



PERMANENT MISSION OF THE PLURINATIONAL STATE OF BOLIVIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

**STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE PLURINATIONAL STATE OF H.E. Mr.
EVO MORALES AYMA ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE SIXTY-
SIXTH SESSION OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
New York, September 21, 2011**

President of the General Assembly of the United Nations
Colleagues Presidents, Ambassadors, Ministers, delegations and international organizations.

Being in this forum is so important to express what we feel, what we think, what we worked on, but it is also so important to express our major differences between presidents and governments, our differences on policies, programs, projects, principles and values among some other countries in this world.

This morning we heard the statements of some presidents, and then I realized perfectly well that we have enormous differences between countries often called small countries, developing countries, under developing countries front of major powers. For example, in the UN debate there is a clear difference on the culture of life against the culture of death, there is a clear difference on the truth against falsehood, a deep difference for peace against war. It is surely a right to have differences about life, but I believe the obligation of such an organization as the United Nations, an international body should be align to enable the ongoing work of governments in terms of how to ensure the peace, such as ensuring the equality, and the dignity of all who live on planet earth.

When I say that there is a deep difference between the culture of life and the culture of death, it's because I feel it would be difficult for us to come to an understanding when the economy policies that concentrate capital in a few hands, the data shows that 1% of the World's population owns the 50% of the wealth, if there are such deep differences how could poverty ever be solved?, if we not end poverty, how Can the lasting peace be ensured?. Further more, imperialism seeks to control energy sources worldwide, to have instruments that imposes control with permanent invasions, and is not now but forever. As a child I remember perfectly seeing people rebellions against the capitalist system, against the constant plundering models of our natural resources, union leaders, political leaders were accused of communists to stop it, social forces were involved militarily, confinement, exile, massacres, persecutions, imprisonment, accused of being



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communists, socialists, Maoists, Marxists-Leninists. I feel that now is over, now they don't accuse us of Marxist or Leninist any more, but are other tools such as drug trafficking, terrorism in countries where there are so many natural resources, especially related to energy issues, we are frightened of interventions when their presidents, their governments and their peoples are not pro-capitalist or pro-imperialists.

Then here they talk of lasting peace. How can there be a lasting peace with U.S. military bases? How can there be lasting peace with military intervention?

Mr. President of the General Assembly,

I feel that our United Nations Organization are being subject to the Security Council if it is subordinate to the Security Council What is this organization? If here, a group of countries decides on killing interventions. Security Council, for whom? Security Council for Presidents, Peoples Governments or pro-imperialist or pro-capitalist, but a Insecurity Council for presidents, governments or peoples who seek liberation, not just social or cultural liberation but economic liberation, the recovery of their natural resources.

These are our deep differences between Presidents of Governments of the different continents whom participate in this forum debate of the United Nations.

If we want this organization to have some authority, to enforce the resolutions, we should think about re-founding the United Nations, the United Nations can not continue as is. Why do I say this? Each year in the UN decides almost 100% of the countries except the United States and Israel unlock, end the economic blockade of Cuba. Who enforces this to be respected? Of course the Security Council will never respect the UN resolution, but the United Nations does not respect that decision throughout the world to unlock Cuba. So I cannot understand how an organization of all countries in the world does not respect its resolutions.

So I want to tell you brothers Presidents, Foreign Ministers, Ambassadors, it's time to have a deeply discussion about rebuilding this organization, the largest worldwide. It's time to discuss the role of the United Nations, to be recognized and respected by the peoples of the world. Only that will take place when the United Nations will fight for equality and dignity of all peoples on planet Earth.

Presidents, Ambassadors,



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I've heard several comments about Palestine; of course we give our full support. I want to say that Bolivia not only supports the recognition of Palestine to the United Nations, but our position is more like Bolivia welcomes Palestine to United Nations, here is a profound thought: When Israel bombs, attacks, kills and removes lands from Palestine, there is No Security Council, no international agencies that would stop the bombing, the massacre, the genocide in Palestine. When there was a coup in Honduras Where were the military bases to defend a President elected by the people of Honduras? Where was the Security Council or where is the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to defend democracy in Honduras? It's time to think, to make a deep reflection.

Nevertheless, when there are anti-imperialist presidents, governments and anti-capitalist, the empire creates internal conflicts. They try to make it seem like a big confrontation, mass media would make it seem like the presidents falling, they try to divide a country, on this occasion to justify an intervention. If there was a coup in Honduras and if there were such killings in Palestine, I wonder where was NATO, then? Where was the Security Council? For that and many reasons, I feel it is very important to think and re-think the re-foundation of the United Nations.

I would like to tell how to cope with the responsibility we have, sharing some important subjects of lived experiences as President.

First, our natural resources should never be privatized, should never be handed over to transnational corporations talking about mining, oil and other natural resources. Before to become President, hydrocarbons were in the hands of transnational, corporations and what did the contracts say? The contracts said, the owner acquires the property of right at the mouth of wellhead, and the governments tell us that when the resource is underground it's Bolivia property, when it begins came out of the ground is no longer ours, but transnational oil companies property. It is a constant plundering of our natural resources.

On May 1, 2006 we nationalized, we recovered this natural resource through a Supreme Decree, from that moment our national economy begins to change, from that moment, Bolivia remains a beggar state because before 2006, I will tell you in a very sincerely way, Bolivia it is a small developing country sometimes considered as an underdeveloped country, no matter the term, we are barely 10 million habitants, its



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investment in 2005 was barely \$ 600 million, where over 50% international cooperation credits were less than 50% equity. This year in terms of investment we have \$ 3,600 million of which 20% or 30% remains of cooperation or international credits, but almost 80% is already on our own resources due to the recovery of oil and gas. The economy has changed in Bolivia, from 1940 to 2005 Bolivia never had a surplus, deficit was the first year of our management 2006 and had a fiscal surplus, plus some bonds that create income for children and for old age, and we begin to democratize our economy regardless of the growth in investment.

Since the founding of Bolivia, en1825 until 2005, how were the international reserves of Bolivia? 1.7 billion dollars in 180 years of liberal governments, military dictatorships, only Bolivia had saved for 1,700 million dollars. In less than 6 years we saved up 10 billion dollars, Bolivia now has 11,700 million dollars in international reserves. In 2005 was the penultimate country in international reserves, and now greatly improved thanks to the recovery and the nationalization of hydrocarbons.

So I want to tell you fellow Presidents, Ambassadors, Ministers, recover our natural resources! That should stay on the State hands since is so important, to improve the economy, we cannot privatize these resources to the multinationals. Okay, we have Partners, that is fine, but companies cannot be owners of our natural resources, the state and the people should own their resources. I can tell this little experience after listening Bolivia peoples request, which was the beginning of the national economy change.

The second point, basic services can never be privatized: water, energy, electricity and telephones. This morning someone was saying that agricultural products are rising from 25 to 50% for about four or five years now, it is true, because we still have no control in agricultural production, but when the State has the control over basic services, it does not happen. Bolivia and electricity rates, telephones rates, running water do not rise in price, so basic services should be the responsibility of States and not a private business.

How is it possible that we can allow water (water is life) to be a private business? I salute here the support that we have had from the entire Assembly to recognized the water as a Human Right globally approved, on the name of the Bolivian people, thank you very much for that support. Now, we have the obligation to implement worldwide the water as it, and to support the people to be able to drink water at any area.



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A third element is the continuing struggle of people, the dignity of sovereignty's right. I also was left with a U.S. military base in Bolivia and what were the soldiers; foreigners armed Americans doing in Bolivia? Were commanding the national police, armed forces commanding by political decisions of former Presidents, former parties that passed the Government Palace. On that track, at of Chimoré's airport (Bolivia) no one could land without having a U.S. Embassy permission, but that fact made us understand how important it was to defend the sovereignty of our people, a feat from there not only great social movement, not only cultural, but an election campaign, from there we started to build a political movement of liberation, give back dignity of all Bolivians. When I become president, we arrived and closed the military base.

How is it possible in this new millennium, in this century, that we could still have military bases around the world? How is it possible that in this millennium, we still have interventions by the Security Council's decision? That is a threat to humanity, is a threat to the dignity of every country in the world and I want to say that we need to develop proposals to the United Nations that would not only make it free but also dignify all the habitants of the planet.

The fourth item on the international financial organizations, I remember when I was a union leader that governments at that time were never able to get financial resources for investment. We been told that Bolivia had no borrowing capacity or loaning credit, Bolivia could not easily access to international loans, but International Monetary Fund conditions the governments to privatize refineries, telecommunications as an exchange for credits of 30 or 40 million dollars. A usurious banking, credit conditions that do not provide any solution and that are not states or credits for productive sectors but for credit services and Multinational trades.

When I became President an oil company told me that the government had to guarantee 100 million dollars for the construction of a pipeline, then I wondered what it is that foreign oil companies for? If the government has to guarantee a loan of 100 million dollars, the name was Transredes. Finally, this oil company was politically conspiring, so we decided to nationalize the property of the oil company that owned the oil pipeline gas got expelled, and finally as a national company started to invest without paying a single dollar. Now are invests are in the GCC (Gasoducto Carrasco - Cochabamba) pipeline construction but if we would followed the transnational probably would have forced us to guarantee a credit for their crime. Kind listeners, you know I



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come from the peasant- Indigenous movement and our families when it comes to hear about a company, it is thought that the company has a lot of money, are millionaires, then I could not understand how a company asked the State to provide money for investment. So I say, that these international financial organizations are doing business with private companies but those are been paid by peoples and States. We must begin to create other financial bodies. Fortunately, in America we are progressing very well, the South Bank it's a totally different bank than the usurious banks who profit and speculate, that has to end, this regional integration to deliver certain domination.

It is important to deepen, while in Bolivia we have to recover or resolve some barriers that we have had with some countries of UNASUR, such as Bolivia and Chile has a historical demand to get back the sea with sovereignty to the Pacific (ocean).

So Bolivia has decided to go to International Tribunals to demand a useful exit, sovereign to the Pacific Ocean. The resolution 37/10 UN of General Assembly on November 15, 1982 states that go to an International Court of Justice to settle disputes between States, should not be considered as an unfriendly act, Bolivia comes under the law to go to an International Court because it's confinement is the result of an unfair war, an invasion. Demanding an international solution for Bolivia is to recover and repair of historical injustices.

Bolivia is a pacifist country that favors dialogue with neighbors countries and thus keeps open the channels of bilateral negotiations with Chile without thereby waive their right to attend an International Tribunal. It would be good the support of the region, since this is not only a bilateral issue but also a regional matter.

People is not responsible for the landlocked sea in Bolivia, the culprits are the oligarchs, transnational companies as always who take over its natural resources. The 1904 treaty did not provide peace and friendship. It caused more than a century in which Bolivia has not a sovereign port. I take this opportunity to urge the United Nations, international organizations and especially to the region, to go along with this process to return sovereignty to the Pacific Ocean.

Besides that, in the Latin, movement is brewing other Latin American countries with Caribbean, I would say a new OAS without the U.S. to free us of certain impositions, and happily with the little experience we have at UNASUR. Now, on conflicts between countries we do not need a democracy outside keeper to reestablish the order. The



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presidents, governments are holding and self convened to resolve internal problems. Thus, there is a deep release.

I also take this opportunity to discuss a central subject: The fight against drug trafficking.

The fight against drug trafficking, from U.S. imperialism, is used purely political purposes. The U.S. DEA in Bolivia fighting against drug trafficking, drug trafficking controlled for political purposes. If there was a union leader or some anti-imperialist political leader for that was to involve the DEA. Many leaders, many politicians were saved from that dirty job from the empire to engage them in drug trafficking, yet are still trying. Said in recent weeks, some media from U.S. that my aircraft would be stopped with traces of cocaine in the United States, how false! They try to confuse the population, to make a smear campaign against the government and even against the State. But what does the United States do? Decertified Bolivia and Venezuela. What moral authority does the United States have to certify or decertify countries in South America and Latin America? The United States of America is the biggest consumer of drugs in the world, when it is the first world producer of marijuana for some years now. By what authority can United States certify or decertify? It is another way to intimidate the countries. However, Bolivia is very serious on the drugs trafficking fight. In the same report of the Department of State United States recognizes a net reduction in cocas cultivation, but Where's the market? The market is the source of the drug, and the market is here. Who decertified the U.S. because the market has not dropped? This morning, President Calderon of Mexico said that the drug market is growing and I wonder, Why there is no responsibility to eradicate the market? While the market persists the coca leaf or any other product will always diverted become a drug.

Therefore also United States has a huge responsibility. I call: let us fight under a shared responsibility.

But besides that why not break the bank secrecy? The major drug traffickers as far as I know, do not carry their millions in suitcases or backpacks, but it circulates through the banks, why are they afraid to bank secrecy? In Bolivia, we are not afraid, and this needs to end, this banking confidentially if we engage in a fight against drug trafficking.

President,

One of the crises, regardless of the capitalism crisis, is the food. These new international financial organizations should give opportunity to the people who have



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fewer incomes and give credits with 0% interest to small producers. We have a little experience in Bolivia, credit has given to corn, wheat and soybeans producers with 0% interest, and they even can pay their debt through their products or soft loans, this works to encourage the production. However, international banks never take note the small producer, never take note of the associations and cooperatives that may well contribute if they were given chance, therefore I call to share a new way to encourage the production but also accompanied by a fair trade. We need to end the trade in so-called "competitively", in a competition who wins, who is the most powerful, who has the most advantages... provided the multinationals and What about the small farmer? What about that family that wants to grow up with their own effort? Therefore, our approach is about how to implement trade policies of complementarily, solidarity and not about competitively. In competition, policy probably is never going to resolve the issue of poverty.

Finally, to end this contribution I want to say that the capitalisms crisis is priceless. I remember when I was a young man, they used to talk of the poor countries external debt as the un-payable debt, nowadays is the opposite, now the crisis of capitalism is un-payable, the economic crisis of capitalism is not only episodic but structural. What are the capitalist countries and the imperialist countries do about it? They look for any pretext to intervene a country, to regain its natural resources. This morning the U.S. president said that Iraq has already released and they are now will govern their selves, of course they will govern their selves, but whose holding Iraq's oil now?. They welcomed, said they ended up with Libya autocracy, democracy now, democracy may be in Libya but, whose will be hold Libya's oil next?

Just now the World and the Libyans realize about the military interventions, the bombings were not because of Gaddafi, but because they are watching their oil, Libya's oil. Remember this and next year we can review the data here, in the hands of which countries will Libya's oil will be.

Therefore, there is the crisis. The crisis of capitalism to overcome is to amend recovering our natural resources, based on our oil, our gas and our other natural resources. But we also have an enormous responsibility: the earth. I remain convinced that the best way to defend human rights is now defending the rights of Mother Earth and here we have an enormous responsibility to approve these Mother Earths rights. just 60 years ago they adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, just 60 years ago they realized that human beings must have rights, then political rights,



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economic rights, indigenous peoples rights, we now have to defend the rights of Mother Earth.

We are also convinced that infinite growth on a finite planet is unsustainable and impossible; the limit of growth is the regenerative capacity of ecosystems on earth. So we appeal to a new Decalogue of social demands on the financial system on natural resources, basic services on production on the dignity and sovereignty on this basis should begin to reestablish the United Nations to be the highest instance of solution on peace, poverty, dignity and sovereignty of all peoples of the world.

Mr. President,

I appreciate your patience in listening to me, we hope this experience as President can be useful to all of us, as I also come to learn from many of you to continue working for equality and dignity for the Bolivian people.

Thank you very much.