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## SENTIMENTO DO MUNDO THE WORLD'S PERCEPTION





BRASÍLIA 1985 Mister President Mister Secretary-General Distinguished Delegates

 $\int \int dt dt$  still keep in my eyes the suffering of Mexico.

I landed in that country (Mexico) to face the face of tragedy. To watch it and to offer the Mexicans the solidarity of the Brazilian people. To express also, I believe, the sorrow of the whole world.

This way I decided to start addressing this speech by expressing the world's solidarity to Mexico.

This tribune evokes respect and dignity.

It is the loftiest in the community of nations. Here, the mighty and the weak are diminished, for so much greater is the burden of Mankind's history in the exercise of the task which is the essence of its work — Peace — the problems that beset it, and the efforts to transform divergencies into solidarity.

For forty years my country, Brazil, has been privileged to open the General Debate of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is with deep emotion that I now exercise that prerogative.

flister

Grave problems, immense responsibilities weigh heavily upon me. To express my feelings, I turn to the greatest poet of my land. Poetry is neither inappropriate nor anachronistic in the scenario of great debates:

Poctry

«What a time to live!» «... What a stranger dream could be more pure and beautiful and more profound than this living machinery of the world we live?»

Perception of the world It is with this perception of the world that I speak for one of the largest nations of the Globe, a complex and dynamic society, the eighth largest economy in the West, a country of contrasts and greatness: Brazil of several Brazils, in which affluence and poverty, aridity and fertility, drought and flood create a geography of contradictory features, enclosing in a vast continent a unified people who have known how to construct a racial democracy and a cultural unity that is the invincible force of her destiny.

A simple man, I was born and have lived in one of the most severely-tested regions of our land, the heavily populated and povertystricken Brazilian Northeast.

I have been following a political career for thirty years, but it was in the midst of tragedy and awe, in an abrupt and unexpected way, that I was called upon to lead our Nation.

As President of the Republic, I am proud to be a writer for whom a taste for words has Identification

not restricted the spirit to aesthetic expressions. From words, I forged an element of profound identification with the people, sharing in the aspirations of individuals and of society as a whole.

Literature and politics force upon us a social and humanistic vision of the Universe. I cannot conceive of the pursuit for material gain without a spiritual substratum that endows human adventure with the dimension of the eternal. I have faith, and woe to the man who thinks of the world without the company of God.

Brazil has just lived through a long night. Her eyes are not reddened by nightmares. Her lips display an open gesture of confidence and sing of her for freedom. He who is a prisoner of the past cannot see the future. Moses never turned his back on the Promised Land.

The instrument that worked our transition from authoritarianism to democracy was our capacity to reconcile and understand, without violence or traumas.

Courage and resilience Our determination, courage and resilience were so strong that we managed to survive the loss of our hero, Tancredo Neves, on the very night in which our skies lit up with the fireworks of victory. Our suffering then was transformed into force and a resolve to make his dream our dream, and to remain united.

The values of transformation were stronger than death. We applied these values to all classes of society, abolishing distances and barriers, in a patriotic convergence of all lines of thought, in the quest for the effective ideal of justice, of conciliation and of institutional consolidation of civilian power. We consider social vision to be the very life-blood of modern liberalism: freedom concerns itself with actual living conditions, with complete realization of individual happiness, with universal franchise and with the right to be free.

Tribute

I come to this rostrum to pay tribute to the United Nations on its 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Brazil was there at its birth; she is here today, and she will be in the future, to defend the spirit of the Organization. This spirit is not to serve as an instrument of the strong, but as the voice of the weak — of those who have neither armies, nor arsenals, nor a veto to impose or to crush decisions.

I am here to say that Brazil no longer wishes her voice to be timid. Brazil wants to be heard without aspirations of hegemony, but with a clearly determined presence. We will not preach to the world what we do not say within our own borders. We are at peace with ourselves. Consistency has become our strength. Our domestic discourse matches our international stance. And we wish, as of now, to give new life, with renewed emphasis, to our presence in the debate of nations, an independent, dynamic foreign policy aimed towards solving international questions with a social content.

We will not be held captive by great powers nor enslaved by minor conflicts.

Consistency

Colonial exploitation Forty years ago, our founding fathers established, over the death throes of war and the ruins of oppression, the foundations for the building of peace, the concert of nations and unlimited cooperation among peoples. The major powers and the emerging countries were called upon to put an end to colonial exploitation. They proclaimed to the Universe the validity of the democratic principles of equality and justice. They condemned racism and intolerance. They gave legitimacy to the universal right to health, well-being and education. They reaffirmed the dignity of labour and the enhanced power of culture.

Now that we have lived without a global conflict for twice the number of years allotted to humanity between the First and Second World Wars, we are in a position to state that the part played by the United Nations has not always been recognized; its performance has almost never measured up. Nevertheless, its role, far from being useless, has been, is and will continue to be necessary.

The founding fathers were right!

Mr. President,

Congratulations In the name of Brazil, I congratulate Your Excellency upon your election to the Presidency of the 40<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly. I felicitate the representatives of the Member States assembled here to commemorate the four decades of active existence of this Illustrious Organization. I address my sincere compliments to the Secretary-General, Ambassador Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, of whose talent and diplomatic experience we Latin Americans are so justly proud.

Mr. President,

<sup>5</sup> stin America

It is only natural that the first topic I take up should be Latin America. Latin America's extraordinary effort to create a democratic order is the most stunning and moving political fact of recent years, a fact that remains unacknowledged by the uncaring eyes of the center of world power. Little attention is given to the institutional maturing of our region, the drama and the triumph. With neither assistance nor interference, tempered only by the force of conviction, we confronted both the threats posed by the temptations of totalitarianism and by the greed of those who see only with the eyes of exploitation. We emerged synchronized in a movement of solidarity towards the flourishing of free institutions. We made our choice, as one, irreversibly opting for the trinomium: open society. free institutions. dvnamic economy. Using this three-fold democratic definition as a basis, we will pursue dialogue as a bridge between the East and the West, the North and the South, old and new cultures, regimes and ideologies.

Bridge over the abyss Ghandi, the Mahatma, said that the true mission of the man of law is to launch a bridge over the abyss that separates adversaries. The United Nations is the Law; we are the men of that Law. New winds blow over our Continent, and they are breathing new life into our democratic tradition, reflected in commitments that preceded the creation of the United Nations.

Therefore, we are the paladins of the principle of self-determination of peoples, and of the duty of non-intervention, of the peaceful solution of controversies, of the relaxation of East-West tensions. We reject the sharp antagonisms of bloc politics. We advocate the primacy of negotiation over perilous demonstrations of force.

With true democratic spirit, we have campaigned for many years on behalf of disarmament, and we have shunned as precarious, violent and irrational, the idea of a peace maintained by parity in atomic arsenals. Brazil believes that there can be no quibbling over these ideals, nor any concession admitting of their suspension, on any level, for any reason whatsoever!

It is also because of our faithfulness to the universalist creed of democracy that we are anti-racist — profoundly, viscerally, intransigently anti-racist.

Brazil, gentlemen, is a great melting-pot of a nation, that is proud of its identity. Some of the most highly creative expressions of our culture come from racial mixture, from ethnic cross-fertilization. The greatest, most sensitive author we have produced, Machado de Assis, was a mestizo, as were also, in the plastic arts, the great barroque sculptor, Aleijadinho, and in music, the world-renowned Villa-

Anti-racist

Lobos. I call to mind how much Brazil's popular culture owes to the genius of the Negro and the spirit of the American Indian.

In Brazil, racial discrimination is not only illegitimate, it is illegal, it is a crime covered by the penal code. Thus it revolts us to see the upsurge of racial conflict dictated by racist intolerance, of the persistence of colonial configurations. I solemnly reiterate our total condemnation of apartheid and our unreserved support for the immediate emancipation of Namibia, under the aegis of the United Nations.

We cannot conceive of the United Nations commemorating its age of reason without an all-out offensive against all the vestiges of racism on Earth.

As President, a few weeks ago I reaffirmed the ban on exports of oil and its byproducts, of arms and ammunition, and on licences and patents to South Africa, and I also suspended all cultural, artistic or sports activities with the government of Pretoria.

Racism is against humanity and against the trend of the future. Racism, a different version of colonialism, both amoral and perverted, must not blot the golden page of decolonization.

Decelonization

Decolonization will rise above the hecatombs of world conflicts and the sterile confrontations of the Cold War as the great contribution of the Twentieth Century to the History of Mankind. The success of decolonization was the result of common international will. This same search for consensus solutions will pave the way to overcome the frustration brought about by the challenges of the arms race and the proliferation of tensions and conflicts.

## Mr. President,

Human riphts

Human rights acquire a fundamental dimension, intimately linked to the essential nature of co-existence and pluralism.

The world that the creators of the League of Nations did not live to see, the structuring of which we still await, is a world of respect for the rights of the human person, as the United Nations seeks to promote in the International Covenants on Human Rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is, without a doubt, the most important document signed by Man in contemporary History. And it was born in the cradle of the United Nations.

With pride and confidence, I announce to this Assembly our decision to adhere to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and to the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. With this decision, the Brazilian people take a step towards the democratic affirmation of our State and reiterate to ourselves and to the entire international community our solemn commitment to the principles of the Charter and to the promotion of human dignity.

Torrise

Rights of Women In this task, I stress the promotion of the rights of Women, which gained new impetus in Brazil with the creation of the National Council for the Rights of Women. The decisive participation of Women in the changes which are taking place in Brazil interrelates on the world level with the extraordinary movement for Women's self-affirmation, the impact of which is causing a profound renovation in human relations as this century draws to a close.

We are at one of the many cross-roads that marked the 40 years of existence of the United Nations. The peoples are aware that concessions made to the realities of power are a one-way street. Only the united will of the majority adopting a new attitude can remedy the panorama created by confrontation and the mechanisms of power.

Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates,

Twenty-two years ago, Ambassador Araújo Castro, who represented Brazil at the General Assembly, said: «In the United Nations, there is not just the East and the West. The world has other cardinal points.» Brazil recognizes many negative aspects in international relations, but we always seek to view the world from a generous, multifaceted perspective.

Perspective

I Saviteed will

Let us use our time for cooperation and for science; natural differences should not now endanger coexistence. Celestial space has always been the purest image of peace. Let us preserve the infinite sky as a frontier that weapons must never violate.

Brazilians believe in such values as respect for the individuality of each country and a united responsibility in the face of the impasses and dilemmas of this waning century.

We witness with dismay the uncounted number of conflicts that affect developing countries, paralysing their efforts towards progress. These conflicts aggravate the difficult conditions created by the persistence of an unjust international order and distance us even more from the ideal of peace and security. The transposing of themes from the East-West confrontation to the scene of many of these conflicts adds a weighty element of exacerbation, and disguises their true causes.

We are surrounded by examples.

Brazil associates herself with other Latin American countries in proclaiming the urgent need for a political, lasting and stable solution for the conflicts that are tearing Central America apart.

C'omendore:

Therefore, Brazil fully supports the Contadora initiative which reflects the feeling of all Latin America in seeking a solution to preserve peace and understanding on the Continent, in line with the will of the peoples of Central America.

My Government joined with three sisternations in the creation of the Contadora Support Group to translate the broad backing Contadora has been receiving into concrete initiatives.

United responsibility

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The political and deeply ethical character of the Contadora Group is the Latin American response to theories of confrontation; it supports dialogue rather than radicalization; it is an invitation to substitute negotiations for the threat of the use of force; it is a vigorous defence of self-determination and noninterference, as against attempts to internationalize the conflict.

Middle East

Brazil feels linked to all peoples in the Middle East by bonds of great friendship. Brazilian society is greatly concerned about the disheartening atmosphere in Lebanon and recognizes the right of all the peoples of the Middle East, including Israel, to live in peace, within international recognized borders. Brazil wishes to see the creation of a national State of Palestine materialize, this being the aspiration of that great, long-suffering people, as well as the evacuation of the occupied Arab territories and the acceptance of United Nations resolutions concerning the region.

Linked to Iran and to Iraq by growing ties of friendship and cooperation, Brazil exhorts these two countries to take a peaceful and negotiated route to resolve their differences.

We are very concerned with Afghanistan and Kampuchea. There will be no end to the violence in those countries as long as foreign troops remain there and as long as the rights of their people to freely express their will are not explicitly recognized. Falkland Islands It is also incumbent upon us to urge a constructive vision and stance with regard to the question of the Falkland Islands. Since 1833, Brazil has given her support to the just Argentinian claim to sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, stressing that a negotiated settlement is the only way to resolve the problem.

Brazil will bend every effort in her power to preserve the South Atlantic as an area of peace, shielded from the arms race, from the presence of nuclear arms and from any form of confrontation originating in other regions.

Firmly committed to the effort to ban nuclear arms from the Continent, Brazil signed and ratified the Treaty of Tlatelolco, whose pioneering goal was to transform Latin America into the first denuclearized zone on territory inhabited by Man. The denuclearization of Latin America should be the first step in a new impulse to deter the vertical and horizontal accumulation of nuclear arms, thereby releasing the million and a half dollars squandered every minute on the arms race to be used to combat hunger, disease, ignorance and poverty.

The marathon arms race is a syndrome of the evil which threatens lucidity, a black hiatus of the human conscience.

We are experiencing a new Scientific Revolution which moment by moment transforms the world under our very eyes. Control over the advances which occur at dizzying speeds in state-of-the-art sectors of Science and Technology has become a vital matter of

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Demuclearization

Science and Technology survival. The program of work of the United Nations in the next few years must contain a strategy to prevent the world from becoming fragmented into closed technological blocs, and instead place scientific and technological knowledge at the service of the basic needs of Man.

Mr. President,

Threatens

These are visible problems. But there is another, a greater one, which permeates international relations and which insidiously threatens all, poor and rich alike. The poor, by destabilization; the rich, by insecurity; and all, by total collapse should we persist in our posture of immobility.

I would like to address the economic problem which concentrates its virulence in the Third World, particularly in Latin America. Crushed under the weight of an enormous foreign debt, the countries of the region are living through a scenario of severe difficulties with domestic repercussions resulting in recession, unemployment, inflation, increased poverty and violence. Enshared in a vicious network of economic factors, — the rise in international interest rates, drop in prices of commodities and selectivity of markets in the developed countries — we face a crisis comparable only to the one which assailed the market economies in the early thirties.

Foreign debt

The burden of the foreign debt imposes an economic policy directed towards securing trade surpluses earmarked for interest payments. The international organizations pro*Inadequate* adjustments *adjustments pose policies of inadequate adjustments. This route leads to recession, to unemployment and to the relinquishment of the capacity to grow. This policy weakens civilian leadership, renders the social crisis explosive, threatens institutions, jeopardizes order and, as consequence, constitutes a threat to democratic structures. To add to our difficulties, the markets of the developed countries are being closed to our exports. Protectionist barriers proliferate and we are unjustly accused of unfair trade practices.* 

Protectionism

The protectionism sought to shield the obsolete sectors of the developed countries is even mistaken for the legitimate right of developing countries to create favourable and temporary conditions for the installation of emerging industries which incorporate modern technologies indispensable to sustaining our growth in the exercise of our sovereignty and independence.

And the paradox is that all our efforts are made precisely in order to transfer foreign exchange credits to the very quarters that beleaguer us and discriminate against us. We are thus caught between the threat of protectionism and the specter of insolvency.

We are doing our utmost to compete. Our firms export with meager profits and our labour force receives low wages. It is sad to confess that our minimum salary is 50 dollars per month.

To round out our difficulties, we are obliged to maintain a trade balance surplus to

Threat and insolvency pay, within four years, interest mounting to approximately 50 billion dollars.

This is the situation of a country which has potential, which has a broad and diversified range of exports comprising commodities and petroleum derivatives, manufactured goods, machinery and even aircraft. We can well imagine the impact of these factors on other countries lacking our advantages.

Our tradition is to honour our foreign commitments. But we have the obligation to alert the world to the fact that the existing scenario must be reassessed. It must be restructured. Because it is unfair. And anything that harbours the germ of injustice, of the absurd, cannot survive.

Brazil has no desire to make an ideological issue of the debt, nor does she wish to transform it into a matter of confrontation between North-South, East-West. Brazil is a country of ingrained Christian and Western ideals. We believe that wherever free enterprise has collapsed, freedom itself has disappeared. Thus, in denouncing the present order, we are not moved by any political motivation. We wish solely and exclusively to defend our most sacred interests. And we shall fulfill this duty by urging the international community to join us in seeking a solution. And this solution cannot be based solely on the laws of the market.

By urging

## Mr. President,

At the end of World War II, the victorious powers understood that to achieve

Alert

peace it was essential to establish a new disciplined international order to govern economic. and financial relations among nations.

Fundamental to the establishment of this economic order was the perception that rebuilding Europe was indispensable to stability and international security itself. The success of the program for the reconstruction of Europe demonstrates the ability to carry out projects of cooperation among nations when they are conceived with a broad vision of the reciprocity of interests involved and a clear awareness of the connections between political and economic problems.

Renovative, creative vision We are experiencing anew today a situation which clamours for a renovative, creative vision. The pillars of the current order are eroded and obsolete. It is necessary for us to discuss concrete measures to adjust the international economic order to present-day realities.

Following upon the period of prosperity, with the advent of the recession, it was the predatory jungle of Hobbes which began to reign rather than the harmonious, fecund anarchy of Adam Smith.

The indebtedness of Latin America is no longer merely a regional problem, given the extent of its impact on the stability of the financial mechanisms of the Western world. The awareness of this problem led to the Consensus of Cartagena, a manifestation of solidarity among the Latin American countries most affected by the problem of foreign in-

Cartagena

debtedness in the search for a solution through dialogue and understanding.

Political dimension

From the Latin American point of view, it is imperative that the crisis of indebtedness be negotiated in terms of its political dimension. Today, just like forty years ago, the governments of the creditor nations must be made aware that an exceptional situation exists, the solution of which transcends the mere action of economic forces.

In calling upon the leaders of the industrialized nations for a concerted political action to resolve the foreign debt problem, I do so with serenity, the serenity of a country which has not spared any effort to faithfully meet its international commitments.

We have made a gigantic effort. Nonetheless, even if we were to maintain our current rate of growth, only in 1990 will we have matched the per capita income level we had attained in 1980.

Limits

Our people have reached the limits of the bearable. It is impossible to demand additional sacrifices of a population as impoverished as ours. To the contrary, we must assure the Brazilian people that opportunities for employment will be increasing in the coming years.

Our vulnerability to hikes in international interest rates is so great that all we have accomplished will collapse if exorbitant rates are renewed.

We shall face greater difficulties in shaping a liberal and pluralistic society if we do not maintain and expand our contacts abroad. However, the foreign debt crisis has been forcing our economy into a process of isolation and autarky, resulting in minimal possibilities to import and slackened, unsatisfactory ties with the international financial market. We do not want isolation and autarky: we have the right to expect of our international partners equitable and fair forms of cooperation and that they democratically accept a concrete share of responsibilities. We cannot rely only on the rhetorics of economic adjustment, on the supposition that sacrifice is all that is required of a Third World debtor to settle his foreign accounts. This narrow view disregards the fact that we are dealing with populations which have a right to a respectable standard of survival and with countries with legitimate national aspirations. Either we realize that the solution to the foreign debt problem is a joint task for creditors and debtors alike, or we run the risk of setting fire to the powderkeg that threatens the whole Continent.

This picture explains the social cauldron of Latin America, defenseless against the messianic and demagogic seductions and the call of totalitarian ideologies, and trapped in an unfair situation, resulting from accumulated errors of the past.

It is a miracle that the glow illuminating Latin America at this time is the torch of liberty and democracy and not that of turmoil.

Receit

To grow without recession Brazil has taken her position. Debt does not lead to doubt. We have chosen to grow without recession, whithout submitting ourselves to those adjustments which would imply relinquishing development.

Brazil will not pay her foreign debt with recession, nor with unemployment, nor with hunger. We believe that in settling this account, at such high social and economic costs, we would then have to surrender our freedom, for a debt paid for with poverty is an account paid for with democracy.

I thus wish to affirm with all seriousness and firmness: there is no solution possible without a thorough reformulation of the international economic structures.

Pcace

Lastly, Mr. President, I must speak of peace, the loftiest ideal of Mankind.

But, what is peace?

Is it merely the absence of war, of war between nations, of war between men? Or is it peace something more transcendental which signifies the freedom of men from all forms of violence, from all conflicts?

I believe it to be an inner state of mind projected by Man as the conduct to be followed by all nations. But realistically we know that many generations will pass before this voyage reaches port.

The reality that sustains us is different. The raw material of our work is the harsh landscape of our times: one of violence, egotism, retaliation, dependence, backwardness,

Landscape of our times servitude, nuclear war, ills of starvation, cultural disparities, assaults on the ecology, pollution, terrorism, greed, exploitation.

The peace of today is not yet true peace. It is war in disguise. The first path leading to peace is freedom. And the political organization of freedom is democracy. Free peoples do not wage war; there will be no war between democratic peoples who decide their own destinies without submitting to personal tyrannies and to ideological fanaticisms. War and democracy, war and freedom are incompatible terms. Clausewitz pointed out that war only exists when sovereign states exist. Likewise, we can affirm that peaceful and consensual solutions prevail when free and democratically developed nations exist, with permanent institutions, powers fully operating, and the people themselves making the decisions. Thus the best way for the United Nations to work for peace is to work for democracy. We Brazilians have this example. We emerged from conflict through democracy. On the day the people felt they could decide, they did not choose violence. They opted for dialogue, for negotiation.

We are approaching the end of the century. The task of the United Nations has been to manage circumstantial conflicts. It is time for us to react vigorously against this marginal role, restoring to the Organization the prerogatives and rights deriving from its overall responsibility for all peoples in matters of peace and security. The priority for the fifth

Free peoples do not wage war

United Nations Peace

Democracy

Overall responsibility decade in the life of the United Nations should be a program of revitalization with the following objectives:

— to contribute to defuse the tensions of the renewed confrontation between the two power blocs;

- to create a new economic order based on development and social justice;

— to explore the entire negotiating potential of the Organization to promote solutions to the regional conflicts which are proliferating in the Third World;

— to regain a major role in the negotiations for the reduction, control and elimination of arms, with emphasis on those of greater destructive power.

But freedom is not restricted to the exercise of a political right. A component of the well-being of each of us is a great social debt, a moral debt to the poor of the entire world who are the human beings we call brothers, but whom we treat as though they were not.

The meaning of freedom The meaning of freedom for contemporary man is not merely the absence of coercion or of interference. It is the prospect of a happy life, for oneself and for one's own. Thence the concept of freedom which concerns itself specifically with the actual conditions of a free life and strives to promote the broadest possible equality of opportunities. Modern man is he whose life today reflects Jefferson's dream: the personal and collective pursuit of happiness.

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Equality of opportunity is the mainstay of social freedom, so that the market serves Mankind rather than Mankind serving the market. Without diversity of values and multiple forms of life, freedom does not flourish, but languishes in privilege and drowns in oppression.

Mr. President,

Shortly before the creation of the United Nations, Churchill and Roosevelt held a dialogue in Hyde Park. Roosevelt asked how peace could be assured. Churchill replied:

«By an Anglo-American alliance.»

Roosevelt retorted:

«No. By improving living conditions throughout the world.»

For there to be peace, I repeat, there must be democracy and freedom. Freedom as opposed to hunger.

Freedom as opposed to hunger

> Socialized food

The world cannot enjoy peace as long as there is a hungry mouth anywhere on Earth, a child dying for lack of milk, a human being suffering for lack of bread. The coming century will be the century of socialized food. The image of the Mater Dolorosa in the African deserts is humiliating to us. Foodstuffs cannot continue to be merely speculative commodities on the exchange markets. Science and technology are here, through genetic engineering, announcing a new era of abundance. Man who was able to break through the barriers of Earth and take off for the distant stars cannot be incapable of eradicating hungElimination of hunger er. What is required is a universal will to do so: it is a decision to be taken without vetoes. It is urgent to have a plan of peace for the elimination of hunger.

Brazil, which experiences the paradox of being an important producer of food while she struggles to eliminate pockets of hunger from its territory, is willing to take part with enthusiasm in an effort to mobilize the international community to wipe out this scourge before the end of the century. This challenge may be the opportunity for the United Nations and its agencies to rise above the discredited state of multilateralism, demonstrating its efficacy and validity.

In order to accomplish this, Man must have a humanist vision of politics, else he will only see and only sow nuclear missiles and rockets.

The conquest of the seas brought to Man the humanism of the renaissance.

The conquest of the Cosmos broadens our view to an infinite solitude. The world became larger and smaller. We must be united on this voyage in which all men are condemned to the greatest seduction of life. The new humanism must be centered on solidarity and peace. Peace only exists with freedom; freedom with democracy; and democracy exists when we provide for the segregated, for the starving, for the unemployed. It exists when in the poor nations, we love our poorer regions; when in the rich nations, we love the

Seduction of life poor people and when in the poorer nations, we love the poorest people.

Forty years ago, we built upon the obvious ruins of war; today we must work to avoid the ruins of an anonymous war which is hunger.

Poverty is the negation of life.

This is the great mission of Mankind: to transform life, transforming the world. The 21<sup>st</sup> century is in sight.

Let us look upon the new times with the eyes of love for Nature, with the eyes of the pursuer of dreams.

Let us have the courage to proclaim: freedom and peace spell the end of poverty, of hunger.

To transform life, transforming the world