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UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 18, 1974

*Mr. President
President Bush
Mr. Sec. General
your Excellencies*

IN 1946, PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN WELCOMED REPRESENTATIVES
OF 55 NATIONS TO THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.
SINCE THEN, EVERY AMERICAN PRESIDENT HAS HAD THE HONOR OF
ADDRESSING THIS ASSEMBLY. TODAY, WITH PLEASURE AND HUMILITY, I
TAKE MY TURN IN WELCOMING YOU, THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVES
OF 138 NATIONS.

1-A

Next week Secretary of State Henry Kissinger will
present in specifics the overall principles which I will outline
in my remarks. It should be emphatically understood that the
Secretary of State has my full support and the unquestioned
backing of the American people.

As a party leader in the Congress, as Vice President
and now as President of the United State of America, I have had
the closest working relationship with Secretary of State Kissinger.
~~and~~ I have supported and will continue to endorse his many
efforts as Secretary of State and head of ^{our} National Security
^{system to} Council ~~to~~ build a world of ^P peace.

WHEN I TOOK OFFICE, I TOLD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT
MY REMARKS WOULD BE "JUST A LITTLE STRAIGHT TALK AMONG FRIENDS."

STRAIGHT TALK IS WHAT I PROPOSE HERE TODAY IN MY FIRST ADDRESS

TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORLD.

SINCE THE U.N. WAS FOUNDED, THE WORLD HAS EXPERIENCED
CONFLICTS AND THREATS TO PEACE, BUT WE HAVE AVOIDED THE GREATEST
DANGER: ANOTHER WORLD WAR, TODAY, WE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO
MAKE THE REMAINDER OF THIS CENTURY AN ERA OF PEACE AND COOPERATION
AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING.

THE HARSH HOSTILITIES WHICH ONCE HELD GREAT POWERS IN
THEIR RIGID GRASP HAVE BEGUN TO MODERATE, MANY OF THE CRISES
WHICH DOMINATED PAST GENERAL ASSEMBLIES ARE NOW BEHIND US,
AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS HOLDS OUT THE HOPE THAT ONE DAY ALL
MEN CAN ACHIEVE A DECENT LIFE.

NATIONS TOO OFTEN HAVE HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO BE EITHER
HAMMER OR ANVIL: TO STRIKE OR BE STRUCK. NOW WE HAVE A NEW
OPPORTUNITY -- TO FORGE, IN CONCERT WITH OTHERS, A FRAMEWORK OF
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. THAT IS THE COURSE THE UNITED STATES
HAS CHOSEN FOR ITSELF.

ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, I RENEW THESE BASIC
PLEDGES TO YOU TODAY:

--WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE PURSUIT OF A MORE PEACEFUL, STABLE
AND COOPERATIVE WORLD. WHILE WE ARE DETERMINED NEVER TO BE BESTED
IN A TEST OF STRENGTH, WE WILL DEVOTE OUR STRENGTH TO WHAT IS
BEST. AND IN THE NUCLEAR ERA, THERE IS NO RATIONAL ALTERNATIVE
TO ACCORDS OF MUTUAL RESTRAINT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE
SOVIET UNION -- TWO NATIONS WHICH HAVE THE POWER TO DESTROY MANKIND.

--WE WILL BOLSTER OUR PARTNERSHIPS WITH TRADITIONAL
in Europe, Asia & Latin America
FRIENDS AND ALLIES ~~AROUND THE WORLD~~ TO MEET NEW CHALLENGES IN A
RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD. THE MAINTENANCE OF SUCH RELATIONSHIPS
UNDERPINS RATHER THAN UNDERCUTS THE SEARCH FOR PEACE.

--WE WILL SEEK OUT AND EXPAND RELATIONS WITH OLD
ADVERSARIES. FOR EXAMPLE, OUR NEW RAPPORT WITH THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF CHINA BEST SERVES THE PURPOSES OF EACH NATION AND
THE INTERESTS OF THE ENTIRE WORLD.

--WE WILL STRIVE TO HEAL OLD WOUNDS RE-OPENED IN
RECENT CONFLICTS IN CYPRUS | THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDOCHINA.

PEACE CANNOT BE IMPOSED FROM WITHOUT, BUT WE WILL DO WHATEVER
IS WITHIN OUR CAPACITY TO HELP ACHIEVE IT.

--WE RE-DEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE SEARCH FOR JUSTICE,
EQUALITY AND FREEDOM. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA SIGNAL THE
WELCOME END OF COLONIALISM, BEHAVIOR APPROPRIATE TO AN ERA OF
DEPENDENCE MUST GIVE WAY TO THE NEW RESPONSIBILITIES OF AN ERA
OF INTERDEPENDENCE.

NO SINGLE NATION. NO SINGLE GROUP OF NATIONS, NO SINGLE ORGANIZATION CAN MEET ALL OF THE CHALLENGES BEFORE THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. WE MUST ACT IN CONCERT. PROGRESS TOWARDS A BETTER WORLD MUST COME THROUGH COOPERATIVE EFFORTS ACROSS THE WHOLE RANGE OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONS.

AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONARY BIRTH AND CENTURIES OF EXPERIENCE
IN ADJUSTING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT TO CHANGING CONDITIONS HAVE
MADE AMERICANS PRACTICAL AS WELL AS IDEALISTIC. AS IDEALISTS,
WE ARE PROUD OF OUR ROLE IN THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS
AND IN SUPPORTING ITS MANY ACCOMPLISHMENTS. AS PRACTICAL PEOPLE,
WE ARE SOMETIMES IMPATIENT AT WHAT WE SEE AS SHORTCOMINGS.

IN MY 25 YEARS AS A MEMBER OF THE CONGRESS OF THE
UNITED STATES, I LEARNED TWO BASIC PRACTICAL LESSONS:

FIRST, MEN OF DIFFERING POLITICAL PERSUASIONS CAN
FIND COMMON GROUND FOR COOPERATION. WE NEED NOT AGREE ON ALL
ISSUES IN ORDER TO AGREE ON MOST. DIFFERENCES OF PRINCIPLE, OF
PURPOSE, OF PERSPECTIVE WILL NOT DISAPPEAR. BUT NEITHER WILL OUR
MUTUAL PROBLEMS DISAPPEAR UNLESS WE ARE DETERMINED TO FIND MUTUALLY
HELPFUL SOLUTIONS.

SECOND, A MAJORITY MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE PROPER
INTEREST OF A MINORITY IF THE DECISIONS OF THE MAJORITY ARE TO
BE ACCEPTED, WE WHO BELIEVE IN AND LIVE BY MAJORITY RULE MUST
ALWAYS BE ALERT TO THE DANGER OF "TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY."
MAJORITY RULE THRIVES ON THE HABITS OF ACCOMMODATION, MODERATION
AND CONSIDERATION OF THE INTERESTS OF OTHERS.

A STARK REALITY HAS TEMPERED AMERICA'S ACTIONS FOR
DECADES -- AND MUST NOW TEMPER THE ACTIONS OF ALL NATIONS.

PREVENTION OF FULL-SCALE WARFARE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE HAS BECOME
EVERYBODY'S RESPONSIBILITY. TODAY'S REGIONAL CONFLICT MUST NOT
BECOME TOMORROW'S WORLD DISASTER. WE MUST ASSURE BY EVERY MEANS
AT OUR DISPOSAL THAT LOCAL CRISES ARE QUICKLY CONTAINED AND
RESOLVED.

I wish to pay tribute on behalf of the American people to the 37 members of the United Nations peace keeping forces who have given their lives in the Middle East and Cyprus in the past ten months, and convey our deepest sympathy to their loved one.

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THE CHALLENGE BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS IS CLEAR.

THIS ORGANIZATION CAN PLACE THE WEIGHT OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY
ON THE SIDE OF WORLD PEACE. AND THIS ORGANIZATION CAN PROVIDE
IMPARTIAL FORCES TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE.

37 → LET THE QUALITY OF OUR RESPONSE MEASURE UP TO THE

MAGNITUDE OF THE CHALLENGE. I PLEDGE TO YOU THAT AMERICA WILL

CONTINUE TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE, INNOVATIVE AND RESPONSIVE IN THE

WORK OF THIS GREAT BODY.

THE NATIONS IN THIS HALL ARE UNITED BY A DEEP CONCERN
FOR PEACE. WE ARE UNITED AS WELL BY OUR DESIRE TO ENSURE A
BETTER LIFE FOR ALL PEOPLE.

TODAY, THE ECONOMY OF THE WORLD IS UNDER UNPRECEDENTED
STRESS. WE NEED NEW APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO
RESPOND EFFECTIVELY. DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, MARKET
AND NON-MARKET ECONOMIES -- WE ARE ALL PART OF ONE INTERDEPENDENT
ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

THE FOOD AND OIL CRISES DEMONSTRATE THE EXTENT OF OUR
INTERDEPENDENCE, MANY DEVELOPING NATIONS NEED THE FOOD SURPLUS
OF A FEW DEVELOPED NATIONS, AND MANY INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS
NEED THE OIL PRODUCTION OF A FEW DEVELOPING NATIONS.

ENERGY IS REQUIRED TO PRODUCE FOOD AND FOOD TO PRODUCE
ENERGY -- AND BOTH TO PROVIDE A DECENT LIFE FOR EVERYONE. THE
PROBLEMS OF FOOD AND ENERGY CAN BE RESOLVED ON THE BASIS OF
COOPERATION -- OR CAN BE MADE UNMANAGEABLE ON THE BASIS OF
CONFRONTATION. RUNAWAY INFLATION, PROPELLED BY FOOD AND OIL
PRICE INCREASES, IS AN EARLY WARNING SIGNAL.

LET US NOT DELUDE OURSELVES. FAILURE TO COOPERATE ON
OIL, FOOD, AND INFLATION COULD SPELL DISASTER FOR EVERY NATION
REPRESENTED IN THIS ROOM. THE UNITED NATIONS MUST NOT AND NEED
NOT ALLOW THIS TO OCCUR. A GLOBAL STRATEGY FOR FOOD AND ENERGY
IS URGENTLY REQUIRED.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES FOUR PRINCIPLES SHOULD GUIDE

A GLOBAL APPROACH:

--FIRST, ALL NATIONS' MUST SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASE PRODUCTION.

JUST TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT STANDARDS OF LIVING, THE WORLD MUST

ALMOST DOUBLE ITS OUTPUT OF FOOD AND ENERGY TO MATCH THE EXPECTED

INCREASE IN THE WORLD'S POPULATION BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY.

TO MEET ASPIRATIONS FOR A BETTER LIFE, PRODUCTION WILL HAVE TO

EXPAND AT A SIGNIFICANTLY FASTER RATE THAN POPULATION GROWTH.

--SECOND, ALL NATIONS MUST SEEK TO ACHIEVE A LEVEL OF
PRICES WHICH NOT ONLY PROVIDES AN INCENTIVE TO PRODUCERS BUT WHICH
CONSUMERS CAN AFFORD. IT SHOULD NOW BE CLEAR THAT THE DEVELOPED
NATIONS ARE NOT THE ONLY COUNTRIES WHICH DEMAND AND RECEIVE AN
ADEQUATE RETURN FOR THEIR GOODS. BUT IT SHOULD ALSO BE CLEAR
THAT BY CONFRONTING CONSUMERS WITH PRODUCTION RESTRICTIONS,
ARTIFICIAL PRICING, AND THE PROSPECT OF ULTIMATE BANKRUPTCY,
PRODUCERS WILL EVENTUALLY BECOME THE VICTIMS OF THEIR OWN ACTIONS.

--THIRD, ALL NATIONS MUST AVOID THE ABUSE OF MAN'S
FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS FOR THE SAKE OF NARROW NATIONAL OR BLOC
ADVANTAGE. THE ATTEMPT BY ANY COUNTRY TO USE ONE COMMODITY
FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES WILL INEVITABLY TEMPT OTHER COUNTRIES
TO USE THEIR COMMODITIES FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES.

--FOURTH, THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD MUST ASSURE THAT THE
POOREST AMONG US ARE NOT OVERWHELMED BY RISING PRICES OF THE
IMPORTS NECESSARY FOR THEIR SURVIVAL. THE TRADITIONAL AID DONORS
AND THE INCREASINGLY WEALTHY OIL PRODUCERS MUST JOIN IN THIS
EFFORT.

THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THE SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY
WE BEAR AS THE WORLD'S LARGEST PRODUCER OF FOOD, THAT IS WHY
SECRETARY KISSINGER PROPOSED FROM THIS PODIUM LAST YEAR A WORLD
FOOD CONFERENCE TO DEFINE A GLOBAL FOOD POLICY, AND THAT IS ONE
REASON WHY WE HAVE REMOVED DOMESTIC RESTRICTIONS ON FOOD PRODUCTION
IN THE UNITED STATES. IT HAS NOT BEEN OUR POLICY TO USE FOOD AS
A POLITICAL WEAPON DESPITE THE OIL EMBARGO AND RECENT OIL PRICE
AND PRODUCTION DECISIONS.

IT WOULD BE TEMPTING FOR THE UNITED STATES -- BESET
BY INFLATION AND SOARING ENERGY PRICES -- TO TURN A DEAF EAR
TO EXTERNAL APPEALS FOR FOOD ASSISTANCE, OR TO RESPOND TO INTERNAL
APPEALS FOR EXPORT CONTROLS. BUT HOWEVER DIFFICULT OUR OWN
ECONOMIC SITUATION, WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE PLIGHT OF OTHERS IS
WORSE.

AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS RESPONDED TO HUMAN EMERGENCIES IN
THE PAST. WE RESPOND AGAIN TODAY.

IN RESPONSE TO SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM'S APPEAL AND
TO HELP MEET THE LONG-TERM CHALLENGE IN FOOD, I REITERATE:

TO HELP DEVELOPING NATIONS REALIZE THEIR ASPIRATION TO
GROW MORE OF THEIR OWN FOOD, THE UNITED STATES WILL SUBSTANTIALLY
INCREASE ITS ASSISTANCE TO AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION PROGRAMS IN
OTHER COUNTRIES.

NEXT, TO ENSURE THAT THE SURVIVAL OF MILLIONS OF OUR
FELLOW MEN DOES NOT DEPEND UPON THE VAGARIES OF WEATHER, THE
UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO JOIN IN A WORLD WIDE EFFORT TO
NEGOTIATE, ESTABLISH, AND MAINTAIN AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM OF

This system will work best if each
FOOD RESERVES. ~~BUT EACH NATION MUST DETERMINE FOR ITSELF HOW IT~~
nation is made responsible for managing the
MANAGES ITS RESERVES.
reserves it will have available.

FINALLY, TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE MORE IMMEDIATE NEEDS
FOR FOOD ARE MET THIS YEAR, THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT ONLY
MAINTAIN THE AMOUNT IT SPENDS FOR FOOD SHIPMENTS TO NATIONS IN
NEED, BUT IT WILL INCREASE THIS AMOUNT.

THUS, THE UNITED STATES IS STRIVING TO HELP DEFINE AND
CONTRIBUTE TO A COOPERATIVE GLOBAL POLICY TO MEET MAN'S
IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM NEED FOR FOOD. WE WILL SET FORTH OUR
COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSALS AT THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE IN NOVEMBER.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE OIL PRODUCERS TO DEFINE THEIR
CONCEPTION OF A GLOBAL POLICY ON ENERGY TO MEET THE GROWING NEED --
AND TO DO THIS WITHOUT IMPOSING UNACCEPTABLE BURDENS ON THE
INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AND TRADE SYSTEM.

A WORLD OF ECONOMIC CONFRONTATION CANNOT BE A WORLD OF
POLITICAL COOPERATION. IF WE FAIL TO SATISFY MAN'S FUNDAMENTAL
NEEDS FOR ENERGY AND FOOD, WE FACE A THREAT NOT JUST TO OUR
ASPIRATIONS FOR A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL OUR PEOPLES, BUT TO OUR HOPES
FOR A MORE STABLE AND PEACEFUL WORLD. BY WORKING TOGETHER TO
OVERCOME OUR COMMON PROBLEMS, MANKIND CAN TURN FROM FEAR TOWARDS
HOPE.

FROM THE TIME OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AMERICA VOLUNTEERED TO HELP NATIONS IN NEED, FREQUENTLY AS THE
MAIN BENEFACTOR. WE WERE ABLE TO DO IT. WE WERE GLAD TO DO IT.
BUT AS NEW ECONOMIC FORCES ALTER AND RESHAPE TODAY'S COMPLEX
WORLD, NO SINGLE NATION CAN BE EXPECTED TO FEED ALL THE WORLD'S
HUNGRY PEOPLES. FORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, MANY NATIONS ARE INCREASINGLY
ABLE TO HELP. I CALL ON THEM TO JOIN WITH US AS TRULY UNITED NATIONS
IN THE STRUGGLE TO PROVIDE MORE FOOD AT LOWER PRICES FOR THE HUNGRY
AND, IN GENERAL, A BETTER LIFE FOR THE NEEDY OF THIS WORLD.

AMERICA WILL CONTINUE TO DO MORE THAN ITS SHARE. BUT
THERE ARE REALISTIC LIMITS TO OUR CAPACITIES. THERE IS NO LIMIT,
HOWEVER, TO OUR DETERMINATION TO ACT IN CONCERT WITH OTHER NATIONS
TO FULFILL THE VISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER: "TO SAVE
SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR" AND "TO PROMOTE
SOCIAL PROGRESS AND BETTER STANDARDS OF LIFE IN LARGER FREEDOM."

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