
Documentation

García: 'This is the hour of action, and the time for will'

On Sept. 23, 1985, Dr. Alan García, President of Peru, delivered a historic speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations, with many of the world's heads of state in attendance. Not only does the speech represent a turning-point in post-war international monetary and economic policy; it also puts the writing on the wall for the international drug mafia and its Moscow-tied assistants, such as Fidel Castro. For these reasons, EIR reproduces his speech in full below.

Mr. President of the United Nations General Assembly, who also represents Spain, a nation in which the Latin American community affirms its roots, acknowledging it as a historic ingredient of its identity:

Mr. Secretary-General, symbol of Peru's commitment to the international community, and of our faith that the profound transformation of Peru is linked to change and justice in the world:

Representatives of all nations:

For some this is a ritual, oratorical and symbolic exercise. We do not lose faith. We know that those who are listening are not a bureaucratic organism, but in the face of selfishness, poverty and violence in our world, fully assume representatives of humankind.

Naturally, we could ask whether in these 40 years the United Nations have achieved its aim, if peace were really preserved—and reply, that nuclear peace is only a balance of insecurity and terror; that this apparent peace manifests its tensions by transferring its conflicts to the poorest countries; and that beneath it, lies hidden an unjust and unequal system, in which the leading nations, to their advantage, dominate the others, determining interest rates, prices, wages and, therefore, power in the poor countries, in order to preserve profound injustices that generate violence.

But to say all this, is to repeat the ritual litany that is often heard in this hall.

I have come to reassert that the United Nations continues to be the highest representative of humanity, and that we come here because we believe in the equality of all human beings and all nations, and that history will not be determined by the laws of the marketplace and conflict, but that its future course will henceforth be the affirmation of liberty.

Thus, our first words are for the democratization of this organization which, according to its Charter, is based on the

principle of equality among its members.

But the Security Council is still governed by the outcome of the last great war, and the five powers possess the right to a veto that is incompatible with that equality. That right is a blot upon our organization, because it is the institutional recognition of force. It is a vicious circle that closes upon itself, because in order to eliminate the veto, it is necessary that the Council, on which sit the powers that possess that veto, give its consent.

One group of countries, no matter how strong they may be, cannot contradict the universal nature of the Assembly. A power, however much it may contribute as its economic quota, cannot demand the qualified and weighted vote, by which each nation is valued by the amount of money it contributes. We prefer a poorer organization, less bureaucratic, but prouder of its moral dignity.

In that vein, we propose that the economic contribution of every country be the same, because we must give up the larger contributions of the richest, if in exchange for it we must mortgage our destiny.

The strength of the United Nations does not lie in the number of offices or functionaries it may have. Its strength must lie in the moral power of the equality of all its members and in its capacity to act without vetoes.

And in this, which is the highest court of humanity, we commit ourselves to a bid for life and without surrendering to defeatism, proclaiming that if assemblies and words have not conquered selfishness, we, the poor of the world, have not lost our hope in the meaning of history.

And to those who use arrogant force we say, as the old Spanish philosopher said: They will succeed, but not convince. They will succeed with their bombs and their money, but they will not convince the universal democracy of consciences and, in spite of them, the hope for a better humanity will continue to be felt.

And I speak on behalf of a nation that is struggling, that does not give up. I do not come to repeat what has been said of the world order and what all of us together would like to do to change it in the future, because the era of hunger and of violence is an era that will not wait. I come to state what we are doing now. And the message I bring is a message of will. We believe in the solidarity of the countries and in their common future, but we today affirm as a duty of each one of them, action. And that is what we state on each of the subjects

I wish to expound to you: debt, human rights, drug traffic, and disarmament.

Regarding these issues, there is a one single message: the will to act here and now.

Peru's fight for sovereignty and progress

Many believe that Peru is a country of drugs, death, and violation of human rights.

But we are much more than this. We are a part of the impoverished peoples of the Earth, part of Latin America. And the root cause of our problems is the link with the international economy. For lack of a national project, our country has been at the service of external interests, and each of the economic cycles in this century has toed the line of changes in the international system.

At the commencement of this century, Peru was a country that was primarily an exporter of raw materials, when the international economy needed them. At that time, the Andes and its peasant population were kept under the landowner system.

At the end of the Second World War, Peru initiated its industrialization process. But it was the end-result of the expansion of world industry, whose transnational corporations sold their machinery and established their branches in the capital of my country.

Furthermore, when the consumption of foreign food-stuffs was introduced, the peasant's poverty was worsened, causing a greater exodus into the cities.

In this framework, the world crisis in Peru gave way to a new adjustment. When the richest countries oriented themselves toward protectionism and the collection of their debts, we were forced to open up our borders and destroy our industries in order to buy from big industry world-wide, and also to recycle the debts with ever-increasing rates of interest.

As a consequence of this, a grave crisis is shaking my country. The disparity in regional development expresses a divorce between the administrative industrial bloc, and the marginal peasant and urban sector. Furthermore, the gap between the rich and the poor is growing ever wider.

Our per-capita production has regressed to levels comparable to those achieved 20 years ago, while inflation and unemployment are on the rise.

It is a dramatic situation. But Peru is a country that has made democracy effective, asserting its will. Peru does not want to be a ship adrift, at the mercy of the oscillations of the international economy.

Peru does not want to continue within this vicious circle, devaluing its currency because inflation increased when the interest rates went up to compensate for the previous devaluation. Peru has decided to run its economy, and not be governed by it. That is why democracy in my country is the materialization of the national will.

We know that to carry out the democratic revolution, we must be anti-imperialists and fight against hegemonisms. We

know that transformation is not a national fact; it is an international commitment for action.

That is why we form part of the Non-Aligned Movement and assert the unity of Latin America. That is why we seek to strengthen the Andean Pact, and why we shall attend all the forums that assert the solidarity of the peoples of the Earth.

The debt crisis: Why we must act now

But in the face of the crisis we cannot wait, we must act. We cannot keep talking and writing letters that the wealthy of the Earth refuse to read. Our people cannot wait for the irresolute. Supranational organizations cannot become a stumbling block for the national will. And that is why I have come to set forth what we are doing in Peru for the establishment of a nationalist, democratic, and popular government.

We assert that nationalism is the right to the autonomous existence of our people, the right to work, to defend our industry from the liberal opening that in recent years overwhelmed it. We affirm that nationalism is the recovery of our natural wealth.

And here, my first fundamental theme stands out: the foreign debt as a major hindrance to development and well-being. The foreign debt expresses the relationship between the wealthy and the poor of the Earth, and has, as its basic origin, the uneven exchange between the prices of raw materials and the manufacturing and industrial resources.

Through the centuries, the currently underdeveloped countries have financed the mercantile and industrial economy of today's wealthy countries. And in the last few years, we have become indebted in order to finance the industrialization and consumption model imported from abroad. As a result, debt has turned into a conflict between the poor South, to which our America belongs, and the industrial, imperialist, and financial North. Therefore, it must not be confused with an issue that pits East against West within a conflict of hegemonies.

Second, the original indebtedness was inflated by the application of usurious interest rates. Interest has been, in the leading countries, not only the cost of productive capital, but also a tool for the procurement of capital to cover the deficit incurred by military expenditures.

That is why two-thirds of Latin America's debt has been re-exported to the banks by the dominant sectors of our countries.

And, if the effects of unequal exchange are added to the interest rates, we see that these have amounted in real terms to up to 25%.

Third, the overvaluation of the dollar as a means of exchange based upon the permanent devaluation suffered by our currencies, has reached, according to some estimates, up to 40%. And we are required to repay in that currency.

In my country, we have the following dramatic example. We purchase corn from the U.S.A. to feed chickens, with

which we are repaying in kind our debt to the Soviet Union. Thus, a country that is threatened by hunger has to repay its foreign debt with food. We are only a way-station for products that travel from one power to another.

If to this we add that the rich countries have been applying protectionist trade policies, closing their markets to our products, we see why the debt situation has become untenable for our economy.

The IMF's neocolonialism

I ask: What has been the response to the debt problem in these years?

First of all, requests for new credits to pay previous debts, accepting higher interest and commissions, only to end up more indebted than before. The Anti-Trust laws of the United States were violated by the banks with cartels to avoid free competition in the granting of credits. Likewise, federal credit laws were also violated when banks renegotiated with countries which they knew to be bankrupt, in order to ensure the payment of interest, while waiving the payment of the principal, which is the capital of their depositors.

Second, and as a condition for this financial carousel, the harmful terms of the International Monetary Fund were accepted, thus orienting our countries' economies toward the repayment of the debt.

The letters of intent that express these terms are in reality letters of colonial submission to the prevailing injustice. While the richest countries close their borders, we must open ours, destroying our industrial facilities and indebting ourselves so as to continue to buy from foreign industry.

As a second recipe of the letters of intent, we are required to devalue our currency in order to maintain the external competitiveness of our products—in other words, to increase the amount of work we must invest for the payment of the debt.

The third recipe stipulates that the domestic interest rate must be linked to devaluation, thus promoting inflation in a permanent vicious circle of unemployment and productive paralysis.

These results are explained by the International Monetary Fund as being due to the state's excessive expenditures and its participation in the economy. Their final instruction, therefore, is fiscal austerity. Investments and social expenditures must be cut back to guarantee the punctual servicing of the foreign debt.

We say that the International Monetary Fund does not have the moral authority to preach austerity in our country, because during the '70s when it was necessary to place petrodollars as credits for poor countries, this promoted indebtedness. In those years, it was an accomplice of waste, of unproductive investments. It was an accomplice of the uncontrolled growth of public administration. Further, the International Monetary Fund only demands austerity from the poor countries, favoring the more powerful country. Since

the nonconvertibility of the dollar was declared in 1971, the U.S.A. is the only country that can indefinitely issue currency to cover its own deficits. What has the IMF's role been in adjusting the American economy?

I hereby announce that at the next meeting of that agency in Seoul, we will demand decisions on the reform of the monetary system and the distribution of world liquidity in a fair manner. Otherwise, we are not interested, nor is it to our advantage, to belong to an agency which only benefits a single country.

We therefore reiterate that the International Monetary Fund shall not be the intermediary between us and our creditors. In the dialogue with our creditors, we shall not accept the mortgaging of our economic independence, by signing letters of intent which contain negative policies for our people.

I repeat before the whole world, that my responsibility as

The foreign debt can never be paid off, because the effort to service it on time will keep our democracies trapped in misery and violence. Thus, we are faced with a dramatic choice: It is either debt or democracy. That is the crux of the current Latin American situation.

head of state is to the Peruvian people, which for me is the first creditor, and that the Peruvian government has been elected by the people, and not by some financial cartel to satisfy its own appetites.

In conclusion, we assert that under current conditions, as a result of its unjust beginnings, and because of the methods by which it has been increased, the foreign debt can never be paid off by any of our countries, because the effort to service it on time will keep our democracies trapped in misery and violence.

Thus, we are faced with a dramatic choice: It is either debt or democracy. That is the crux of the current Latin American situation, and we must decide what road to take.

Unity of the debtor nations

We believe the objective must be the unity of debtor countries and a radical change in the situation. To that end, we need to harmonize positions with the countries of Africa and Asia, and to coordinate Latin American action.

One hundred and sixty years of independent life in Latin

America have shown us that the isolated development of each country is a model doomed to failure. Yet despite this, we persist in this solitude. As in the title of the great novel, our countries have lived through 160 years of solitude. Exporters of commodities, purchasers of factories, debtors, we have continued on the same path, but separately—because the siren songs of the International Monetary Fund and of the banks beckon one and all, toward isolated solutions that are only fading hopes, or letters of intent that are immediately unheeded.

We invoke the union of the Non-Aligned Movement and of the Latin American countries. Union on this subject is a particular test for non-alignment, because the political dialogue will serve not only to deal with debt servicing, but to reframe the international economic order; and thus the debt, which is the result of our weaknesses, would become the instrument of our strength and the impetus of our unity. This is the grand route. But until then, Peru cannot wait for a succession of meetings without concrete results.

We will not fall into the vicious circle of waiting for the union of the future, and not doing anything until then. We believe in an active wait, not by proposing the maximalism of a extreme audacity, but by committing ourselves to a concrete struggle, and therefore we have taken a decision that we will keep to. Peru will only assign to the debt, \$1 out of every \$10, the 10th part of what is paid to it for its work and exports.

This is a responsible and revolutionary decision, because it is the decision of a poor country that imports foodstuffs and industrial inputs, a country whose debt is with Western banks and which has and continues to suffer from the pressure of the International Monetary Fund.

Our responsibility in this decision is to face up to its consequences. We do not have any privileged relationship with any power, because we are not opposing a dependency as the instrument of another hegemony. We do not adopt spectacular positions, counseling nonpayment, while punctually repaying one part of the world and repaying with our strategic sovereignty a substantial debt that, for that reason, is not demanded under pressure by the other part of the world.

We do not want to messianically export the 10% model. We wish only to prove that a great step can be taken, and that if many others decide to take it, we will open up the avenues to the future. Other solutions are feasible in the future, but between grand and pompous speeches, and the realism of decisions, we have taken the latter course. For if our relationship with the industrialized world is expressed through the debt, it has its historical origin in the unjust difference between the prices of imports and of exports.

Today the exports of copper, silver, fishmeal, and oil are suffering a price drop, while real interest rates rise. We are convinced that by linking the two aspects, we will effect a change in these asymmetrical relations. And by acting on the specifics, we will also set our own terms of payment. Be-

cause, since interest is the cost of money within a term, by setting a maximum payment, the term is extended and, being thus extended, the interest rate is, in fact, varied.

Someone has hastily said that what we are doing is accumulating more debt, but he does not distinguish between the two space-times: that of the creditor, for whom the interest accumulates, and that of the debtor, who by setting a maximum, is laying down his own rules, independently from the accumulation that the creditor presumes he has. By fixing a ceiling on exports as a principle, uncertainty of the future becomes a problem for the creditor.

Under traditional conditions, we should pay \$2.4 billion to service the debt in 1986 plus \$3.1 billion owed from 1984 and 1985, which in all would represent a commitment of \$5.5 billion payable in 1986—that is, 160% of our exports, that have been estimated to be \$3.4 billion for next year.

In accordance with our decision, the maximum amount to be paid would be \$340 million, to be directed as first priority to the international financial agencies, to government-to-government credits, because we must achieve our economic autonomy, but realistically acknowledge that we require a technological exchange with the world to support our development. And an important part of the government-to-government cooperation and the credits from international financial agencies granted on favorable terms, must be repaid.

Peru is a responsible country, which does not simply blame the foreign debt on the international economy and the banks. A people that seeks a revolutionary transformation must make a critical assessment of its own history and acknowledge that, due to its previous lack of unity and because it permitted itself to be dominated by groups linked to foreign interests, it has responsibilities to assume.

At the hour of decision, Peru will continue to maintain its objectives until circumstances change, and until the protectionist barriers are brought down and value is restored to our exports, thus reclaiming our labor.

I know that the response to this decision may be the imposition of sanctions and amendments or, as has already been announced, that the Peruvian debt be declared value-impaired. As President of Peru, I come to say that it is not necessary to wait until October for this. The Peruvian debt is already value-impaired. We declare it to be so. What we should ask ourselves, is how and by whom was our economy impaired, and what historical answer must we give to this situation.

And that is why our second objective is the complete democratization of society as an imperative to solve the crisis we are undergoing.

Democracy and the rights of the individual

We consider the human being to be the highest purpose of society and of the state, and we affirm that democracy should be initiated and based on the vote and upon freedom

of speech.

There is no democracy without participation. There is no socialism without freedom. The universal vote cannot be replaced by the sectorial and corporative vote in the work center.

Universal voting cannot be replaced by messianism, according to which one exponent becomes for decades the sole owner of truth and history, dooming his people to impotence and silence.

The universal vote and freedom cannot be sacrificed to offers of bread, offers which justify dynasties and national mortgages and convert the nation into an issue negotiable by the powers.

We firmly believe that it is possible to establish governments that can be governments of bread and freedom, and that a contrary attitude, whatever its sign and support, is in any latitude nothing but tyranny.

But democracy must also be an egalitarian distribution of social resources, a harmonious development of regions and of economic sectors. Democracy must be an economic model that will break through the vicious circle that isolates an anarchic and centralist industry with regard to marginal agriculture, in which millions of Peruvians are doomed to misery.

Democracy must be the universalization of the right to work, to health, to education, to participation. Democracy must be the genuine road to Socialism.

In this point, the Peruvian Constitution is unique. Whereas other constitutions begin by defining the state, ours starts out by speaking about the individual person.

Our response to terrorism

From this point of view, I want to deal with the second subject of my address: the painful issue of terrorism and of subversion that in recent years has caused thousands of deaths, thousands of injuries and enormous material losses.

While repudiating totalitarian and dogmatic terrorism, we also reject the justification of means by the end, since this kind of ethics leads to acceptance of the idea that the person with the most weapons is in the right.

We will fight subversion with resolute firmness, but with respect for the law and for human rights. We acknowledge that subversive action has been possible not only because of a lack of foresight and the absence of a well-planned social and economic policy, but also because subversion has been nourished on the exasperating poverty in which millions of neglected compatriots are living.

It is no accident that terrorism has arisen in the most economically depressed zones of the country. It arose in what we have called the Andean trapezoid, whose population has been subjected, from colonial times, to the exploitative action of regional bosses and to a rigid centralist system.

Millions of Peruvians were left isolated in an underworld of oppression, united by the same language, which is largely

Quechua, united by the same culture, the Andean culture, united by the same system of agricultural production. These Peruvians were neglected and injured by a state that never represented them.

And Ayacucho, the region where terrorism began its actions, is in that Andean trapezoid. Out of every thousand persons born in Ayacucho, over 270 die before they are one year old, while the average in Latin America is 73 per thousand.

In Ayacucho, 74% of the population is illiterate. In some places, only one out of every hundred homes has water, and only five out of every hundred has electricity.

This is Ayacucho, Mr. President, the historic center of the people of America where the grand final battle for independence was waged.

And it is precisely by availing itself of these flagrant

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injustices, that terrorism found a fertile field to profit from the despair and sadness of the people, by setting them, precariously armed, against the forces of the State.

That is why we cannot pay the foreign debt beyond 10% of our exports, and that is why we are invoking the need for a regional agreement to halt spending for weapons millions of dollars that could deliver these forgotten villages from their poverty. Terrorism also feeds upon a political environment, and to fight it we must understand it not merely as the action of a messianic and totalitarian group. We must act politically by making the effort to incorporate these millions of human beings to civilization, affirming within them democratic institutions and the presence of the state, by reclaiming agriculture and farmers as the sustenance of their sense of nationhood.

There is therefore a close relationship between economic history, foreign debt, and the misery that spawns violence in the Andes. That is why I have referred to them, because the case of my country could become the immediate future of other Latin American countries, if misery advances totalitar-

ianism and extremism take advantage of it.

Hence our conviction that only a new international economic order will open the way to a lasting and democratic solution to violence. All of this must of course be accompanied by a vigorous action which will firmly combat the subversives, but within the framework of the law.

Our letter of democratic introduction to the world is our respect for life and for the rights of individuals. Nothing justifies torture, disappearances, or summary executions. Barbarism should not be fought with barbarism.

It is true, that the action of public order against anonymous and collective subversion produces reactions of irrational aggressiveness; but in no case does this justify the silencing of facts, nor permitting them to remain unpunished. That is why the Peruvian government has taken drastic decisions in the last few days. We will energetically defend democracy with the law and with social justice, making sure that we are acting in the name of life.

And because we are acting in the name of life, we believe that politics must be an ethical dimension of respect and morality. Up until now, the expansion of economic interests has governed the world, sacrificing peoples and human beings. Companies, banks, and superpowers have oriented the world toward serving the needs of production and consumption, because by governing consumption and publicity, human beings are automatized to serve the logic of this economy.

War on drugs: our responsibility to the world

At this point I would like to deal with the third subject of my address: drug traffic as an activity that corrupts institutions and degrades man.

We believe that the consumption of drugs is merely an exacerbated case of consumption as the logic of capital. To consume, to consume up to the irrationality of self-destruction, is a caricature of the economic system. The same greed for profit that dehumanizes capital is reflected and worsened in drug addiction, which is consumption of dissatisfaction. Drugs are thus revealed to be a sort of higher state of consumer capitalism.

The only raw material which has increased in value has been cocaine. The only successful multinational originated in our countries has been the drug traffic. The most advanced effort of Andean integration has been achieved by drug traffickers.

To what can we ascribe this? According to the liberal economy, production is regulated by demand, and in terms of drugs, the main consumer market is that of the United States of America.

For Peru, drug consumption is not a national problem, but I can say that within the first 50 days of my administration, we have dealt the most successful blows against international vice. Twenty-two airports, three helicopter landing strips, five long-range light aircraft, hundreds of kilograms of drugs, and eight large factories have been discovered and seized—

all of which signifies that the consumption of drugs in the U.S.A. will suffer a yearly reduction of approximately 80 tons, valued at \$5,600 million.

We could therefore ask the American administration, if we have done that in 50 days, what is it doing for the human rights of the individuals who are keeling over in Grand Central Station and so many other places, and when will it legally and in a Christian fashion fight to eradicate consumption?

A liberal economist would recommend that we keep our hands off this risky subject, but we believe that democracy must also have an ethical dimension, in which the state cannot look on indifferently at corruption and vice.

That is why we are taking up the fight against the drug traffic. Because it is a crime against humanity. We are not doing this for the granting of a loan or the aid amounting to a few million dollars which are offered to us, and which in the future we will not accept, because our own conscience is all we need to defend the youth, whether Peruvian, American, or from any other part of the world.

But I say from this rostrum, that another crime against humanity is to increase interest rates, to reduce prices of raw materials, to waste economic resources in technologies of death, while hundreds of millions of human beings are living in misery and are encouraged to violence.

The preservation of peace

Lastly, Mr. President, I would like to refer to the position of Peru with regard to the world, to deal with the fourth subject of my address.

We acknowledge ourselves as Latin Americans, and we are fighting for the integration of our continent in its anti-imperialist stance, because only in this way will we have a respected voice on the question of debt; only thus will we be able to strengthen the multilateral treatment of the great problems, and only thus will we prevent the great powers from moving their borders up to ours.

As a route toward that integration, we support the peace efforts of the Contadora Group to safeguard the sovereignty and free determination of the people of Central America, and as a committed continent, along with other countries we have constituted the Front for Support of Contadora, which is united and ready to be present if any power attempts to violate the sovereignty of any country by force of arms, because we understand that in that region the destiny of Latin Americans is also at stake.

We affirm the need to strengthen the Andean Group, promoting a new and updated protocol, and proposing the most extensive and greatest application and expansion of the Andean Reserve Fund, which as a financial organization has already surpassed the International Monetary Fund in its disbursements within the region.

We wish to enter into bilateral compensated trade agreements that could free us from the intermediation of hard currencies, affirming our relationship and economic integra-

tion. We have already taken the first steps for an agreement of this type with Brazil.

But one subject stands out on the international scene: the arms race.

We are a peace-loving nation, respectful of international treaties, alien to the arms race. We do not represent the strategy of any power, nor have we been infected with the egocentric view of security that characterizes the great powers. For them, their own security lies in the insecurity of the rest, but this race ends up in the insecurity of all.

This is the logic of the weak. We believe that the best defense is the affirmation of the nation as a people, and that the urgent social needs of our countries imposes a limit upon our expenditures for arms.

That is why we propose for Latin America a regional agreement for a substantial reduction in arms expenditures, and we will not spare any effort to achieve it.

I feel sure that more human beings have died because money instead, than the sum of all the dead from all the wars that have occurred within our history.

Each bullet, which in 99% of cases is used in shooting practice, is a food ration that could have been given to a child to save him from death. But today, the sale of swiftly obsolete weapons is a very important part of world trade, and this renewable technology does not merely imply competition between our peoples, but also big profits for the selling nations and for arms traffickers. These professionals of death are the promoters of intrigue between nations and the commissioners of our rivalries.

In this as in prior subjects, we have not limited ourselves to proposing collective actions while waiting passively until a consensus is reached.

We believe in consensus, but we also believe in our will. Our will permits us as a country to set an upper limit on the repayment of debt. Our will obliges us to fight against subversion while observing human rights. Our will obliges us to fight drug traffic without asking for compensation.

In this case, our will requires us to act. We have substantially reduced a purchase of highly sophisticated warplanes from France. If we do not pay the debt, neither shall we use our money for the benefit of the industry of death. On the initiative of our own naval forces, we have dismantled warships, and our armed forces, in the context of a new world, are steering themselves toward actions for the development of the nation.

The poor peoples of the Earth are not each other's enemies. We have a common enemy that has penetrated our history and our borders with misery, with domination, and with injustice. It is imperialism which divides us and trades on our lack of unity.

Faced with this, we affirm our participation and identification with the Non-Aligned Movement, because we are not an instrument in the bipolar strategy of the powers.

We do not believe that this Manichean East-West opposition can bring any benefit to our peoples. This conflict of fundamentalisms can only give rise to limited conflicts in their satellite countries. We confirm that there is a special place for the original principles of Non-Alignment maintained by Nehru, Tito, and Nasser, and in Latin America by Haya de la Torre since 1924. We have proposed that a principle of anti-imperialist action be the integration of Latin America to build Democratic Socialism. In our subcontinent, integration is the guarantee of non-alignment, which does not consist of liberation from one hegemony in order to sustain a natural alliance with the countries of the East.

Therefore, Mr. President, I reiterate in this High Court that we are poor but worthy people, free and willing to unite, and that in face of the armed power of the superpowers, we exalt the moral power of justice.

To the peoples of the world

We come to ask United Europe to reflect upon itself, and to verify that it has more points in common with the poor people than with bipolar hegemonism. Because Europe is also a field of political and military strategy, its lands, bristling with their own and foreign nuclear weapons, are undermined by insecurity, and their economic development, whether they like it or not, is subsidiary to the economic technology and orientation of the great powers.

And in the broadest framework of all countries, we affirm the interdependence of the North and South nations.

We believe that the strategy that was defined in the '50s and '60s has not been updated, and continues to limit its concern to already classic zones such as Southeast Asia, the Middle East, the North Atlantic, and the Caribbean, thus disregarding the growing internationalization of decisions and conflicts.

That is why we also address the peoples of the industrialized nations and the world powers, reminding them of our common bond with humanity.

And here, my greetings to the American people, to the people of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Kennedy, and Luther King, and my homage to its democratic conscience and to the personalities here who understand Latin America and the Third World.

And from this, the highest tribune, our greetings to humanity, to those who, from every corner, especially the poorest, in Africa, in Asia, wield their consciences as weapons, so as not to be passive objects of an irrational world and history.

My greetings to those who lift their eyes to the future, and to justice. In the meantime, we have come to say that Peru, in poverty but with dignity, has begun to walk towards peace, independence, and justice.

In the name of the poor of the Earth.

In the name of God.

For it is the hour of action, and the time for will.