. If

required. If there are no resources for development, there will be no peace. Some may think this is asking too much, but I think it is still a modest figure. According to statistical data, as I stated in the inaugural session of the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, world military expenditures amount to more than \$300 billion a year. This sum could build 600 000 schools, with a capacity for 400 million children; or 60 million comfortable homes, for 300 million people; or 30 000 hospitals, with 18 million beds; or 20 000 factories, with jobs for more than 20 million workers; or an irrigation system for 150 million hectares of land — that, with the application of technology, could feed a billion people. Mankind wastes this much every year on military spending. Moreover, consider the enormous quantities of young human resources, technicians, fuel, raw materials and other items. This is the fabulous price of preventing a true climate of confidence and peace from existing in the world.

The United States alone will spend six times this much on military activities between 1980 and 1990.

For ten years of development, we are requesting less than what is spent in a single year by the Ministries of War and much less than a tenth of what will be spent for military purposes in ten years.

Some may consider our demand irrational, but the truly irrational thing is the world's madness in our era and the perils that threaten mankind.

The tremendous responsibility of studying, mobilizing and distributing the flow of these resources should be entrusted to the United Nations. The funds should be administered by the international community itself, in conditions of absolute equality for all countries, whether contributors or beneficiaries, without any political strings attached and without the amount of the donations having anything to do with voting power in deciding when loans are to be granted and to whom.

Even though the flow of resources
68 should be measured in financial terms, it

should not consist only of money. It may also be made up of equipment, fertilizers, raw materials, fuel and turn-key factories, valued in the terms of international trade. Aid in technical personnel and their training should also be entered as a contribution.

Esteemed Mr. Chairman and representatives, we are sure that, if the Secretary General of the United Nations — assisted by the Chairman of the Assembly, with all the prestige and weight of this organization behind them and also supported right from the outset by the backing that the developing countries and especially the Group of 77 would give that initiative — would call together the various factors we have mentioned to initiate discussions in which there would be no room for the so-called North-South and East-West antagonisms, but in which all would join forces in a common task, a common duty and a common hope, this idea that we are now submitting to the General Assembly could be crowned with success.

This is a project that will benefit all nations — not just the developing countries.

We as revolutionaries, are not frightened by confrontation. We have faith in history and the peoples. But, as spokesman and interpreter of the feelings of 95 countries, my duty is to struggle to achieve co-operation among the peoples

We as revolutionaries, are not frightened by confrontation. We have faith in history and the peoples. But, as spokesman and interpreter of the feelings of 95 countries, my duty is to struggle to achieve co-operation among the peoples — cooperation which, if attained on new and just bases, will benefit all the countries of the international community and especially world peace.

In the short-term view, development can be a task entailing apparent sacrifices and even donations which may seem irrecoverable, but, with development, the
70 vast world now submerged in back-

wardness, with no purchasing power and with extremely limited consumer capacity will incorporate a flood of hundreds of consumers and producers in the international economy — which is the only way it and the economies of the developed countries which are even now engendering and suffering from the economic crisis may be put back on their feet.

The history of international trade has shown that development is the most dynamic factor in world trade. Most of the trade in today's world takes place between fully industrialized countries. We can assure you that, as industrialization and progress spread throughout the world, trade will also spread, to the benefit of all.

It is for this reason that, on behalf of the developing countries, we expound and advocate our countries' cause. We are not asking for a gift. If we do not come up with effective solutions, we will all be victims of the catastrophe. Mr. Chairman and distinguished representatives, frequent mention is made of human
71

rights, but mention should also be made of the rights of mankind.

Why should some people go barefoot so that others may ride in expensive cars? Why should some live only 35 years so others may live 70? Why should some be miserably poor so that others may be exaggeratedly rich?

I speak on behalf of the World's children who do not even have a piece of bread (*Applause*); I speak on behalf of the sick who have no medicine; I speak on behalf of those who have been denied the right to life and human dignity.

Some countries are on the sea; others are not. Some have energy resources; others do not. Some possess abundant lands in which to produce foodstuffs; others do not. Some are so glutted with machinery and factories that you cannot even breathe the air of their poisoned atmosphere (*Applause*); others have only their emaciated arms with which to earn their bread.

In short, some countries possess abundant resources, while others have
72 nothing. What is their fate? To starve?

To remain poor forever? Why then civilization? Why then man's conscience? Why then the United Nations? (*Applause*) Why then the World? You cannot speak of peace on behalf of the tens of millions of human beings all over the world who are starving to death or dying of curable diseases. You cannot speak of peace on behalf of 900 million illiterates.

The exploitation of the poor countries by the rich countries must cease.

I know that there are exploiters and exploited in many poor countries, as well.

I address the rich nations, asking them to contribute. I address the poor countries, asking them to distribute.

Enough of words! We need deeds. (*Applause*) Enough of abstraction! We need concrete action. Enough of speaking about a speculative new international economic order which nobody understands! (*Laughs and Applause*). We must speak about a real, objective order which everybody understands.

I have not come here as a prophet of the revolution; nor have I come here to ask or wish that the world be violently

convulsed. I have come to speak of peace and co-operation among the peoples, and I have come to warn that, if we do not eliminate our present injustices and inequalities peacefully and wisely, the future will be apocalyptic. (*Applause*)

The sound of weapons, threatening language and arrogance in the international scene must cease. Enough of the illusion that the world's problems can be solved by means of nuclear weapons. Bombs may kill the hungry, the sick and the ignorant, but they cannot kill hunger, disease and ignorance. Nor can they kill the righteous rebellion of the peoples — and, in the holocaust, the rich, who are the ones who have the most to lose in this world, will also die. (*Applause*)

Let us say farewell to arms, and let us dedicate ourselves in a civilized manner to the most pressing problems of our times. This is the responsibility and the most sacred duty of all the world's statesmen. Moreover, it is the basic premise for human survival.

Thank you very much.

(*Standing ovation*)

