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NEW YORK

President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania).

Address by His Excellency Mr. Robert G. Mugabe,
Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe and inviting him to come to the rostrum to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. MUGABE (Zimbabwe): Today is an historic and momentous day for Zimbabwe and for the whole international community: historic because this is a moment of the vindication of the valiant internal Zimbabwean forces which waged a relentless and victorious struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe and also of the progressive international forces that assiduously buttressed that heroic struggle; momentous because this Assembly's conferring upon my country the status and honour of full membership of this body and the fellowship of the international community telescopes, as it were, all our emotions, all our aspirations and all our ideals into one spirit of joy.

3. As yesterday Zimbabwe was united with members of the international community in the bitter national struggle for freedom, independence and nationhood, today it is united with those same members in celebrating the attainment of that freedom, independence and nationhood as it is admitted into the family of nations.

4. I feel deeply moved and overwhelmed by the many tributes which you, Mr. President, and so many countries and representatives have paid to my country and to me personally. I cannot find words to express my own feelings and the deep gratitude of my country and people at this hour. Let it suffice to say that, just as we joined hands in a common struggle, suffered and died together, so do we join hands once again as friends and allies in celebrating this momentous event of our attainment of independence and consequent admission to the United Nations.

5. As a new Member, we are fully cognizant of the responsibilities and duties which our membership in this august body imposes upon us. We unequivocally commit and fully pledge ourselves to abide by the Charter of the United Nations and to shoulder our commitments and obligations in a manner truly befitting our new status.

6. The situation that faces Zimbabwe today and the relevant historical lessons which can be drawn therefrom cannot be adequately appreciated without some knowledge of the historical events and dimensions that shaped the Zimbabwean national struggle and produced the present Zimbabwean independence. The Zimbabwean situation and its developments after the settler

occupation of 1890 provide, in the first place, a unique historical example of the nature and character of colonialism and imperialism as classic modes of exploitative capitalism, and, in the second place, the development of forces of popular resistance as they consolidate themselves ultimately into components of an armed national revolutionary struggle. The lesson is clear: the remaining oppressive and retrogressive régimes must heed the warning that they cannot indefinitely oppress, suppress and repress a people in quest of its freedom.

7. Zimbabwe was colonized by the British in typical capitalist and colonialist fashion. The prime motivation for the occupation was the search for wealth. Cecil John Rhodes, a bigoted settler-imperialist who had amassed enormous wealth through the acquisition of diamond claims at Kimberley, South Africa, was the chief colonial expansionist agent. Bent on occupation of the land north of the Limpopo, he established the British South Africa Company, which was granted a charter by Queen Victoria, as the operational colonizing force. It was men deployed by and operating in the name of that colonialist company who forcibly settled in the country in 1890. The colony of Southern Rhodesia was thus inaugurated with the hoisting of the British flag at Harare, then called Fort Salisbury.

8. The colonization of Zimbabwe introduced into the political and socio-economic scene a new community of white settlers whose newly imposed protective social system assigned to them an exclusive place of privilege, thus pitting them against the black community which they had subjugated. Henceforth, the gap between black and white was bound to widen as contradictions in their political and socio-economic relations assumed antagonistic proportions.

9. The period between the settler occupation in 1890 and the granting of self-governing status to the settlers in 1923 witnessed various conflict situations in which the African community took to armed struggle to liberate their territory, while the whites fought unjustly in defence of their newly acquired land and other interests.

10. The wars of liberation fought by our ancestors between 1893-1894 and 1896-1897 had as their objective the task of driving out or exterminating the new class of uninvited immigrants who had turned into a dominating class. This new group was not only illegitimately sapping the national resources of the country but had also subjugated and created a labouring class out of the African people.

11. The post-war period from 1897 saw the basis of our traditional society crumble as new political, legal, socio-economic and religious forces were superimposed upon a traditional structure. Now the new masters stood socially distinct as an upper class, identifiable by their white colour. Standing in contradiction to that class was the new class of employed labourers and the peasantry, who were deprived of most of their land by the 1894 Land Commission and the subsequent decision of the Privy Council in 1918.

12. Our people were turned into landless squatters on the land of their birth, now no longer their own. In order to promote settler farming, the British South Africa Company forcibly evicted Africans from all the fertile lands within easy reach of markets and assigned them to segregated reserves, from which the pressure of overcrowding and the impoverished conditions forced them to accept low wages as tenant labourers on European-owned farms. Our forefathers had become aliens in the country of their birth.

13. In 1923, the British Government gave the colony of Southern Rhodesia a chance to acquire self-governing status or join the racist Republic of South Africa. Through a referendum conducted by the British to the exclusion of the Africans, the settler community expressed its desire to acquire self-governing status rather than join South Africa. It was on the strength of that racial minority vote that Britain granted self-government to the colony, and Southern Rhodesia was annexed as a British crown colony. Britain, in so doing, never relinquished its ultimate constitutional authority or specific reserve powers of veto in regard to legislation vis-à-vis the crown colony. The British veto powers, in theory intended to protect black interests, were never used at all. On the contrary, Britain seemed content to give its kith and kin a chance to entrench white domination. The year 1923, therefore, was a turning point in the British imperialist strategy relating to Zimbabwe. Britain had purportedly reserved its veto power in order to protect African interests, but in practice it was giving the white settler community *carte blanche* to consolidate its position of self-interest.

14. On the international scene, Britain effectively barred the League of Nations and other anti-colonialist international bodies from discussing Southern Rhodesia, on the ground that the Territory was already self-governing. The British had thus successfully insulated the Southern Rhodesian problem. Britain's political attitude encouraged the racist settler community to effect a policy of subordinating the African population as the *modus vivendi et operandi* for consolidating white rule in Zimbabwe.

15. The colonial settler community, having had internationally favourable conditions to consolidate the minority rule internally bestowed on them, fully exploited this opportunity to strengthen their repressive political and economic structures. The Rhodesia Bantu Voters' Association, which was formed by an African group set up in 1923 to protest against the impending British transfer of power, was banned. A series of legislative measures for the entrenchment of minority rule was passed in the 1930s and 1940s to reinforce the furtive *status quo* of the self-governing Territory.

16. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and other repressive laws passed during this period, including the 1931 Maize Control Act and subsequent amendments to it, effectively discouraged and limited both African political activities and economic production in the peasant agricultural sector. Whatever improvements occurred in the economic sector in this period, little or nothing was done by the racist Government to improve the living standards of the African population in any substantial way. The structure of the society and the official policy to maintain and consolidate discrimination remained basically unchanged. Europeans' jobs were completely protected against African competition by the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1943, which excluded blacks from its definition of "employee". The settlers were therefore protected in their jobs by that

act, but Africans could not belong to a trade union, but were regulated by the Master and Servants Act of 1931.

17. With no pressure coming from the international community in relation to Southern Rhodesia, the new ruling class, resorting to legal, political and economic manipulation, paralysed the old Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, which was led first by the late Reverend Mr. Samkange and later by Aaron Jacha. Yet African resistance could not be absolutely suppressed, for in 1948 the strike by African municipal workers, led by Benjamin Burombo's African Voice Association, paralysed Bulawayo and Salisbury for some days. Burombo also led resistance to the massive eviction of the people from their land, and to destocking and land alienation, which was being conducted under the Land Apportionment Act.

18. When the United Nations was formed in 1945, the colonial patrons argued that since Southern Rhodesia was self-governing it did not lie within the mandate of the United Nations Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories. The international factor was once again prevented from influencing the course of events in Zimbabwe.

19. The internal arena stood continually pervaded at this time by the two diametrically opposed internal forces: the aggrieved African population, long disarmed and subjugated, and the selfish settler community, armed and dominant.

20. The African political organizations of the time were quite ineffective. The African leaders of the time accepted the legal framework of the political system and sought to achieve the freedom of our people within the confines of that legal framework. They adopted pacifist methods which stopped short of violence. This lack of organized opposition to their racist system did not prevent the white settlers from enacting more legislation to render the Africans politically ineffective. Indeed, they proceeded to add to the arsenal of discriminatory and repressive statutes the Subversive Activities Act of 1950, modelled on the South African Riotous Assemblies Act, while the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 was aimed at forced destocking of African farms, and it painfully restricted the use of tribal arable land.

21. While claiming that Southern Rhodesia was a self-governing colony, Britain successfully campaigned in 1953 for the creation of a more geographically comprehensive colonialist constitutional arrangement, an arrangement that gave birth to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. While there was a strong argument by the British and the settler community that the Federation could contribute to rapid economic expansion by creating a wider domestic market for goods and services and by promoting foreign investment, it was quite clear to all political analysts that the sole purpose of forming the Federation was to give protection to settler rule by impeding possible progress towards African rule in the northern territories of what were then Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

22. The British colonial strategy failed because British imperialism found itself fundamentally opposed not only by the international community, but by combined nationalist forces within the three federal territories. By passing resolution 1514 (XV) in 1960, containing the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations took a positive step, which influenced Britain and France to start thinking about granting independence to their colonies. It was at that point that the British found themselves differing with their settler community in Zimbabwe on the issue of tactics, for their colonial

strategy was one of maintaining foreign influence and indirect domination in Zimbabwe.

23. The African approach to the issue of achieving independence had undergone some conceptual and organizational development. For the first time, party organizational and functional organs operated country-wide. African parties began to be represented in international forums. The concepts that guided the popular parties underwent transformation. During the period 1957-1959, the African National Congress recognized that, where the grievances of the masses were exacerbated by continued adherence to oppressive laws, civil disobedience rather than a violent struggle was preferable. The National Democratic Party of 1960 and 1961 accepted that where violence and sabotage were necessary they could be directed at settler property and not at the physical persons who were its owners or at the security forces which protected that property and the political system creating it. The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) at its earlier stage, in 1961 and 1962, tended to recognize that constitutional negotiations were the main instrument of achieving political change, while action programmes, including sabotage and violence but falling short of armed struggle, were the means of adding to the efficacy of the process of bringing about constitutional change.

24. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960 narrowed the British colonialists' room for manoeuvring. Although British colonialists continued to argue that Southern Rhodesia was self-governing and that, therefore, the question of decolonization did not arise, they knew only too well that they had to change their former operational mode to suit the new prevailing internal and international factors. The 1960 resolution, international opinion and the rise of nationalism in the Federation caused Britain to convene an omnibus Constitutional Conference, which combined, apart from the Federal Conference, the Constitutional Conferences of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. Their objective in convening a Constitutional Conference on Southern Rhodesia was to set up a neo-colonialist white-dominated régime.

25. In 1961 the London Constitutional Conference had as its objective, therefore, the imposition of a white national leader who was thought to enjoy popular support from the black majority. The Africans were given a token representation of 15 seats in a parliament of 65 seats. Our people saw through this colonialist chicanery and overwhelmingly rejected the parliamentary seats offered them.

26. In the meantime, opposition to the Federation had intensified within and without the three Territories comprising it. The colonial regional strategy failed and the Federation completely disintegrated. From its disintegration emerged the independent States of Zambia and Malawi. Now, privileged Rhodesian white settlers once more stood threatened by the pace towards black majority rule shown in the northern Territories in 1964. The white settler community's bitter resentment of majority rule had contributed to the rise to power of the Rhodesia Front in 1962. The Rhodesia Front believed that, with the substantial economic growth that had been achieved during the Federation years, white power could be more easily consolidated in Southern Rhodesia, and hence the phrase used later, "not majority rule, not in a thousand years", which became the watchword for resisting majority rule. The Rhodesia Front also believed that if Britain resisted its demand for independence on the basis of white rule that independence had to be assumed unilaterally. Any internal uprising

against their unilateral declaration of independence could be suppressed militarily. There was equal belief that, since Britain had all along acquiesced in white control in Southern Rhodesia, it could be persuaded to accept the unilateral declaration of independence as a fait accompli.

27. It was against this background of an entrenched oppressive and exploitative colonial system sustained by the force of arms that the nationalist movement in Zimbabwe transformed itself from a non-violent to a revolutionary armed movement using, therefore, arms as the principal form of that struggle.

28. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which had been formed in 1963 and banned by the Rhodesian Front régime in 1964 as its leaders were imprisoned, was the first to launch armed struggle, in April 1966, followed by ZAPU later on. The Sinoia Battle of 1966 waged by ZANU's military wing demonstrated that a new development had occurred in the mode of struggle against imperialism and colonialism in Zimbabwe.

29. Confronted by a situation in which the Crown was challenged by a settler community in revolt, the British Government came to the Security Council to persuade the world to reject and oppose the new illegal authority imposed by the racist rebels in Zimbabwe. The General Assembly and the Security Council swiftly adopted resolutions 2024 (XX) and 216 (1965) respectively in condemnation of the unilateral declaration of independence. The international factor therefrom began to operate effectively against the racist settler régime.

30. During the period 1966-1968 several ineffective attempts were made by the British Government to persuade the settler régime to return to legality. There were the famous "Tiger" and "Fearless" talks, both of which moves were of no avail. Each time the British failed to achieve progress, they requested the United Nations to take action against the racist régime. At the request of Britain, supported by the progressive community, the General Assembly and the Security Council progressively adopted resolutions imposing optional economic sanctions in November 1965, selective mandatory sanctions in 1966 and comprehensive mandatory sanctions in May 1968. The changing role of the United Nations had thus completely transformed it into a persistent fighting ally of the liberation movements and the oppressed masses of Zimbabwe.

31. Our decision to resort to war as the principal way of acquiring our independence emerged from our realization that entrenched racist rule could not be dislodged otherwise. The armed violence of oppression could be dislodged only by the armed violence of liberation. If the oppressor killed to oppress, the oppressed had to kill to destroy oppression. The oppressor was armed; the oppressed had similarly to be armed. The hard lesson of our history had taught us that the settler community which buttressed its usurped political power by force of arms could never voluntarily surrender power. We had thus learnt the hard way that concessionist, moralist and reformist non-violent politics were not only an ineffective but also a dangerous method of confronting a well-armed, barbarous settler régime. Whereas the enemy used arms to sustain an unjust system based on racialism, we used arms to destroy injustice, racism and inequality, and to create peace. War to us became, therefore, an instrument for creating peace.

32. We indeed continued to subscribe to the Charter of the United Nations as we fought as a liberation move-

ment to achieve our right to self-determination and independence. We would want to assert that we fought for the preservation in Zimbabwe of the Charter.

33. Between 1966 and 1979, while the colonial settler strategy was to consolidate the position of their usurped power and secure international recognition for the racist illegal Smith régime, the strategy we pursued as the liberation forces was, therefore, to work by force of arms for the overthrow of that racist régime. Although Smith had created a mammoth military and paramilitary force to suppress the 7 million people in Zimbabwe, we remained firm and certain that he was bound to crumble under the ever sharpening thrust of the people's liberation forces, supported by the international community.

34. As we carried our military offensive forward from 1972 on, the approach was to begin by gaining control of the rural areas, where the majority of the African people live, and then to proceed in stages, as the war was qualitatively transformed, to operations in urban areas. In that process we dealt heavy blows to targets of a military, economic and administrative nature at the same time as we politicized and mobilized the masses into an impregnable force that was to prove the scourge of the enemy.

35. The international climate created by the community of nations enabled the supportive progressive forces to provide us with diverse logistical materials to enable us to intensify the armed struggle. Year by year we grew from strength to greater strength as we extended our operational zones, politicizing our rural and urban population. We consolidated our position by setting up militia forces to defend our liberated zones, while our gallant fighters advanced to engage the citadels of the enemy's power. The impact of our successive victories and the effectiveness of our general control of the internal situation defeated the enemy in both physical and psychological terms.

36. In the face of the deteriorating situation, the enemy was forced to admit that he could never win the war, although he could hold on for ages: a definite admission that the people were obviously winning the war. Smith then began to adopt the political tactic of harnessing retrogressive African leaders as puppets in order to present a façade of democracy and majority rule as a basis for appealing to the Western countries for recognition and validation of his wholly anti-democratic, racist and colonialist régime. Some African puppets and stooges, dancing to the tune of their master, provided the transparent window-dressing in exchange for the reward of huge salaries, as they falsely proclaimed that democracy and majority rule had come to the country.

37. It will be remembered that the leaders of ZANU and ZAPU in the Patriotic Front—that is, Comrade Joshua Nkomo and I—came to the United Nations in March 1978 to appeal for Security Council action against the internal settlement. We got the support of that body, and indeed the support of the General Assembly, which we needed. We derived great inspiration and encouragement from this community of nations when it declared the fraudulent 3 March "agreement" to be illegal and unacceptable [*Security Council resolution 423 (1978)*]. We were greatly inspired by the resolution which declared the subsequent bogus election results to be null and void [*Security Council resolution 448 (1979)*]. When Security Council resolutions 423 (1978) and 448 (1979) were adopted, calling upon all members of the international community not to extend recognition to any régime resulting from the ille-

gal elections and not to give any form of encouragement to the illegal régime, our will to struggle was given greater impetus; we became even more convinced that we were on the threshold of attaining independence.

38. Once again a racist cosmetic solution to the problem of Zimbabwe had been rejected by the international community, thus paving the way for a new political initiative to solve the Zimbabwean political impasse. This final political initiative emerged at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka from 1 to 7 August 1979, where the Commonwealth countries signed a nine-point agreement¹ calling upon Britain to assume its colonial responsibility and convene a constitutional conference aimed at solving the Zimbabwean political deadlock. The Lusaka Commonwealth meeting decision on Zimbabwe resulted in the convening of the Lancaster House Conference,² which in turn laid the basis from which Zimbabwe has passed into independence.

39. The success of the Lancaster House talks was a logical culmination point of sustained armed struggle by the internal liberation forces, supported in that just struggle by the international community. The success of the talks meant the defeat of the forces of retrogression which had attempted to sustain a completely undemocratic, racist and colonialist system for the previous 90 years.

40. The accession of Zimbabwe to independence is a unique historical experience from which humanity as a whole should draw the lesson that in any colonial situation, once the proper internal conditions and the correct international climate exist, the liberation forces struggling for justice, freedom and independence are bound to emerge victorious.

41. I wish to acknowledge with profound gratitude the sum-total effect of the efforts which were deployed in support of the Zimbabwean people, which they were able to combine with their own efforts in the prosecution of their national struggle.

42. There can never be sufficient recompense for the assistance given and the supreme sacrifices made by the front-line States and their nationals. Where we died, their people also died. Where we were harassed, bombed and massacred by the enemy, their people were also harassed, bombed and massacred by the enemy. Where we went hungry, their people also went hungry. They fought with us and suffered with us the whole way through. The solidarity between us in the struggle was indeed a unique phenomenon of the unity of our ideals and objectives. I take this opportunity to register the gratitude of my people, through the agency of the United Nations.

43. The assistance we obtained from the front-line States was given us substantially out of the recognition by those States that they were the vanguard of Africa and of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). To the OAU and to the whole of Africa, Zimbabwe says: "Well done. You have succeeded in restoring the dignity and personality not only of the Zimbabweans but of Africa as a whole. The people of Zimbabwe are proud of you."

44. Africa alone would not have been able to provide the full quantity and quality of resources we needed for the successful prosecution of the struggle against an enemy enjoying limitless logistical supplies. We feel

¹See A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15.

²Held at London between 10 September and 15 December 1979.

proud and profoundly grateful, therefore, that several socialist countries came to the aid of Africa by supplying huge quantities of effective weaponry and other material means for the struggle. I should like to take this opportunity to record once again the abundant gratitude of the people of Zimbabwe to those countries for the invaluable role they played in making our liberation and the attainment of our independence a certainty.

45. Amongst Western countries were progressive States that made it their policy to budget annually for the amelioration of the physical and social needs felt by our people during the protracted war period. Although they did not give us arms, they gave us equally essential commodities for the maintenance of body and soul, for the welfare of our refugees and our fighters. We thank them all, as well as the voluntary support and political organizations in their countries, and also in other countries, that gave us humanitarian, political and moral support.

46. We cannot complete this litany of donors of the material aid that promoted our national struggle or gave comfort to our people during the difficult years of this struggle without mentioning the political role played by the Commonwealth since the unilateral declaration of independence. It was, indeed, Commonwealth pressure upon Britain which finally produced the 1979 Lusaka communiqué on the basis of which we proceeded to Lancaster House, where the agreement now enshrined in our independence constitution was realized. I wish to thank all the Commonwealth countries for their help.

47. Our struggle had become internationalized, and several international forums played a very vital role. Among them was the non-aligned movement, to which we, as a liberation movement, belonged. It will be realized that it was from Havana³ that we proceeded to Lancaster House. We wish to extend to them our profound gratitude for the role they played in giving us support and in upholding our objectives, as, indeed, they have been upholding the objective of international peace and the objective of disarmament in the international community.

48. Reference has already been made to the role played by the United Nations since 1960, when the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted. I have also referred to the development in the United Nations process of accepting the question of the colony of Southern Rhodesia as a United Nations responsibility. Indeed, after the unilateral declaration of independence, both the General Assembly and the Security Council, as I stated earlier, wonderfully discharged their responsibility towards the oppressed masses of Zimbabwe. We wish, through this General Assembly, to thank the United Nations for the immense pressures that it exerted on Britain and against the illegal settler régime of Ian Smith, whether that pressure came by way of resolutions on sanctions or by way of other resolutions condemning the administering Power and urging it into action, or merely making appeals to the administering Power. The totality of those resolutions was an effective pressure that was combined with pressure our armed struggles were exerting on the situation. We felt that in our hour of need you were always one with us. You must now feel in our hour of victory and glory that we are with you, and one with you. We are committed to being one with you on the basis of the Charter.

49. Lastly, I now wish to refer to the final role played by Britain as the administering Power. After years during which it progressively contributed, by acts of commission or omission, to the consolidation of white minority rule in my country, Britain rose to the occasion after the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka and seized the opportunity to take decisive action by convening the Lancaster House Conference and thereafter acting resolutely to implement the agreement reached at that Conference. We recognize the significance and courage of its final act, and we join hands with it in reconciliation and friendship as we face the future. A job well done is a job well done, whatever the wrongs and inconsistencies of the past might have been.

50. Lancaster House was a necessary compromise, made in the interests of our people and for the sake of international peace and security. The basic framework it provided is, in spite of its imperfections, flexible enough to allow for our programme for the next phase of our national struggle aimed at the consolidation of our independence and the social transformation of our country and people.

51. Since the Lancaster House Conference we have not marked time. *A luta continua* is our internal and external theme, for the fight goes on now in political, economic, social and cultural terms. Political independence must be consolidated through socio-economic development. But underlying the economic theme is the securing and maintenance of peace as a necessary condition, and also as an objective of human endeavour. But peace in the face of poverty and economic disparities among people is a mockery of dynamic social and distributive justice. So in my country we are now engaged in the major task of rehabilitation and resettlement of thousands of our people who were displaced or forced to become refugees. We have also embarked on a concerted programme of reconstruction of our economy, whose physical and social structure was destroyed, damaged or disrupted in the more recent years of the national struggle for independence and freedom. This reconstruction programme, which over the next two years will cost upwards of \$350 million, will merge into the development phase, and the full magnitude of the task over the same period will cost in the order of \$1.5 billion. But beyond that there is the Herculean task of restructuring and overall development. Given its history of minority domination and its present structure of uneven development, as well as foreign control, the economy requires major structural and institutional changes, involving, among other things, land reform and rehabilitation and greater local participation so that employment opportunities can be created for all and growth can be expanded and sustained for the benefit of all. We are currently engaged in formulating the necessary policies and programmes.

52. In all these tasks of national rehabilitation, resettlement, reconstruction and restructuring, we shall endeavour to mobilize to the full all our domestic resources—human, material, technological and financial. But we shall also seek, and indeed we are seeking, the full support of the international community. The magnitude of the task of reconstruction and development before us is formidable, and in real terms will amount to well over \$4 billion within the next five years.

53. While we are grateful to all those countries that, acting individually or collectively, have readily come to our aid, I would be failing in my duty if I did not say that the aid so far forthcoming and the general flow of external development resources fall far short of our requirements. In this regard we would remind those of

³Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held at Havana from 6 to 9 September 1979.

our friends who, both before and at the Lancaster House Conference, made such promises of generous offers that they should now match their words with concrete action.

54. We would also appeal to the international community as a whole to come to our aid. I cannot over-emphasize the vital importance of all the tasks to which I have referred and in which my country is engaged. It is my hope that in the spirit and policy of national reconciliation which my Government has enunciated we can unleash hitherto pent up energies, forget the past, evolve a truly non-racial society and put fully to national use, for the benefit of all our people, all the skills, talents, initiative and drive which abound among our people, of all races and colours.

55. As I have said elsewhere, when ZANU ascended to power, we felt the moment demanded of us a spirit of pragmatism, a spirit of realism rather than one of emotionalism; a spirit of reconciliation and forgiveness rather than one of vindictiveness and retribution. We had to stand firm to achieve total peace rather than see our nation sink into the abyss of civil strife and continued war. To us the time had come for those who had fought each other as enemies to accept the reality of a new situation by holding each other as allies who, in spite of their ideological, racial, ethnic or religious differences, were now being called upon to express one loyalty: to Zimbabwe.

56. We had to embrace one another in the spirit of our one nationality, our common freedom and independence, and our collective responsibility. This is why we invited our allies of ZAPU and two members of the white community into a coalition of forces determined to make a success of our independence. We have faith in the people whose courage and determination created the present Zimbabwe. The success of Zimbabwe will be the victory not only of Zimbabwe but also of Africa and the world as a whole.

57. Zimbabwe, together with all progressive forces, and with the full support of the international community, could transform southern Africa in the interests of true democracy, progress, peace and security. For this to be fully realized, there has to be the right international climate within the framework of appropriate institutions and structures. In this respect, the theme *a luta continua* also applies at the international level. You will therefore permit me, Mr. President, to say something on this very important matter which, indeed, touches on the critical issues on the agenda of this eleventh special session. I do so in the full conviction that there should be no dichotomy between what is done at the national level and what is or should be done at the international level. Indeed, our own belief in the need and necessity for restructuring, or growth with fundamental change, accords with a belief in the similar need and necessity at the international level.

58. The guiding principles of our foreign political and economic policy are organically linked, not only with the principles that guide our domestic policies, but also with the principles that have guided our struggle. In political terms, our policies are guided by five principles.

59. First, we believe in national sovereignty and equality among nations. My Government stands ready to establish and develop mutually beneficial relations with all countries that respect our sovereign right to independent socio-economic development. Currently, we are in the process of establishing and developing relations with many nations, large and small, socialist and capitalist.

60. Secondly, as a nation dedicated to the attainment of a socialist, egalitarian and democratic society, we welcome and encourage mutually beneficial co-operation and assistance from socialist countries the world over in our reconstruction and development efforts. Nevertheless, the development of socialism in Zimbabwe will have to take place in full cognizance of the concrete situation in our country and in the subregion.

61. Thirdly, in accordance with our struggle, we uphold the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence. In this regard, we support the aspirations and just struggle of the people of Namibia to independence in conformity with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and under the leadership of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). We question and condemn the so-called Turnhalle internal settlement farce, as orchestrated by the *apartheid* South African régime, and call upon all countries to co-ordinate and increase their material support for the Namibian people's struggle. Current moves to convene a conference between SWAPO and the South African régime, we believe, should not interfere with the need to give increased support to SWAPO.

62. In consonance with the principles of the right to self-determination, we support fully the Palestinian people's struggle. As a liberation movement we were allies of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). As an independent State, the Republic of Zimbabwe will remain an ally of the PLO.

63. My Government has also taken a decision on Western Sahara: we have proceeded to recognize POLISARIO Front in that region, and we recognize, of course, the new State of Western Sahara, because we believe the people of Western Sahara have the same right as ourselves to self-determination.

64. Fourthly, our country is dedicated to non-racialism at home and abroad. In this connexion, our people know too well the evils of racial discrimination and oppression, as we have only recently emerged from a similar system under the Rhodesian Front régime and its ancillaries. While we support efforts at putting increased moral and material pressure on the *apartheid* South African régime to democratize the political system in South Africa, we feel that the major effort should be concentrated on marshalling material support for the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in their struggle against the Pretoria régime.

65. At our independence our people took their own place among the front-line States and assumed their own share in co-ordinating and channelling African and international assistance to the struggle of the people of South Africa against racialism, economic exploitation and social oppression. We shall work with the other front-line States and with the other countries of Africa in the OAU in doing our best to bring pressure to bear upon the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

66. For our part, we have set in motion a process of disengaging from South Africa, alongside the other countries in our region. That process is linked up with the process of building up and cementing our ties with free Africa in and outside the region with the aim of strengthening our own collective self-reliance and political and economic strength.

67. We call upon the world community, collectively through the United Nations and individually, to assist us and other countries in the front line to support

economic measures, especially in the fields of transport and power.

68. Fifthly, our foreign policy is also based on positive non-alignment and peaceful coexistence among countries having different social and economic systems. We are a member of the non-aligned movement and stand ready to co-operate with other members in striving to uphold the principles of independence and self-determination among all nations, big or small. We will co-operate with other countries in contributing solutions to pressing world problems while upholding the principles of objectivity and fairness. We would not, however, wish to have our friends choose for us who should be our other friends.

69. The principles enunciated here, as principles guiding our domestic and foreign political and economic policies, are principles which are supportive of and consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization's two declarations: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*General Assembly resolution 217 A (III)*] and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. My delegation would like to associate itself with the joint striving of mankind for a just world order through the universal framework of the United Nations. In particular, we are ready to participate in efforts to negotiate meaningful and positive measures that would ensure a favourable climate for development.

70. Although we have just emerged from armed struggle against an oppressive colonial settler régime and were formally admitted to this august body only yesterday [*1st meeting*], our people are aware of the vital importance of this special session.

71. The sixth special session in 1974 and the seventh special session in 1975 on raw materials and development, and on development and international economic co-operation, respectively, addressed themselves to the important problems of the world economy and the challenge of development. The broad contours of the New International Economic Order which emerged from those sessions rest upon the twin pillars of restructuring the economic relationship between the industrialized and the developing countries on the one hand and the need to evolve a new system of international economic co-operation for development on the other. The theme of restructuring, as I have already said, is something we understand only too well as we are ourselves involved in a parallel exercise in our own country as we seek to build a new social order which would allow for growth with equity.

72. The present special session is taking place at a time when the crisis in international economic relations could hardly be more critical. Indeed, this session is concerned with vital issues confronting humanity, namely: the problems surrounding the implementation of the new international order; the adoption of the new international development strategy; and the launching of a global round of negotiations on raw materials, energy, trade—with particular reference to the menacing and growing problem of protectionism and the erosion of the purchasing power of the export earnings of developing countries—on development—with special regard to technology, resource transfers and food—and finally on the interrelationships among money, finance and development issues.

73. The economic crisis facing the developing countries manifests itself in a continuous deterioration in their terms of trade. This has translated itself, as we all know too well, into huge current account deficits faced by developing countries, which are consequently forced

to adopt retrenchment measures, which involve reductions in vital imports and a scaling down of their growth rates.

74. As we see it, the economic crisis facing the developing countries is at least five-pronged in nature. First, there is in general a failure to mobilize internal resources and implement adjustment in certain areas of production in which the developing countries collectively enjoy an advantageous position. Secondly, higher costs of energy and food have aggravated the balance of payments problems of developing countries, whose terms of trade have worsened. Thirdly, non-energy-related inflation in industrialized countries has been transmitted to the developing countries through higher prices for exported manufactured goods. Fourthly, to the extent that industrialized countries have adopted anti-inflationary measures, interest rates have risen; this has meant higher costs of borrowing for developing countries, which have been obliged to borrow massively to enable them to close the trade gap. Fifthly, the general slowdown in economic activities in the developed nations has resulted in the scaling down of their demand for exports from developing countries. The industrialized countries' protectionist measures against manufactured exports from developing countries, combined with the refusal or reluctance of the developed nations to restructure their economies, so that markets can be opened to the developing countries in areas where the rich nations are facing a reduction in efficiency and in comparative trading advantages, have not ameliorated the situation either.

75. Official development assistance has not been forthcoming in the volume needed or as promised under the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. In addition, official financing has progressively become less concessional, as grants have generally diminished in volume. Furthermore, loans have been granted at higher interest rates, and grace periods have become shorter. To the extent that loans have been granted, increasingly stringent clauses accompanying them have led some developing countries to reject the loans outright. This appears to be especially true with regard to IMF balance-of-payment loans, whose conditionality elements seem too rigid really to serve the needs of development. In the end, the poor nations have had to go to the higher-interest Euro-currency markets, and this has led to the acute debt burden that these countries are now facing.

76. In brief, the fundamental hazards facing the collective international economy include: the escalation of protectionism, which distorts the rational allocation of resources and constricts the expansion of developing-country exports in the markets of the developed countries; chronic inflation and monetary instability, which undermine the very foundations of meaningful international co-operation; the huge and mounting debt burden of the developing countries and the need to ensure debt service and repayment costs; the crippling problem of balance of payments caused by the mounting debts, and exacerbated by rising import bills for manufactured capital goods, food and energy; instability in world raw materials markets, a general deterioration in the terms of trade of developing countries, and adverse movements in their foreign exchange earnings; and the persistence and worsening of conditions of unemployment, underemployment and mass deprivation which hang over the head of mankind like the sword of Damocles.

77. These problems are more acute and more pressing for a new country like Zimbabwe which has risen to

nationhood after years of war and isolation, and is partly looking to the international economy for the essential inputs to help it to rebuild its infrastructure for a more equitable development process. The solutions to problems facing our nascent nation can be facilitated by the resolution of these international problems. Wider access to trading markets in the manufactures and technology of developed countries, easier access to financial markets on better terms, increased availability of capital to developing nations on concessionary terms, and the establishment of a more comprehensive mechanism for international financial co-operation for development: all this would be a major step forward on the road to more effective international co-operation.

78. As I noted earlier, my country is engaged in a massive programme designed to rehabilitate and reconstruct the social and economic infrastructure that was destroyed or damaged during the liberation struggle. We have embarked on a path of social and economic development that requires huge resources generated from both domestic and external sources. The programme of rehabilitation, reconstruction and development would, without doubt, be facilitated by the creation of a favourable international climate, as envisaged in the agenda of this special session. For it is only in such favourable circumstances that the restoration and development of our productive capacity can be fully achieved. That would in turn make it possible for us to fulfil our own domestic goals of a higher standard of living for all our people, and the international goal of equitable participation in the global economy by the developing countries, including my country.

79. I want to emphasize the appreciation of my Government for the support which the United Nations system has already extended during the course of our struggle. The international community responded well to the appeal channelled through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The programme is already under way; the work of rehabilitation and resettlement is far advanced.

80. Among other efforts, the United Nations Development Programme financed a comprehensive social and economic survey of my country.⁴ This study was carried out by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and became the basis for a Zimbabwe-United Nations interagency conference which was held in Zimbabwe in May 1980. The conference in turn produced a compendium of development projects which were a result of the deliberations between the representatives of the United Nations agencies and of the relevant ministries of my Government. Most of the projects so identified are of major importance to the development of Zimbabwe and will be pursued with the minimum of delay.

81. In addition to these efforts, the Security Council, through its resolution 460 (1979), charged the Secretary-General with the responsibility of mobilizing all forms of financial, technical and material assistance to Zimbabwe. He is also responsible for providing the international community with information on the requirements for assistance to deal with the situation. The special report which the Secretary-General will soon distribute highlights the most serious immediate needs

in Zimbabwe's infrastructure. I should like to ask the Secretary-General for speed and efficiency in executing the plan.

82. There is a substantive parallel which can be drawn between what this special session of the General Assembly is trying to achieve and the internal, regional and continental goals that Zimbabwe has set out to achieve. For example, international efforts aimed at achieving a more efficient deployment of resources, non-renewable energy resources in particular, are mirrored in our own domestic programmes to produce ethanol from sugar-cane and methanol from coal as alternative sources of fuel. Zimbabwe has a very high exposure to sunshine and we have begun to explore methods of exploiting our solar energy potential. But these projects require financing. We are looking for concessionary financing for these vital projects. This session's concern with balance of payments problems, unfavourable terms of trade for developing countries; raw materials, and price instability in commodity markets is reflected in our own domestic programmes to industrialize and increase local benefits from mineral exports. Further, our development strategy is geared to achieving growth with stability and equity.

83. Our contribution to both the Lagos and the Lusaka economic summit meetings clearly indicated our resolve to promote regional co-operation and collective self-reliance at the regional level. We have also signed six economic co-operation treaties with Mozambique in pursuit of the same policy. The general concern with world poverty and food shortages in particular is reflected in both our domestic and regional food security plans. We firmly believe that the unity achievable in joint economic undertakings will strengthen the approach by developing nations in negotiating with the developed nations. We are equally convinced that innumerable potentials exist within the developing nations; and that, if these potentials could be shared among the developing nations themselves, significant progress could be achieved for our joint economic advancement.

84. Zimbabwe, it is clear, fully subscribes to the principles embodied in the New International Economic Order and we shall do all in our power to contribute to their complete fulfilment at the national level. It is also our view that in order to achieve and sustain growth, developing nations need to learn from each other's experience and together negotiate for an increase in the level of development finance, for increased access to markets in manufactures and raw materials in the economies of more developed members of the international community, and for a genuine reform of the international monetary system which would underpin the new development efforts. It is, therefore, our conviction that co-operation among developing countries and the industrialized countries are necessary elements of a global system of mutual, advantageous, and reciprocally beneficial interdependence.

85. While my Government takes note of recent successful negotiations, for example, within the framework of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and especially the agreements on the Common Fund for Commodities, on multimodal transport, on restrictive business practices, on transfer of technology and on external debt, we feel that a more fundamental and comprehensive approach needs to be pursued.

86. In particular, as I have already indicated, my Government takes the firm view that sustained and accelerated development of the developing countries requires a

⁴ See *Zimbabwe: Towards a New Order: An Economic and Social Survey* (Geneva, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 1980), document UNCTAD/MFD/7.

fundamental restructuring of existing international economic relationships in international trade and in the international financial and monetary spheres. This should be achieved through negotiations among all parties and effected through a system of new principles and rules governing relations between developing and developed countries in those areas. The new structure should provide for democratic and equitable participation by developing countries both in decision making and in the management of the new system of international co-operation for development. My Government is of the view that the projected round of negotiations bearing on these and related issues should be launched at this session and that no efforts should be spared to reach agreement so that the new system can be in place within the first two years of the third United Nations development decade.

87. My Government urges that this session finalize a new development strategy for the next decade that is comprehensive and that should serve as an effective instrument for the attainment of the objectives of the New International Economic Order.

88. In particular, we believe that in order to ensure the sustained flow of development financing for the third development decade, automatic and predictable international fiscal measures, such as a tax on the resources of the sea-bed, and so forth, should be agreed to. The current disarmament negotiations should reach an early conclusion so that resources currently devoted to the arms race can be released for development. Further, my Government believes that official bilateral and multilateral lending should be channelled more and more to development programmes as a whole.

89. Mr. President, members of the General Assembly, Zimbabwe is now one of you and one with you. Together we can ride out the storm that threatens the very foundations of the human experiment. I have no doubt that together we shall succeed.

90. On behalf of the people of Zimbabwe and on behalf of all struggling humanity, I wish to thank you again, Mr. President, for the honour given me to participate in the deliberations of this body and to address this special session of the General Assembly upon the attainment of independence by my country and the assumption of a new international status by the Republic of Zimbabwe. Together with you, I wish to say: *A luta continua. Pamberi ne Chimurenga. Pamberi ne Kunzwanana.*

91. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe for the important and inspiring statement he has just made.

The meeting was suspended at 4.55 p.m. and resumed at 5.10 p.m.

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations

92. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to document A/S-11/21/Add.1, which contains a letter dated 26 August 1980 from the Secretary-General informing me that the Comoros has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

AGENDA ITEM 7

Assessment of the progress made in the establishment of the new international economic order and appropriate action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation (continued):

- (a) New international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade;
- (b) Global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development;
- (c) Other matters

93. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the United Nations is indeed happy to see a statesman of your stature presiding over the work of the world Organization at this moment in history. This is not mere rhetoric. The responsibility which you bear can only be measured by the fact that this eleventh special session has been convened especially to adopt, on the basis of an assessment of the progress made in the establishment of the New International Economic Order, appropriate action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation, including, *inter alia*, measures relating to the adoption of the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade and the launching of global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development. Those negotiations, as established in General Assembly resolution 34/138, must be action-oriented and must all take place simultaneously so as to ensure a coherent and integrated approach to the major questions arising in the fields of raw materials, energy, trade, and development and in the monetary and financial sphere.

94. The serious world situation does not allow us to harbour many illusions on the possibility of successfully concluding the consideration of the items on our agenda; but, given the sombre picture, we are encouraged to see the trust that the international community has placed in you, with the hope that, with your inexhaustible spiritual and intellectual resources, you will obtain the co-operation of other eminent statesmen from other latitudes in order to open up new paths of understanding in the protracted and heretofore fruitless North-South dialogue. In these efforts you will, as always, have the decided and unreserved co-operation of the delegation of Panama.

95. My country, which has traditionally maintained a position in support of the just aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa, and which fully joined in the Maputo Programme of Action,⁵ adopted under your able leadership, Sir, is extremely pleased to bid a brother's welcome to the Republic of Zimbabwe and its distinguished Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe, on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations to the satisfaction of the international community.

96. My delegation also wishes to record as a historic event of extraordinary significance for Latin American nations the fact that yesterday morning this Assembly, on the recommendation of the Committee of the Whole,

⁵Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, adopted by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977. For the printed text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

invited the Latin American Economic System (SELA), represented by its Permanent Secretary, Mr. Carlos Alzamora, to participate in the eleventh special session [see 1st meeting, para. 80].

97. Its presence here will be an extremely positive event, since SELA, which was established under the Panama Agreement of 1975, by its 26 member States, comprising almost all the Latin American countries, including those of the Caribbean, is the legitimate spokesman and representative of the genuine interests of the region and no doubt constitutes the most important policy and economic co-ordination forum in Latin America. The action taken yesterday is recognition of the collective identity of Latin America, whose unity and integration were the constant concern of the Liberator of our peoples.

98. It is cause for deep concern for the international community that, despite the enormous investments in time, money and human resources, so far no success has been achieved in the enormous efforts undertaken in many international forums to complete the preparatory work that was to be the basis of the task entrusted to this session. In short, the Assembly finds itself in the rather embarrassing situation of not having the final text of the two key documents which Member States had pledged themselves to have prepared by this date. I am referring to the new international development strategy and to the agenda for the global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development.

99. Where the responsibility lies for the persistence in not reaching constructive formulations of agreement is well known. This most unfortunate situation has arisen despite the remarkable work done by Mr. Niaz Naik of Pakistan, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy, and Mr. Bogdan Crnobrnja of the delegation of Yugoslavia, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, whose admirable gifts of wisdom, patience and devotion to the best interests of the United Nations deserve our tribute of respect and gratitude.

100. Both in the strategy and in the agenda for the global negotiations, major differences persist on matters of obvious importance. It is clear that, in the absence of the final versions of those documents, the analytical report prepared within the Secretariat by the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation cannot be considered final either.

101. We must be realistic, and accept that, even though this may not be in keeping with what should be the spirit of our day, so far no consensus has been possible either on the formulation of the new development strategy or on the agenda for the global negotiations.

102. Therefore, this session of the Assembly will necessarily have to carry out, through the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Eleventh Special Session created to that end, the unfinished tasks of three of the bodies it established during the past three years to constitute a launching pad for this special session.

103. First, the *Ad Hoc* Committee must take over the functions of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy and resolve the significant differences existing between developed and developing countries with regard to the goals, objectives and policy measures of the strategy.

104. In this connexion we must note that no agreement has yet been reached with regard to numerous paragraphs of the preamble to the draft strategy, or the sections on goals and objectives, international trade, trans-

national corporations, industrialization, food and agriculture, financial resources for development, international monetary and financial questions, science and technology for development, energy, transport, economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, the least developed countries, social development, and the review and appraisal of the implementation of the new international development strategy.

105. The Assembly must consequently attach priority to a solution of these differences and make all possible efforts to attain the necessary agreement in order to adopt by consensus the new international development strategy, which is to serve as the basis for the agenda of the global negotiations.

106. Secondly, the *Ad Hoc* Committee must take over the functions that were to have been discharged by the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 to draw up and adopt the agenda, procedures and time-frame for the global negotiations, in conformity with resolutions 34/138 and 34/139, in which the main questions dealt with are raw materials, energy, trade, development, and money and finance.

107. The Assembly, through the *Ad Hoc* Committee, now approaches this inescapable task, since, regrettably, the Committee of the Whole has reported to us that it was unable to reach agreement on the proposals relating to the matters to which I have already referred.

108. Finally, it will be up to the *Ad Hoc* Committee, as part of its decision-making process, and with the co-operation of the Secretary-General and the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, immediately to make the necessary adjustments, revisions and additions to the analytical report on the progress made towards the New International Economic Order since the sixth special session of the General Assembly in the realm of international economic co-operation, since that report cannot in the circumstances be accepted as final. For obvious reasons, the analysis in the report has not been able to take into account either the agenda for the global negotiations or the new international development strategy, which are not yet in final form.

109. Panama has a basic interest in each and every one of the items in the global negotiations, as well as in each and every one of the goals and objectives and the political measures of the strategy. However, in the process of the establishment of the New International Economic Order, the Government of Panama attaches particular importance, within the area of international trade, to the question of shipping, given the fact that we are a major maritime nation and that, with the entry into force on 1 October 1979 of the new Torrijos-Carter Canal Treaties, there are new prospects for Panama's over-all development.

110. The status of Panama as a maritime country is based on the geographical location of the Isthmus, the fact that we have 1,697 kilometres of Atlantic coastline and 1,160 kilometres of Pacific coastline, the operation of the interoceanic Canal, the improvement of the Canal's terminal ports and of the Trans-Isthmus Railroad as a result of the 1977 Canal Treaties to which I have already referred, the return to Panama before the end of this century of the interoceanic thoroughfare—Canal and its installations—the establishment in Panama of an international financial centre and the broad scope of Panamanian shipping legislation. Those facts had a bearing on Panama's election to member-

ship of the Council of IMCO during its eleventh General Assembly, held in London from 5 to 15 December 1979.

111. The process of the decolonization of the Canal Zone has led the Panamanian Government to give sustained and growing attention to the development of its merchant fleet, which today ranks fifth in the world, and to regional co-operation in the area of shipping. Thus, the Panamanian Government has been developing an ambitious maritime programme, with the co-operation, technical advice and material assistance of IMCO, and in conformity with the international covenants in force.

112. My country believes in South-South co-operation—that is, in the advisability of promoting economic co-operation among the developing countries thus to ensure the effective mobilization of their resources, to strengthen their capacity for collective negotiation with the developed countries, and energetically to intensify their mutual economic co-operation during the third United Nations development decade, thus effectively applying the principle of collective economic autonomy.

113. A beautiful example of that kind of co-operation was given in Latin America on 3 August 1980 by the President of the United Mexican States, José López Portillo, and the President of the Republic of Venezuela, Luis Herrera Campins, when they met at San José at the invitation of the President of Costa Rica, Rodrigo Carazo Odio, and launched the Co-operative Energy Programme for countries of Central America and the Caribbean.

114. Mexico and Venezuela, under nobly generous terms, will meet the net internal needs for imported oil of Barbados, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama and the Dominican Republic, allocating to that end a total volume of up to 160,000 barrels a day and, in addition, providing the necessary official financing.

115. It should be emphasized that those two distinguished Latin American leaders agreed to try, within the means at their disposal, to transport the oil under this Programme in ships operated by the Multinational Caribbean Shipping Line (NAMUCAR).

116. Panama is fortunate enough to be one of the founding States of NAMUCAR, and the States of the Caribbean region are parties to NAMUCAR's charter. NAMUCAR was established with the aim of contributing to the solution of the most urgent shipping problems in that region of the continent. The ships belonging to NAMUCAR have Panamanian registry and sail under the Panamanian flag.

117. Venezuela, in another act of exemplary co-operation, last week granted Panama a \$100 million credit which will make possible the construction of a new bridge over the interoceanic waterway to solve the acute problem of transit between the eastern and western parts of the country caused by the operation of the Canal, which divides the Isthmus of Panama to unite the two great Oceans.

118. Since the same States that participated in the work of the Committee of the Whole and the Preparatory Committee on the New International Development Strategy will be represented at this special session of the General Assembly and in the *Ad Hoc* Committee, we are faced with the danger of getting into the vicious circle of the same intransigence and inflexibility that made it impossible to complete the tasks entrusted to those two Committees.

119. My country, a founding member of the Latin American Economic System (SELA), took part in the Latin American regional co-ordination meeting in New York from 11 to 13 August 1980, preceding this special session. My country joined in the agreement adopted at that meeting on

“the basic importance of the unity of the Group of 77 in the future stages of the process of global negotiations”,

since SELA considers that

“only through a show of solidarity will it be possible to expect positive results from this exercise”.

120. Panama also took part in the ministerial meeting of the Group of 77, held at United Nations Headquarters on 21 and 22 August, under the experienced and able presidency of Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, Minister for Foreign Affairs of India, who yesterday [see 2nd meeting, paras. 58-92] delivered a frank and masterly statement about the truly serious situation facing this Assembly. To both Foreign Minister Rao and Ambassador Brajesh Chandra Mishra, who presided so wisely and effectively over the meeting of the high officials in the Group of 77, my delegation expresses its most sincere appreciation for their work in the interest of the third world.

121. The delegation of Panama wishes to state that the final communiqué [see A/S-11/19, annex] of the ministerial meeting faithfully reflects the common view of the States members of the Group of 77, including Panama.

Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

122. In that communiqué we wish to emphasize—in view of the seriousness of the present economic situation—that the Ministers

“... expressed the hope that in a spirit of co-operation, interdependence and mutual benefit, all industrialized countries would approach the negotiations at the special session with a sense of purpose and the political will indispensable to the success of the negotiations” [A/S-11/19, annex, para. 14].

In that regard, the Ministers emphasized that

“... the failure of the special session would have far-reaching adverse consequences for international economic co-operation, development, economic justice and stability, world peace and security” [Ibid.].

123. Last year the Assembly recognized the need for the special session to yield results commensurate with the seriousness of the present international economic situation and the magnitude of today's economic problems. In particular, in resolution 34/138 it was agreed that the global negotiations must include the major issues in the field of raw materials, energy, trade, development, and money and finance. Also, under the terms of that resolution, the negotiations are to contribute to the implementation of the new international development strategy.

124. My country shares the concern voiced by the Ministers of the States members of the Group of 77 about the harmful effects of the arms race and the growing international tension concerning the development efforts of developing countries. It is shameful for mankind that, while \$450 billion is spent annually on weapons, 800 million human beings scattered throughout the world are suffering in the most absolute poverty, virtually deprived of the benefits of civilization.

125. We appeal to the conscience of the statesmen of the North and South and ask them—with the co-operation of all the countries and groups of countries represented in this Assembly—to surmount the

obstacles and find formulas that may permit the adoption of the new international development strategy and the launching of the global negotiations.

126. Mr. BENYAHIA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is certainly not simply to honour a tradition that I feel in duty bound to emphasize the particular pleasure I feel at seeing you once again invested with the confidence of the entire international community. The reason for our satisfaction at seeing you preside over the work of this special session—quite apart from the unanimously recognized personal qualities which you have put to the service of the ideals that unite us—resides in the active solidarity of the United Republic of Tanzania with all just causes throughout the world and its militant commitment to the triumph of liberty.

127. It was precisely the triumph in Zimbabwe of that fight for freedom and dignity that made it possible for us today to welcome the representatives of a Republic that has now become free and independent within the community of nations.

128. The presence among us of one of the most illustrious sons of a glorious people, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, sharing our hopes and echoing the voice of a community—a voice that has long been denied it—provides the most eloquent proof of the rightness of our combat and its historically inevitable result.

129. By triumphing over one of the most hideous forms of the contemporary phenomenon of domination by grasping its political independence in a noble struggle, and by taking up arms to gain its right to existence and dignity, that brother people has not only commanded our admiration but also, and particularly, it has undoubtedly made a valuable contribution to the national liberation movement.

130. This session echoes that historic session during which this Assembly, in adopting the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], confirmed the imperative need to carry out radical changes in the nature and institutional framework of international economic relations.

131. Whether it is a question of evaluating the situation of the developing world at the end of a ten-year period or of gauging the progress that has been achieved by the international community in reforming a system that was based on unfair, dangerous and unacceptable rules, in the final analysis we must assess to what extent the new international economic order has been implemented.

132. Since 1974, the General Assembly, the specialized agencies and many non-governmental forums have made a regular appraisal of that implementation, and they have constantly concluded that the progress made has been insignificant.

133. That immediately indicates the considerable gap that separates avowed intentions, enshrined in documents jointly adopted, and the carrying out of those intentions. It also underlines the need to learn the necessary lessons from the result of a dialogue that has become an end in itself and whose various incarnations need not be dwelt on. It also means that if our future action is to become really constructive it must be based on an uncompromising analysis of the present situation. Finally, it indicates the importance of this session for the developing world, for the future of each of our nations and, when all is said and done, for the discharge

of our collective responsibility towards the major part of mankind.

134. The present order—if we can really consider a system in which the majority is reduced to subhuman status so that its exploited labour and its hunger may feed a dominant minority to be an “order”—should be condemned. Indeed, it is condemned.

135. It is condemned first because, since it was fashioned to favour colonial domination and since the national liberation struggles have not completely cleansed it of its underlying relationships of domination and exploitation, it remains rooted in imbalance in the capacity and opportunity for development which it consecrates, perpetuates and aggravates.

136. It is condemned too because, with its iniquitous international division of labour, it has amply proved that it is incapable of promoting balanced development and ensuring prosperity that would be equitably shared by all.

137. It is condemned furthermore because, after having relied on the systematic exploitation of the wealth of our countries, which was a determining factor in the expansion and development of the Western countries, today it reduces the third world to the role of an unwilling shock absorber and a forced stabilizer of the crisis.

138. Finally, it is condemned because it has shown itself to be incapable of further containing—even for the benefit of those who have traditionally profited from it—the evil effects of the crisis it has brought about.

139. Although the drawbacks and deadlocks of the system have now been revealed, the motivations and the prime purposes that underlay its creation continue to inspire the actions of the developed countries. Far from working towards the necessary reform of the structures, those countries are mainly concerned with recovering control over a world economy in crisis, whatever the consequences for the third world may be.

140. Thus the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system, which was set up without the participation of the developing countries, might have provided an opportunity to carry out monetary reform that would be made more equitable, more efficient and better adapted to the realities of the present day through the partnership of the developing countries in its creation.

141. We must conclude that efforts in this area have resulted in failure. Those aspects that should have taken account of development requirements have been circumvented since they have been described simply as an evolutionary process of reform.

142. The agreements reached at the Kingston Conference, held on 28 and 29 December 1978, which are to be viewed in the same context, have simply perpetuated a *de facto* situation resulting from the unstable balance caused by the monetary manipulations of the major Western countries.

143. Those agreements—which, furthermore, were prepared in private clubs—have only accentuated further the historic imbalance in control over the generation and distribution of international liquid assets without providing a solution of the main causes of the monetary disorder with which they were supposed to deal.

144. Thus the system of floating exchange rates has actually encouraged manipulations of all kinds, depending on the particular interests of the dominant countries alone.

145. In the same way, the abolition of an official price for gold, far from genuinely promoting the creation and building up of reserves, has rather made it possible for developed countries artificially to increase tenfold their official reserves based on that metal, which is becoming more and more a commodity for speculation and, consequently, an additional source of disorder.

146. Furthermore, scant results could be expected by the developing countries from any action undertaken by IMF, which continues, in the name of the so-called principle of non-discrimination, to equate the situation of the developing countries with that of the developed countries, and continues to apply the same rules to them, thus completely disregarding the structural nature of their balance of payments deficits.

147. Thus, the failure in efforts to create a new basis for the international monetary system has been, undoubtedly, a major obstacle to the emergence of a new international economic order, and the advent of that new order will continue to hinge largely on a genuinely reformed international monetary system.

148. Unless genuine reforms are brought about in the system, any kind of sectoral action undertaken in other areas will inevitably be stripped of meaning if the financial system continues to function in the interests of a restricted group of countries.

149. In the case of the international trade system, the very foundations of GATT have sanctioned and perpetuated the law of the stronger.

150. It would be impossible fairly to make the developed and the developing countries alike assume obligations which turn out to be identical. But the few adjustments which have been made to the most-favoured-nation clause have, in actual fact, been eroded in the course of recent multilateral trade negotiations and their principles have been questioned by the developed countries.

151. It is apparent, therefore, that the principle of equality among States is simply serving as a screen to protect the advantages of the wealthy, whereas the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources continues to be regarded as anathema.

152. While commodity prices in most cases continue to be determined only by the rules of a market which is subject to the manipulations and speculations of major financial centres alone, the Common Fund, because of the meagreness of its financial resources and because of the deadlock in the commodity agreements negotiations, reveals the fragility of an edifice which is designed only to provide relative stability for commodity prices, rather than protection and improvement of their purchasing power.

153. Thus, like the monetary system, international trade relations remain more than ever ruled by norms and principles which preserve and accentuate what advantages have been acquired by dominant economies, and those economies continue, furthermore, to control to their own benefit decision-making centres, particularly regarding prices and the volume of trade.

154. In the industrial area, the 1975 Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation provided a cohesive framework for the deliberate and co-ordinated establishment of a more equitable division of labour. But the recent failure of the Third General Conference of UNIDO held at New Delhi from 21 January to 8 February 1980, is the logical outcome of the efforts which have been made by most of the developed countries to reduce the scope and to ques-

tion the significance of the Lima documents, and to void them of any real substance.

155. Consequently, the developed countries continue to perceive efforts to redeploy world industry solely in terms of the activities of their transnational corporations and as being dependent upon the strategy of those corporations.

156. The restructuring effort continues, therefore, to be a burden borne by the developing countries alone, although such an effort continues to be jeopardized by the prohibitive cost of access to technology, by imported inflation, protectionism and, more basically, by the excess costs inherent in the nature of economic structures inherited from the colonial era.

157. Thus, whatever type of consensus the international economic negotiations have engendered, whether they have been universal or whether participation has been limited, whether they have encompassed a range of spheres of action or whether they have been concentrated on a specific area of activity, those negotiations, of which the decade has seen so many, have never responded to the essential requirement of restructuring.

158. The rich countries, which bear primary responsibility for the initiation and deterioration of this crisis, have invoked that crisis to continue in their negative behaviour, thus enclosing the third world, which is considered not so much a subject as an object of international economic relations, in a vicious circle which is both dangerous and unacceptable.

159. Hence, despite the considerable efforts which have been made by our countries in order to break out of our state of development, the results are far from meeting the minimal needs, and the present situation facing most of us is more disquieting today than ever before.

160. The condition of the developing countries continues to deteriorate from day to day. "Absolute poverty threshold", "struggle for survival": these phrases were not in common use till now, but they are needed to describe the situation faced by most of the peoples of the third world.

161. The reports of various international organizations regularly confirm this fact statistically. But its extreme seriousness does not seem to have been grasped internationally, even though the media have reminded us of it—unfortunately with ever more frequent examples—brutally so, with cases of sharp drops in commodity prices, of countries that have been declared insolvent and subjected to draconian constraints by the IMF, or of entire regions that have been cruelly beset by famine.

162. The hope we nurtured at the start of the 1970s with the launching of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [see *General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV)*] has gradually given way to disquiet and even, in certain countries, to anguish and disarray.

163. The dialogue which started after the sixth special Assembly session to lay a fresh foundation for international economic relations between North and South has been perverted by the developed countries. It had, however, seemed that at last someone was trying to respond to the appeal of the third world for a genuine dialogue to replace the relations of dependence inherited from the colonial era by a relationship based on genuine co-operation and interdependence.

164. It had also seemed that the envisaged new international economic order would replace the anachronistic system that had led to confrontations—a system that

met neither the needs of justice nor even the desires of the rich countries to increase their growth rates: in short, a system leading to a dead end—by relationships that would be just, co-operative and more likely to lead to the harmonious, balanced development of the world economy.

165. Wedded above all to the unjust international economic order which has perpetuated their dominant position, regarding the clear warnings at the beginning of the 1970s as transitory disturbances which would soon subside, and being concerned basically with the short term and the protection of their own very limited interests, the developed countries have been looking for scapegoats onto which to thrust the blame for the crisis, rather than seriously investigating its structural causes. They try to maintain in their countries an artificial economic and social balance and a wasteful level of consumption by means of high inflation, whose effects on the developing countries are disastrous. They manipulate the rates of exchange and the price of gold to serve their own interests and in order to gain tremendous profits, and they use the present difficulties as a pretext for reducing development aid, which is furthermore locked in a yoke of restrictions which has made it meaningless. In the final analysis, they have in this time of deterioration in the world economic situation, adopted an attitude fraught with consequences for the future of the world.

166. It is thus becoming more and more obvious that co-operation among the countries of the third world must be more strikingly reflected in action. This co-operation among developing countries, which is not collective self-sufficiency, must not be seen as a substitute for international co-operation—of which it should be a supplementary dimension—or as an element of confrontation with the developed world. On the contrary, it is a factor for developing the resources and capacities of our countries and a means of promoting peace and co-operation in an international framework in which, considered as full partners, the developing countries will become the free builders of their destinies.

167. Co-operation to establish the new international economic order has neither explored the possibilities nor met the challenge of the necessities.

168. Our session would fail the critical needs of the present time if it were not to contribute through imaginative decisions to the advent of this renewed order, an order which would guarantee human rights by rehabilitating the rights of peoples, an order which would, in one stroke, provide a surer basis for all political independence through ensuring genuine economic liberation, an order which, finally, would work to promote development as an integral part of the universal requirements of peace and security.

169. By taking the initiative to propose global negotiations, the third world demonstrated its determination to make international co-operation enter a qualitatively new stage.

170. In view of the essentially structural nature of the current economic crisis, the breadth of its ramifications and the overlapping of the problems it has given rise to, the global negotiations cannot adapt themselves to piecemeal conceptions which would favour a sectoral approach. In the same way, the dimensions of this crisis demand that the action to be undertaken meet with universal support. Such support presupposes the non-discriminatory participation of all States in the negotiation of solutions and in the making of decisions on the problems which concern them all.

171. It is appropriate to say how important it is, in the context of global negotiations, that the central role of the General Assembly be truly recognized and established. In this connexion, the abuse of the notion that there is a duplication of effort, the petty invocation of respect for the competence of the specialized agencies, or abandonment of the idea of mutual advantage and shared responsibility can only be regarded as so many pretexts, thinly disguising an absence of the political will jointly to undertake the necessary reforms.

172. Defining fundamental questions—questions with a direct bearing on the whole of international economic relations—as being within the exclusive purview of the specialized agencies is surely not the coherent and integrated global approach which must dominate the global negotiations. To consider a setting that does not ensure the elementary rules of democracy in international negotiation as the primary place for the discussion of the monetary and financial system would surely be to turn one's back on a prospect for genuine dialogue which would encompass all the questions which are important for the community of nations, since it cannot be denied that the new international economic order constitutes a whole, and that it would be illusory to overlook certain of its fundamental aspects in its implementation.

173. The machinery established in the world monetary and financial institutions daily attests to the unshared dominance of the developed countries over these vital sectors of the world economic system. This means that, whatever the breadth of reforms that might be undertaken in other areas, they will be automatically cancelled out by the monetary manipulations and the financial actions which the rich countries can resort to at will, as they retain nearly total control of the monetary and financial sector. In the same way, this means that we absolutely cannot conceive of genuine global negotiations if they exclude the major, important area of the world monetary and financial system.

174. With regard to energy, while the developed countries have not given up their attempt to make this question play the part of a scapegoat for the crisis and, further, to challenge the principle of the right of the developing countries to permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, the dimensions of the problem must be seen increasingly in their true light, that is from the standpoint of the major shortages to be seen in the medium term as a result of the frantic consumption by the developed countries of a product long sold at a depressed price because of the extravagant exploitation of the riches of the developing countries.

175. First of all, we must bring down the consumption of energy in the developed countries to levels compatible with rational rules of usage of available resources, all the more so as the development needs of the third-world countries imply an increase in their consumption. It is also necessary to develop to the maximum all forms of energy resources. This involves the re-examination of a present paradox, whereby the research effort is essentially directed towards the developed countries, whereas the chances of discovering fresh sources of energy are greater in the countries of the third world.

176. It also presupposes the presence of the conditions necessary for the exploitation of the new and renewable sources of energy on which the energy future of the world depends and also, especially, that the countries of the third world be supplied with the necessary technological and financial means.

177. The reply to the challenge posed to our States by the questions of energy is not beyond our grasp, provided that the essential elements of the problem are not side-stepped from the start, provided that the question of energy is not artificially separated from the other areas of international economic relations, and provided that we give up the illusion of a rationale which would confine itself to one question among many in this inter-related set of problems which must be approached in a comprehensive manner if we desire to face up to the fundamental problem of our times: that of the present international economic order.

178. The proposal for global negotiations could, if adopted and responsibly implemented, represent a concrete step towards the advent of authentic interdependence among nations, an interdependence based on the equitable sharing of prosperity through a just distribution of the means of development.

179. The task of institutional reform and restructuring should clearly not overlook the urgency of the problems which face the poorest countries. Algeria has considered with particular interest the idea of a programme of emergency assistance as proposed by the Secretary-General, since we ourselves upheld the principle of such a programme.

180. However it is quite certain that limited measures such as those which have been proposed in the programme of emergency assistance should not be regarded as a panacea to solve problems that are essentially structural. At the very most, they will for a very limited period of time contribute to lessening the burden which a persistent economic crisis places upon the economies of the most vulnerable countries of the third world.

181. By its very nature, the system of international economic relations which now obtains cannot foster and promote the universal development effort which should have been the prime purpose of the United Nations development decades.

182. Thus, the latter have turned out to be neither a world plan of development for the third world, which seemed to be the idea during the 1960s, nor a more modest theoretical framework of action for development based on firm political commitments.

183. The failure of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade has once again given the lie to the theory of the automatic spin-off of growth; the growth of the Western economies has in no way had the expected uplifting effect on the economies of the countries of the third world. This failure means that we must become more aware of the futility of any international strategy that is conceived within the framework of the present international economic systems. Consequently, our Assembly must be fully aware of these lessons when negotiating on the fundamental elements of the new strategy.

184. As a theoretical framework for promoting the development of the developing countries, this new strategy can only meet its prime target provided that it is based on a body of measures that all tend towards freeing the third world from its condition of dependency.

185. It is only in this way that the goal of joint management of the world economy can be achieved. This implies that for the developing countries there should also be ways and means of ensuring their real participation in decision making.

186. If we want to guarantee the success of this strategy, it has to be seen as part and parcel of the

implementation of the new international economic order.

187. We should not, therefore, indulge in a conscience-salving ritual by adopting a development strategy which would not really be one at all.

188. The choice between confrontation and co-operation is becoming more and more pressing. While it is clear that the choice is obvious if humanity is to survive, it is no less evident that because of selfishness or habit, or perhaps unawareness, ever more dangerous actions which support and feed the logic of confrontation are being taken daily.

189. The developed countries must put an end to their obstinate search for solutions to the world economic crisis which would leave intact the essential mechanisms of the present order that was built by them and for them. It is in this context of crisis that we must see more distinctly the failings inherent in any desire for power and the futility of simply acquiescing in over-self-confident prosperity. We must more than ever have the courage as well as the lucidity to replace the threadbare concept of protecting short-term interests by that of solidarity in mutually agreed objectives.

190. In a world where the spectre of destruction recalls the common destiny of peoples, the notion of the community of interests, and therefore the democratic sharing out of obligations as well as rights, is not dictated by generosity but by simple realism.

191. With the accession of two thirds of mankind to control over its destiny, the present international economic order is condemned to disappear.

192. Movement towards a new order is inevitable and we must therefore organize the transition. Depending on whether or not we have sufficiently prepared that transition, either it will take place in harmony or it will be imposed by brutal events and their consequences.

193. In proposing global negotiations, the developing countries have reaffirmed their readiness to carry out this urgent and vital joint work in an orderly manner.

194. Today, we can only forcefully reiterate our preparedness for genuine dialogue. It is now up to the developed countries truly to understand our desire to contribute in a responsible manner to building our joint future.

195. Mr. MALTSEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The current special session of the United Nations General Assembly is the third in the history of the United Nations to be specially devoted to the issues pertaining to international economic relations. Over the time which has elapsed since 1974, when this range of issues first became a subject of special discussion in the General Assembly, the problem of restructuring international economic relations on a democratic and equitable basis has lost none of its urgency or acuteness. Serious obstacles still upset the legitimate aspiration to change the system of international economic relations which took shape under the conditions of an absolutely different alignment of world forces, which has served the interests of imperialist monopolies, and which has entered into an irreconcilable contradiction with the vital interests of the vast majority of countries and the general development of the international situation. These obstacles are created primarily by the desire of capitalist countries of the West to proceed on the basis of inequality and to preserve discrimination.

196. The Soviet Union has always regarded with understanding and profound appreciation the aspiration of developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin

America completely to cast off the fetters of colonialism and neo-colonialism, to overcome economic backwardness, poverty, hunger and disease, and to extend the process of eliminating colonialism to embrace the field of the economy.

197. It is therefore only natural that the Soviet Union should have taken an active part in formulating fundamentally new political approaches to tackle those problems of economic relations among States that are ripe for solution, and that it has supported the basic orientation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI)*], adopted by the General Assembly in the 1970s.

198. An indisputable and positive result of the United Nations activities in the field of international economic relations is that the need to restructure international economic relations—to clear them of any manifestations of discrimination, *diktat* and exploitation and to eliminate the obstacles, created by the policies of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, standing in the way of the economic independence and progress of newly independent countries—has won wide international recognition through the aforementioned and other documents adopted by the United Nations. An important role in this process belongs to co-operation in the United Nations between developing and socialist countries which, long before the adoption in the United Nations of the principles I have mentioned, had put them into practice in their economic relations.

199. It is no coincidence that it was precisely in the 1970s that it became possible to put the problem of restructuring international economic relations on the agenda of international forums, the United Nations among them, for that was the first time that it enjoyed at last favourable political conditions. The radical change in the alignment of forces in the world arena, the multifaceted and energetic activities of socialist and other peace-loving nations in the 1970s brought about noticeable invigoration of the international situation. The process of détente has helped to strengthen and fill with concrete political and economic significance the concept of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems, and to fulfil tangible prerequisites for the solution of burning international problems and for peaceful and mutually advantageous co-operation among States and nations in various fields of human activity.

200. While assessing these facts, we see again and again that there is an inherent and inseparable interconnection between international economic relations and the world political climate. It is perfectly evident that genuine progress in ensuring universal peace and security, and in preserving détente as the leading trend in international developments, is the essential prerequisite for success in seeking co-ordinated solutions to vital global problems facing mankind, including the problem of speeding up the economic and social development of newly independent States in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

201. That is why, in considering the prospects for the implementation of the decisions on restructuring international economic relations, one cannot overlook the bearing which the current aggravation of the international situation may have on this process. The crux of the problem is that, since the late 1970s, the leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military bloc, while seeking to slow down—to the detriment

of détente and international security—the objective process of reform in the world, in particular the progress achieved by the national liberation movement, have adopted a policy of accelerating the arms race, resorting to provocations against independent States. They shirk the negotiating table to resolve the problems which aggravate international life and they launch a new nuclear strategy that is fraught with the most dangerous consequences; other dangerous decisions have also been taken.

202. No one has forgotten that in 1978, precisely at the time when the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, was taking place here, the NATO member States demonstratively came out at the meeting of their organization in favour of automatic annual increases in their military expenditures.

203. It would be naive to think that the aggravation of the international situation affects only relations between the Western capitalist countries and the socialist States. In fact the threat to détente affects the interests of all nations. It also creates new obstacles in the way of restructuring international economic relations. In recent months the world has seen that, in its desire to bring energy and raw material resources under its control, imperialism has ever more often resorted to force or the threat of force against developing countries, while blatantly interfering in the national liberation struggle and choosing as an object of its aggressive actions primarily those countries that show the will for true political and economic independence. Those actions are the major source of instability in inter-State relations and they create new hotbeds of tension.

204. In seeking to impose their will on other States, certain Western Powers have started upon the road of economic aggression, blockade and boycott, using economic ties as an instrument of blackmail and political pressure against other countries. In violation of the generally accepted norms governing relations among States, they unilaterally go back on agreements reached, and cut down contacts in business relations in the areas of economics, science and technology. Such actions not only create additional serious obstacles to the restructuring of international economic relations and the implementation of existing United Nations decisions, but also destabilize mutually beneficial international economic links already established and impede the establishment of equal co-operation among States in resolving the burning problems facing mankind.

205. Whether or not a situation favourable for making tangible progress in restructuring international economic relations will prevail in the years to come depends on the intensity and success of the efforts of peace-loving States and peoples in the struggle to extend and deepen détente as the leading trend in world politics. The Soviet Union believes that possibilities for this exist. The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held last June, reaffirmed the need for an unswerving continuation of the policy formulated by the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth congresses of our Party and aimed at consolidating the fraternal alliance of socialist States, supporting the just struggle of peoples for freedom and independence, ensuring peaceful coexistence, curbing the arms race, maintaining and promoting international détente, and at mutually beneficial co-operation in the economic, scientific and cultural fields. The General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, stressed, in his report to the plenary session, that we shall continue to

spare no effort to preserve all the good things that the 1970s brought us, to safeguard and consolidate peace. These are also the objectives of the constructive programme of measures announced in the declaration adopted last May at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member States [see A/35/237-S/13948, annex II].

206. All of this has a direct bearing on the subject-matter of this special session of the General Assembly, for whatever decisions may be taken within its agenda they will remain mere scraps of paper unless supported by real progress towards invigorating not only economic but also political relations among States.

207. In assessing the progress made in implementing the United Nations decisions on the establishment of a new international economic order, we should naturally like to note, first of all, some progress in the solution of certain matters which in varying degrees form part of this problem. It goes without saying that we ought to commend the efforts undertaken by the developing countries themselves to mobilize their internal resources for the purposes of economic, social and cultural development and for making socio-economic transformations aimed at accelerating that process.

208. But if one tries to view the problem in a broader perspective to see how the economic situation in the developing countries has actually changed since the sixth special Assembly session, one must then recognize that on the whole it has not improved, and in certain aspects has even deteriorated. According to United Nations data, 800 million men and women in Asia, Africa and Latin America live in absolute poverty, 700 million adults in those continents are completely illiterate and 1.5 billion people are without any medical care whatsoever.

209. Early in 1980, there were about 50 million people unemployed in developing countries, and that number would reach 400 million if the underemployed were also included.

210. The progress of developing countries has been slow, extremely slow in moving ahead in industrialization, accelerating the growth rate and bridging the gap between their level of economic development and that of the developed countries. The developing countries have not yet succeeded in increasing in real terms their share in the world's industrial potential.

211. All this compels us to take a rather critical view of the progress in implementing the well known General Assembly decisions on restructuring international economic relations.

212. Since this session is to discuss a development strategy for the next decade and map out measures to promote the economic development of developing countries, it is extremely important, in our view, to make an accurate analysis of the reasons for the failure of the Strategy for the previous Development Decade and for the sluggish start in implementing the provisions of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth special session.

213. The United Nations documents relevant to a new international economic order and to the development strategy give prominence to questions of economic assistance to developing countries. Certainly, the Soviet Union by no means denies the important role that external assistance can play for those countries as a supplement to their own efforts. But the problem, of course, is that this assistance should be genuine and should not be used as a disguise for activities aimed at further econo-

mic enslavement of developing countries. It is a fact, however, that some—or it would be more correct to say many—kinds of economic operations by capitalist States in developing countries do disguise activities pursuing precisely such ends.

Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.

214. Take for instance private capital investments by developed capitalist States, which, according to terminology prevalent even in the United Nations, are sometimes described as a form of assistance to developing countries. It is assumed that such investments contribute to more rapid economic growth rates, to employment and to an increase in exports from developing countries. But there is always the reverse side of the problem in all this: in the field of private capital investments, the funds pumped out of developing countries in the form of net profits more often than not exceed the total increase in private investment in the economies of those same countries. Such is the practical manifestation of the notorious "interdependence" aptly described in the United Nations as the "partnership of rider and horse".

215. Lately, United Nations documents have laid emphasis on the advantages of so-called "official development assistance" as distinct from private capital investment. And some Western countries manipulate data regarding their growing "aid" through governmental channels in order to make things look as if the capitalist West were doing more for developing countries than are the socialist States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). But how can one possibly view that "official aid" in isolation from the activities of foreign private capital in developing countries, ignoring the problem of the outflow of financial resources from developing countries in the form of exports of profits on private investments? One can do so only when seeking to achieve a purely propagandistic effect and to confuse those not familiar with the ABC of economics. And, indeed, is it not obvious that it is absurd to draw a parallel in this regard between capitalist Powers and the socialist States members of the CMEA, in view of the basically different foundations on which they plan their economic relations with developing countries?

216. I turn now to the actual causes of the lack of tangible progress towards the elimination of the economic backwardness of developing countries. It should be noted that these causes are still those which the Soviet Union indicated at the two previous special sessions of the General Assembly on economic matters, and which were also outlined in the statement of the Soviet Government of 4 October 1976 on restructuring international economic relations.

217. The main cause is the system of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation which continues to downgrade many a country in Asia, Africa and Latin America to the status of an agrarian and raw-material appendage to industrialized capitalist States, whose policies are aimed precisely at preserving and expanding that exploitation, consolidating their privileged position in the world's capitalist economic system, keeping the developing countries in a state of dependency within that system, and creating favourable conditions for the further expansion of monopolistic capital.

218. Furthermore, such a status for the majority of newly independent States increases their vulnerability to the impact of trends in the economies of developed capitalist countries. This is most acutely felt at a time of

aggravation of such phenomena inherent in the capitalist economic system as recessions, monetary instability, inflation and chronic unemployment, as is the case at present.

219. The present economic situation in developed capitalist countries, with the growth of protectionism as one of its consequences, brings about a further deterioration of the already grave economic and financial situation of newly independent States, in particular their growing external debt. The problem here lies in the continuing rigid dependence of developing countries on the economic situation in developed capitalist countries and in the fact that the latter, as is always the case when it comes to critical recessions in the capitalist economy, shift the burden of their own economic and financial predicaments onto developing countries.

220. Neither the expansion of existing and the creation of new international funds for development financing nor new increases in the flow of resources into developing countries will ever lead to any breakthrough while such dependence prevails and while the system of neo-colonialist plunder of developing countries by imperialist monopolies is not eliminated. This is the reality, and it leads to the only correct conclusion, that the attainment of the objectives of the new international economic order depends on how consistently the developing countries themselves will fight against policies of neo-colonialism in the economic sphere, defend their sovereignty over their own natural resources, and exercise control over the activities of imperialist monopolies on their own territories.

221. As to the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, they invariably support the legitimate initiatives of newly independent States and effectively contribute to the restructuring of international economic relations and the social and economic advancement of the developing countries.

222. The establishment and deepening, within the framework of CMEA, of international economic relations of a new type, the basic principles of which extend to our economic co-operation with developing countries as well, constitute a real contribution by socialist States to the attainment of these goals.

223. Planned economies, State monopoly over foreign trade, and the deepening of mutual co-operation within CMEA make it possible for socialist countries to shield themselves to a considerable extent from the unfavourable effects of the economic crisis obtaining in the capitalist world. It is only fitting to make special reference to the fact that, in view of serious upheavals in the world capitalist economy, trade and economic co-operation between States members of CMEA and developing countries is acquiring special importance as a means of lessening the latter's dependence on capitalist States and their transnational corporations, and has successfully stood the test of time.

224. Newly independent States can rely on the assistance of the socialist community and on its experience in laying and consolidating the foundation of an independent national economy as well as in counteracting the pressure exerted by imperialist Powers and their monopolies. The solidarity of CMEA member countries with the legitimate aspirations of developing nations to achieve full economic independence, and the objective similarity of their interests, were once again reiterated in the communiqué of the 34th meeting of the CMEA session held earlier this year.

225. The Soviet Union and other CMEA member States render comprehensive economic and technical

assistance to developing countries on a long-term and mutually beneficial basis with full equality of both sides and mutual respect for sovereignty.

226. The Soviet Union has agreements on economic and technical co-operation with 71 developing countries. By early 1980, over 3,000 projects had been completed or commissioned or were under construction in those countries with technical and economic assistance from the USSR. Their annual aggregate production capacities are as follows: 36 million tons of steel, over 65 million tons of oil, over 57 million tons of coal, and about 6.5 million tons of cement, while their power-generating capacities equal 37 million kilowatts.

227. Over 1.1 million skilled workers and specialists from developing countries with secondary or higher education have been trained with the assistance of the USSR.

228. The projects in various fields built with Soviet participation contribute to the consolidation of independent national economies, help in solving a number of social and economic problems in developing countries such as the elimination of colonial patterns and the development of formerly backward areas, facilitate the attainment of better living standards, ease the solution of the food problem and give employment to the population. A fundamental feature of the Soviet Union's technical assistance is the fact that it is directed primarily at setting up and expanding enterprises in key industries of the public sector, which constitutes the basis for independent development.

229. The terms of the credits extended by the USSR are also advantageous for developing countries. As a rule—and I stress this—the credits are repaid with traditional exports as well as with the products of the newly established national industries, including the output of the projects built with the assistance of the USSR.

230. The Soviet Union, along with other States members of CMEA, is ready to continue its economic and technical assistance to developing countries. However, we consider it necessary to emphasize once again that this assistance has been and will be extended on a scale compatible with our capacities and in forms corresponding to the nature of our political and social system which have proved their validity in practice. That should be crystal clear to all.

231. Given the readiness for mutual co-operation on the part of developing countries, and on the basis of their specific requests and needs, the Soviet Union will continue to direct its assistance to consolidating the position in their economies of their public sectors, ensuring complex and balanced development of the economic potential of developing countries, upgrading their natural resources and building up their scientific and technological potential. This will be accompanied by increased effectiveness of the already established forms of co-operation, and by the introduction of new forms, in particular consultations within joint inter-governmental commissions for economic, scientific and technological co-operation, long-term intergovernmental agreements and programmes spanning 10 to 15 years, joint work on the problem of developing territorial and sectoral complexes, and so on.

232. We should like particularly to single out one area of co-operation between the USSR and developing countries, namely, assistance to those countries in the field of planning. The positive experience accumulated over many years by the USSR and other socialist countries in developing their planned economies proves to an ever greater number of developing countries that plan-

ning is an effective instrument for solving national economic and social problems. Dozens of States have learnt and continue to learn from us the sophisticated art of planned management of the economy.

233. As in the past, the Soviet Union is ready to share with developing countries all that is valuable in Soviet science and planning practices. At the same time, wider use can be made of such forms of co-operation as sending Soviet planners and economists to those countries at their request, and inviting planners from developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the Soviet Union to study Soviet experience in planning.

234. As we have already noted, the Soviet Union, aware of the specific needs and problems of the developing countries, does not deny that it is legitimate for those countries to raise the issue of obtaining funds from outside to finance their development. However, as was noted in the Soviet Government statement of 4 October 1976—a statement distributed as an official document of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly—there are not and cannot be any grounds for addressing to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the same claims as developing countries address to the developed capitalist States. Those claims should be placed, first of all, in the context of compensation for the damage caused by the colonial exploitation of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by their former metropolitan countries, and in the context of compensation for the losses being incurred by the developing countries at the present time also as a result of the activities of transnational corporations. Thus, an obvious source of additional resources for the needs of development is the restriction of the exploitation activities of capitalist monopolies and their transfer of the profits—or, to be more precise, the super-profits—from their investments in the economies of developing countries. We fully support the developing countries in that respect.

235. The Soviet delegation would like to place special emphasis on the following point. The current special session of the General Assembly would be committing a grave mistake if it paid no attention to, or if it bypassed, the most important problem of today—that is, the problem of the cessation of the arms race and the implementation of genuine measures of disarmament. That cannot be mentioned only in passing, and it certainly cannot be overlooked or passed over in silence. To rechannel to the purposes of economic development the hundreds and hundreds of billions which are wasted today on the accumulation of means of destruction: that is the imperative of our time.

236. The proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to that effect are well known. All of those proposals are duly reflected in the Final Document [*General Assembly resolution S-10/2*] of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, held in 1978, and in many other United Nations documents.

237. The implementation of these measures—and of one of them in particular: the reduction, in absolute or percentage terms, of the military budgets of the States permanent members of the Security Council and other States with a major military potential—would immediately increase the possibilities of channelling additional funds to the purpose of promoting the development of all countries, including the developing countries, in the way most acceptable and harmless to all States, namely, by reducing expenditures on the arms race imposed by imperialism.

238. It is also quite evident that the cessation of the arms race and progress towards real disarmament would result in an overall improvement of the international climate, in ridding mankind of the military threat, in strengthening international security, which in turn would make it far easier to achieve in practice the objectives of the new international economic order and of peaceful co-operation among peoples and would also help the developing countries themselves to mobilize greater funds for the purposes of their own development.

239. It is even more regrettable that we have to state that, so far, little has been done to curb the arms race and to halt it. The elimination of the material means of warfare has in fact not yet even begun. Far from having halted, the arms race is actually gaining momentum. The NATO countries are intensively building up their military potential, both quantitatively and qualitatively, thus trying to upset the existing military balance to their advantage.

240. Now more than at any time in the past, all peace-loving States and all peoples should intensify their efforts to achieve a breakthrough in the struggle for the cessation of the arms race. That is a difficult but a realistic task. Solving it will have a direct and immediate impact on the problems related to economic development.

241. I should like to comment now on the document on the draft international development strategy for the 1980s [*A/S-11/2 (Part III)*] submitted to this session. During the preparatory work, the Soviet side made known some of its considerations both on specific provisions to be included in this document and also on the document's general orientation.

242. We proceed from the assumption that the adoption of the document on the strategy can have a certain positive effect in terms of assisting developing countries in their struggle against imperialist and neo-colonialist exploitation only if the document reaffirms and strengthens the progressive political provisions on economic problems adopted earlier by the United Nations, including those in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. In particular, the strategy can be of help to newly independent States as a reference point in their struggle to improve their economic position, if it clearly defines, rather than passing over in silence or in any way concealing, the main obstacles to achieving the economic independence of developing countries—namely, colonialism, foreign aggression, occupation, racism and *apartheid*, and all forms of foreign domination and exploitation.

243. We also believe that this strategy should reflect the task of the carrying out by developing countries themselves of progressive social and economic transformations, mobilizing their internal resources and intensifying their own efforts with a view to creating and developing a self-sustained national economy.

244. It is not a question of imposing on anyone any particular model of development. The Soviet Union consistently advocates the right of every country to make its own choice as to the avenue of its social and economic development. While we favour seeing United Nations documents reflect such issues as, for example, the development of the public sector, the introduction of planning, the implementation of progressive agrarian reforms and other similar measures, we proceed from the need for an objective analysis and assessment of the experience accumulated in various countries. This naturally includes the experience of those developing

countries which have been successful in carrying out radical socio-economic transformations. This is the only condition in which recommendations adopted by the United Nations can really serve as a helpful reference point for developing countries in working out their economic policies.

245. On the other hand, the Soviet Union will continue to stand against imposing, through United Nations documents, concepts that seek to perpetuate the old international division of labour, which reduces newly independent nations to the status of agrarian and raw-material appendages to developed capitalist countries. We oppose attempts to pursue, under the guise of the aforementioned "interdependence", the course towards the creation in developing countries of a "favourable climate" for the activities of foreign private companies—and first of all, of course, the transnational corporations.

246. As to the "global negotiations" on major international economic problems within the framework of the United Nations, the Soviet delegation would like to state the following at this stage.

247. As we have already noted, the lack of real progress in establishing the new international economic order is mainly the result of the reluctance of imperialist Powers to give up their privileged position within the world capitalist economic system and of their desire to continue to keep the developing countries in a dependent status. If that situation were to persist, there would hardly be any grounds for optimism about the prospects of certain initiatives put forward recently by developing countries, in particular as regards the implementation of the idea of "global negotiations".

248. Nevertheless, as we have already stated, in principle the Soviet Union favours this proposal of the developing countries, which reflects their well founded dissatisfaction with the progress of the current negotiations. The final decision as to the nature of the Soviet Union's participation in those negotiations will depend on the specific agreement that is reached on the programme and procedure for the negotiations.

249. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that this eleventh special session of the General Assembly will make its contribution to the cause of ensuring progress in achieving equal international co-operation in the economic field and will assist developing countries in their efforts to accelerate economic development. The practical resolution of this problem is inseparable from the resolution of the most pressing global problems confronting mankind: averting the threat of war and implementing effective measures of real disarmament.

250. The Soviet Union is willing, as before, to continue co-operating with all countries that show genuine interest in resolving all these problems.

251. Mr. OLESEN (Denmark): Sir, allow me first of all to congratulate you upon your election as President of this special session of the General Assembly. With the excellent performance of your duties as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly in mind, I am sure you will perform your tasks at this session with equal skill and wisdom. I wish to assure you of the full co-operation of the Danish delegation.

252. It is a special pleasure for me at this session to welcome Zimbabwe as the newest Member of the United Nations. Denmark has followed with admiration the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for freedom, equality and justice. We are looking forward to further strengthening the close ties that were established between the peoples of Denmark and Zimbabwe during

the struggle for independence as well as to contributing to the reconstruction of Zimbabwe. I personally had the honour and pleasure of participating in the independence celebrations in Salisbury. I should like from this rostrum once more to congratulate Zimbabwe and Prime Minister Mugabe on Zimbabwe's independence. We are confident that that nation will be able to contribute greatly to the work of the United Nations.

253. This special session of the General Assembly on international economic co-operation for development is taking place at a crucial point in time. The world of today is characterized by economic recession in most countries and intolerable living conditions for hundreds of millions of people. Our task is to take stock of the situation, to evaluate the progress made towards a new international economic order and, last but not least, to lay the foundation for measures to improve the situation and in particular to launch the new round of global negotiations and to adopt an international development strategy for the 1980s.

254. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg has already [see 3rd meeting, paras. 50-88], in his capacity as Acting President of the European Economic Community, and on behalf of the European Economic Community and its member States, outlined our position on these issues, and I can therefore limit myself to a few issues to which Denmark attaches particular importance.

255. The economic recession and its effects are well known. In short, they are seriously reducing overall economic growth, causing intolerably high levels of unemployment and inflation, a lack of resources for internal development, enormous balance of payments problems and dangerous protectionist pressures. As a result, my own country is suffering from serious economic problems, as are most industrialized countries. But we realize that hundreds of millions of people of the third world would be happy to deal with our problems instead of daily fighting their problems of hunger and poverty.

256. The present economic recession has, perhaps more clearly than previous periods during which there has been economic growth, demonstrated the interdependence of our economies. More specifically, it has made us realize better than ever that the economic development of developing countries has a profound and indispensable impact on the growth of the world economy and thereby also on the growth of industrialized countries. I have no doubt that if a number of developing countries had not kept up their economic activities—partly through heavy borrowing—the economic situation of industrialized countries would have been even more serious than it now is.

257. In the report of the Brandt Commission⁶ the interdependence and common interests have been described very convincingly, and the Danish Government supports the major thrust of that report and hopes that its findings will be duly taken into account in our deliberations here at the United Nations on North-South issues.

258. Denmark strongly believes that it is in the common interest of all countries that a new and more equitable international economic order be developed. We regret that progress towards the establishment of new economic relations has been unsatisfactory. In our view

⁶North-South: A program for survival; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

the recession is no excuse for going back on efforts to improve the situation of hundreds of millions of people of the world who are living in absolute poverty. The Brandt Commission has rightly pointed out that the world's military spending dwarfs any spending on development. Total military expenditures are approaching \$450 billion a year, while annual spending on official development aid is only \$20 billion.

259. But, of course, in evaluating the past it is also important to recognize the progress that has taken place. I could point to the recent successful conclusion of the negotiations on the establishment of a Common Fund for Commodities. Progress has also been made in the field of trade. We do, however, realize that the results of the multilateral trade negotiations do not fully meet the expectations of the developing countries.

260. Considering the dim prospects for the future for all of us, I find it extremely important that at this session we reach agreements that can give new impetus to the North-South dialogue. We should at this session lay the foundation for a productive dialogue and for measures to enhance global development, and in particular the accelerated development of the developing countries.

261. The concept of a new round of global negotiations is to be welcomed in this regard as it encompasses all the major elements on which global economic growth is dependent. It is, as conceived at present, well suited for tackling the most pressing issues on the economic scene today. Let me just mention issues like recycling, protectionism and access to markets, trends and predictability in the energy market, the growing food problems and other development problems. In our view, we should all do our utmost to ensure that the global negotiations will be successful. I can assure you of active and constructive efforts on the part of Denmark, and we would expect that others would participate in the same spirit.

262. The organization of the new round of global negotiations has been discussed in detail, and we hope that agreement will be reached at this special session. Agreement on procedures before the actual negotiations start is, in our view, a precondition for success.

263. We agree that the central organ, be it a conference or be it something different, will have a role of its own to play. This will involve negotiations on fundamental and broad areas not dealt with in their totality elsewhere in the United Nations system, such as official development assistance, recycling, and energy-related items, as well as co-ordinating and guiding functions for the negotiations as a whole.

264. We also believe that the specialized forums, considering their expertise and competence, should be fully utilized in the treatment of the specific items which over the years have been entrusted to those forums. If the new round of global negotiations is organized in this way, I am confident that it will be possible to arrive at positive results for all participants.

265. I have several times stressed the importance that the Danish Government attaches to an accelerated social and economic development of the developing countries. This special session is expected to adopt a new international development strategy for the 1980s with the aim of promoting such development. I should like to stress that in our view we should be careful not to let our preoccupation with the global negotiations result in attaching lesser importance to the strategy.

266. Accelerated development of the developing countries is the overall purpose of the North-South dialogue,

and the strategy should serve as the global framework for all countries in promoting this aim. We should seek to ensure that the strategy will contain commitments by all parties to make renewed efforts during the decade to promote the development of developing countries, and especially to improve the living conditions of all those people who live in absolute poverty. Much work has already been done in drafting the new strategy, but a number of questions will have to be solved at this session.

267. In the view of my delegation, one of the most crucial questions regarding the strategy is that of the volume of official development assistance. At the close of the Second United Nations Development Decade, we are faced with the disturbing fact that only four industrialized countries have reached the 0.7 per cent target that was set for the Decade. Most other developed donor countries, including some of the wealthiest, are lagging sadly behind that target. It is my impression that the developing countries—and rightly so—regard the willingness of the industrialized countries to render development assistance as one of the most important expressions of solidarity with the third world and its struggle to achieve development. I must therefore very strongly urge that all industrialized countries—including the socialist countries—commit themselves in the strategy we are about to adopt to serious endeavours to increase official development assistance substantially so that they can reach the 0.7 per cent target within the next few years. However, our ambition should not stop there: 1 per cent must be reached within the foreseeable future.

268. We are satisfied to note that the new international development strategy places strong emphasis on the special problems of the poorest developing countries, including the least developed among them. It will indeed be one of the major tasks of the coming decade to alleviate the intolerable burden borne by these countries. My delegation attaches great importance to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries and would strongly endorse the view that an increasing share of official development assistance be channelled to the poorest countries in the context of the overall increase in such assistance that must result from the adoption of the new strategy.

269. Denmark hopes that a solution will be found to the question of official development assistance, as well as to the other outstanding issues, so as to enable this special session to adopt the new international development strategy for the 1980s, thereby accomplishing an important task. By doing so we will also be able to demonstrate the crucial and unique role of the United Nations in the North-South dialogue.

270. Development assistance can never be an aim in itself. Transfer of resources from the industrialized countries to the third world must be seen in a wider context. Development assistance should contribute to the elimination of tensions in our world. Not least, our endeavours must be directed towards the individual human being. Man, wherever he lives on our globe, has the right to live in dignity and freedom. By this I mean freedom from hunger and exploitation.

271. Many of us have come to this session with expectations. Let us together turn the expectations into reality.

272. Mr. FRANÇOIS-PONCET (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to begin by greeting you, Mr. President, and telling you how delighted I am

to see you directing the work of the eleventh special session.

273. During talks recently held in Paris, we raised many of the problems that are to be discussed here over the next few days. I am convinced that, under your prudent guidance and with your wide experience, the results of our work will be both fruitful and constructive.

274. Before considering these problems, I am pleased to express to the young State of Zimbabwe, through its Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, my country's warm congratulations on the occasion of Zimbabwe's admission to the United Nations.

275. This historic event has long been awaited by our Organization. We are all the more pleased that it should have occurred as the outcome of a democratic process which does honour to Zimbabwe and which underscores the merit of elections: enabling each and every citizen freely to express his opinion.

276. Preceded by a prolonged and bitter struggle, the independence of Zimbabwe did not become possible until the day when all parties to the conflict recognized that they had to work together to bring about a peaceful settlement. Its success was due also to the perseverance of Great Britain in its efforts to complete its mission of emancipation successfully, as well as to the attitude of co-operation and sense of responsibility of neighbouring countries.

277. The results already obtained by the Government of Zimbabwe are remarkable. France here renews its wishes for the success of the new State, to which it pledges its solidarity.

278. The presence of so many eminent personalities in this hall does not merely attest to the importance that each of our countries attaches to the work of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly and to the problems of development it is to examine. It also reflects—perhaps above all—the two sentiments that motivate us: our concern over the world economic situation and our resolve to act to initiate appropriate solutions.

279. We are all concerned.

280. How could it be otherwise? The world economic crisis is exacting a toll from which no country is exempt. The forecasts that can be made for the future show that the present difficulties are far from being transitory and will, in fact, leave their mark on the entire decade.

281. Equally disturbing is the recognition that the negotiations pursued over the past few years in various international bodies, including the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, have produced disappointing results indeed. Let us have the courage to make a clear-sighted assessment: although the situation calls for vigorous, integrated action, the discussions which have taken place, discussions which were to define the direction and content of that action, have reached a deadlock.

282. This is why one resolve fills our minds: to refuse to be discouraged, to overcome the lack of comprehension, to dispel misunderstandings and to get the negotiations moving again; in short, to demonstrate our determination. The international community cannot afford another failure. We all share this conviction because each of us has assessed the importance of what is at stake.

283. Mr. Thorn, the acting President of the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community, has expressed very clearly the Community's concerns and its position on this point [see 3rd meeting, paras. 50-88], to which we fully subscribe.

284. For its part, France is resolved to participate in the collective effort with the conviction and commitment that have been the hallmark of its policy from the start with regard to the problems of development. I should like to recall that France took the initiative for organizing the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, held from 30 May to 2 June 1977 in Paris, that it played a part in the successful conclusion of the negotiations on the Common Fund and that it has built up active and trustful co-operation with many countries in the third world.

285. My Government is convinced not only that it is necessary, but that it is possible successfully to complete the onerous task incumbent on this special session and to arrive at agreements on the questions before it.

286. It is certainly not our purpose to deny the difficulties; they are substantial and numerous. Our purpose is to define the conditions that may enable us to surmount them. For my part, I can see three of them.

287. The first is that we must endeavour to formulate an objective joint analysis of the world economic situation in order to transcend the partisan interpretations that are current, thus putting an end to sterile debates.

288. Secondly, we must affirm a clear-cut, strong, political determination, the determination to establish a new international economic order.

289. Finally, we must foster this new order through concrete, joint and realistic action.

290. I should like to outline exactly what France means by these three points.

291. With regard to an objective analysis of the world economic crisis, there is fairly general agreement on the symptoms of the crisis. Each of us basically recognizes three aspects:

292. First, the slowdown in economic growth, which is its most disturbing feature because it puts a direct brake on development, impedes the solution to all other problems and affects all States, even if some developing countries have until now preserved above-average growth rates.

293. Secondly, inflation, which has been endemic for a number of years and which has spread and swelled to the point of becoming a major problem.

294. Finally there is the abrupt and divergent evolution in balances of payments: we know that the oil-producing countries' predicted \$115 billion surplus for 1980 must be seen against a \$47 billion deficit in the industrialized countries and, especially, a \$68 billion deficit in the developing countries, which is overwhelming for the poorest countries.

295. Three observations and a conclusion will complete this deliberately simplified picture of the common factors in our analyses.

296. The first observation is that the crisis affects every member of the international community, the industrialized countries as well as the developing countries, the socialist States as well as those with market economies.

297. The second observation is that the crisis is felt much more severely in those countries with the most fragile structures that are suffering simultaneously from the twin shocks of higher prices for oil products and higher prices for industrial products.

298. The third observation is that the indebtedness of a great many developing countries, which had enabled them after 1973 to continue their own growth and, through their purchases, to maintain the international

economic situation, is gradually becoming a cause of weakness and a further curb on growth.

299. As for the conclusion, it is obvious, and I do not think it can be questioned: prolonging the present situation entails the clear danger of deterioration. It is therefore urgent and consistent with the interests of all to initiate actions that are suitable, rapid and concrete.

300. This is as far as we can go in the analysis on which our countries agree. The causes and nature of the crisis—which, admittedly, no one can claim to be a crisis of the economic climate alone—are the subject of divergent interpretations. I shall mention only the three main ones.

301. The first interpretation attributes our troubles to the sharp increase in the price of energy. While this increase has, in the opinion of my Government, been excessive in terms of its amount and pace, it would obviously be wrong to assume that this alone is responsible for the crisis. We for our part do not deny the effects of the slack monetary and budgetary policies of too many industrialized countries.

302. The second explanation is the opposite of the first. It blames the industrialized countries alone for the crisis, because of their allegedly egocentric development and their unbridled appetite for consumption—as if the dynamism of the industrialized countries was not an essential factor in world economic growth.

303. And now for the third interpretation, which attributes the cause of our difficulties to the market economy and its supposed bankruptcy. This interpretation would carry more weight if it appeared that the countries expounding it were themselves avoiding the effects of the crisis; it would be received with less suspicion if it did not emanate from a group of States that devote only a minimal proportion of their national product to development aid and admit only a scant amount of third world exports.

304. There is very little point in these contradictory theories. They lead to sterile and paralysing debates. In most cases, they provide an excuse for the people who advance such theories to do nothing at all. They merely serve to justify lack of action and selfishness by foisting responsibility for the crisis on someone else.

305. Therefore, rather than making accusations or singling out culprits, let us acknowledge the two obvious pieces of evidence that can be expressed briefly.

306. First, responsibilities are shared and the action has to be a joint and integrated undertaking.

307. Secondly, in order to implement appropriate policy and far-reaching action to help developing countries, the full participation of three categories of countries is required: the industrialized countries with market economies, which, by following rigorous budgetary and monetary policies, by conserving oil and developing new energy sources, by permitting wider access to their markets and facilitating the required industrial adaptation, must re-establish the bases for a healthy and sober growth open to the world; the industrialized socialist countries, which no dialectics can exempt from their duty to make a dual effort both towards aid and towards opening up their markets; and finally the oil-exporting countries, which have important responsibilities not only with regard to energy supplies and prices, but also in the financial domain, by virtue of the considerable and ever-increasing means at the disposal of some of those countries.

308. We shall not be able to extricate ourselves from the crisis unless each acknowledges his responsibilities and each pulls his own weight. This is the first point I

wanted to discuss before our Assembly. The second is equally fundamental. We shall make headway in the present session and in the ensuing negotiations only if we are motivated by a clear and firm political determination: the determination to establish a new international economic order.

309. It will not suffice to reorganize the existing system with a few makeshift provisions; still less to settle for the drafting of temporary solutions or simply to administer short-term relief. What we must do is acknowledge a fact that is both simple and obvious: the economic order instituted at the end of the Second World War is in disarray. It no longer functions satisfactorily, either for those who today challenge its principles, or for those—such as France—who originally designed it.

310. Having duly noted this fact, we must now act accordingly by laying the foundations for a different order. In his address of 28 October 1975—an address that remains as up-to-date and relevant as ever—the President of France, Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, described that order, defined the principles on which it should be founded and analysed the changes it would bring to the present economic system. I should like to quote just one passage from it here. He said that

“A world order should not constitute a victory for some countries over others, achieved by taking advantage of temporary power relationships. Rather it must be a victory of mankind over itself.”

311. This is, I think, an appropriate definition of the only frame of mind, the only mode of conduct, that can enable us to progress towards the prime objective we have set ourselves, infinitely ambitious and complex as it is. It is not certain that we shall be able at this stage to work out an agreement on all the principles and mechanisms of the order that we intend to build. If we are motivated by a new determination for solidarity, it should be possible to lay down a direction to follow, to map out a route, and to determine those areas where action may already be usefully undertaken, even if it has to be pursued and completed later on.

312. There are five areas which I believe deserve our special attention, not only because of their importance but also because—in spite of the difficulties these areas raised in the Committee of the Whole—I am convinced they can be the subject of converging proposals and should hence figure in the agenda for global negotiations.

313. The first area is improving the purchasing power of the developing countries. Progress has been made with the setting up of the Common Fund, but the main task is still ahead, whether through the conclusion of a growing number of international commodity agreements or through promoting other actions enabling developing countries to stabilize their export earnings and to enhance the value of their products.

314. The second area is energy. No one can seriously question the fact that energy is one of the keys to world economic development. It poses problems which need to be solved by the oil-producing countries, by the industrialized States, and by the international community itself.

315. The first must assume the responsibilities that have fallen to them for the functioning of the world economy. As to the industrialized countries, they must apply a strict policy of conservation and carry out the research and investment required for developing new sources of energy. France has already set out along this path. Beginning in 1973, it commenced an unusually

large programme, the results of which are beginning to show. It will continue and intensify that programme during the present decade.

316. The international community's role is to make more funds available to create an environment favourable for exploration and development of energy sources in the developing countries.

317. Lastly, the eventual setting up of a forum for reflection and debate should be looked upon favourably, for I am convinced that it is consistent with the common interest, which is to make prices and supplies of energy more predictable in the future.

318. The third area is the development of international trade. This requires all countries to fight against protectionism in its various forms and to implement adjustment policies for their industrial structures. In this respect, I particularly want to state that my country will honour the commitments it has made with its European Community partners, and that it is making and will perseveringly continue to make an effort to adjust its production structures to the changes brought about by the needed industrialization of the third world.

319. The fourth area is increased official development assistance. In the case of many countries with no possibility of falling back on other financial resources, official assistance is the *sine qua non* for progress, especially in the present crisis. It is natural therefore that this question should be central to the discussions on the development strategy for the new decade. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy for his efforts; they have gone a long way towards preparing the ground. The points that still need to be settled are few in number. Admittedly, however, they concern important problems, in particular the setting of target figures for aid, to which the developed countries must subscribe. As far as France is concerned, it reaffirms its commitment to reach an official development assistance target of 0.7 per cent of its gross national product and subscribes to the idea of setting a time-frame for attaining it.

320. France has recently made a substantial effort in this area and we are counting on all the other developed countries, whether or not they have a market economy, to do likewise.

321. The fifth area is the strengthening of the role played by international monetary and financial institutions. There is a widespread concern to see intervention by those institutions better adapted to the specific problems of the developing countries. This concern is shared by France.

322. If the political resolve to establish a new international economic order exists, and if agreement can be reached on the areas in which progress towards that objective is necessary and feasible, it would be unthinkable that disagreements on procedure should hamper or delay the opening of negotiations that we all feel constitute a decisive stage in the future of North-South relations. These negotiations should clearly affirm our joint determination to found the relations between developed and developing countries on new bases. At the end of the negotiations, the ministers should themselves express this political resolve through unanimous agreement. In so doing, they will commit their Governments to implementing the provisions of that agreement.

323. Each State will then have to take the steps required to transform the conclusions of the negotiations into realities. The appropriate organs of the United Nations system for their part will have to make

the decisions incumbent upon them in accordance with their statutes and with the agreements they have with the United Nations.

324. I have spoken of the questions that must be solved so that global negotiations can commence in January. I hope that I have convinced my audience that my Government views these negotiations with the open-mindedness and the political resolve required to ensure their success.

325. In what I have said I have deliberately restricted myself to the main problems that raised differences of opinion during the preparatory work. Clearly, however, if the new international economic order is to be established, we shall have to take into account the concrete facts upon which that order must be built.

326. I should like quickly to mention three of them.

327. First is the human dimension of these problems, for our efforts have no meaning unless they are directed towards improving the lot of mankind and, first and foremost, the lot of those stricken by hunger and poverty.

328. Next are the geographical realities. These orient and shape development potential.

329. Lastly, the emergency situations. These call for rapid action.

330. We cannot ignore these concrete facts and must take account of them when drafting a new international economic order.

331. Hunger and malnutrition in various forms are rampant in many regions. There will be no development unless these scourges are eradicated.

332. In the first place, however, we must cope with extreme and sudden crises, with tragedy that breaks out abruptly, as in Uganda where famine has reached calamitous proportions. France, through emergency action, employing rapid means, is trying with other countries and international organizations to attenuate the consequences of that tragedy, as it has done in other instances. It believes, however, that the international community should acquire the means needed to respond quickly and effectively when tragedies such as that occur.

333. The resources of the International Emergency Reserve should be increased, and France has decided to increase the volume of its contribution very substantially as of this year. In addition, we propose the creation of an emergency transportation task force under the aegis of the United Nations, and France is ready to contribute to its establishment.

334. The main point, however, is to increase agricultural production in countries where such needs exist through long-term broad-scale action designed to put existing or developing technology at the disposal of the countries themselves. In this respect we welcome the new perspectives that open up to the 32 countries that are drafting national strategies for agricultural development. We provide assistance to those that have requested it and we are ready to increase our effort.

335. Yet, until such policies produce results, food aid will remain a necessity. Beginning next year, France, which together with its partners in the European Community took part in the negotiations for a new convention on food aid, will increase its contributions in this area by 30 per cent. However, aid must not lead to dependence. The developing countries that continue to be importers of foodstuffs must therefore be brought to a point where they are able to increase their export earnings and hence finance those purchases. The stabiliza-

tion of the prices of raw materials and the increase in sales of industrial products should play their part in this. Both industrialization and the development of agricultural production are necessary in order to ensure that development enjoys the solid basis and the independence it requires.

336. The fight against hunger is a fight against poverty, but it is only a limited aspect of the immense effort that must be made. The World Bank's *World Development Report* has recently drawn attention to the gravity and extent of the problem and has outlined certain solutions to it.

337. I am aware that some people, while recognizing the seriousness of this situation, fear that by stressing poverty we may divert attention from the main problems raised by the establishment of a new international economic order. Having stated the importance that my Government attaches to building that order, I should like now to underline the effort it is prepared to make on behalf of countries whose scant resources, very slim earnings or unfavourable geographical position place them among the most deprived States. Their difficulties are specific, and the aid that ought to be given to them should, in our view, have priority. My delegation therefore attaches great importance to the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries sponsored by UNCTAD, to which my country is willing to act as host in Paris in 1981. We shall work with conviction for its success.

338. As does the human dimension, the geographical realities impose their own requirements and their own priorities. They underline the identity, diversity and importance of the regional framework. They suggest that we should not try to solve all the problems on a world-wide level or provide the impetus for their settlement from one centre. This is common sense, and a growing number of countries are coming to recognize it for themselves. France knows this from its experience in the European Economic Community, which has become a fundamental factor for prosperity, stability and peace in Europe.

339. Other countries have embarked on the same path. The strengthening and success of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the West African Economic Community, and the Andean Pact attest to this development. Two recent initiatives underscore this in a particularly interesting way: first, that of the Economic Summit Conference of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Lagos in April, which approved a plan of economic action for the continent, the first of its kind ever to be drafted, and, secondly, the initiative taken by Mexico and Venezuela in guaranteeing the oil supply of a number of neighbouring Central American and Caribbean States and making available to them part of the corresponding earnings.

340. These new instances of solidarity reflect a much more widespread aspiration that is prompting the countries of the South to step up co-operation among themselves to avoid economic development founded too exclusively on North-South trade leading to disequilibrium and dependence. We understand and approve of the direction taken. Regional co-operation is, in our eyes, one facet of the new international economic order and does not run counter to the strengthening of ties among neighbouring regions. That is why the European Community and 58 countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific have established an exemplary economic co-operation. In the same spirit, we should like to see intensified relations of every description between

Europe, Africa and the Arab world, natural partners in a "dialogue" based on economic imperatives, cultural affinities and historical ties.

341. A moment ago I mentioned emergency situations, those which reflect pressing needs and call for rapid intervention. These are problems that the Secretary-General focused on in his recent address to the Economic and Social Council.⁷ He stressed the need to adopt significant measures in order to attenuate the effects of the crisis on those who are suffering from it the most.

342. The examination of these proposals should not, of course—and I wish to stress this—divert our attention from the principal task before us. I refer to the preparation of the global negotiations.

343. However, I believe these proposals are going in the right direction. It is true that a number of developing countries are experiencing critical situations and that urgent action is needed.

344. The appropriate initiative taken by the World Bank in the area of financing energy investments should be extended. Likewise, the International Monetary Fund should give the developing countries easier and earlier access to its facilities under conditions that are more in keeping with the reality of those countries' situations.

345. The Secretary-General suggests, furthermore, an increase in official development assistance. His proposals deserve careful study. Two considerations should, it seems to me, guide us here. On the one hand, the needs of the most deprived countries, especially the least developed, have a priority that should be acknowledged. On the other hand, in the case of an exceptional contribution, every country that is in a position to do so should participate; the Western countries, the social-list countries and the oil-producing countries alike. The urgency of the appeal should be matched by the solidarity of the effort.

346. I should like to conclude by expressing two firm beliefs.

347. The first is that none of the problems before us is insoluble. There is nothing to warrant scepticism nor is there anything that might excuse discouragement. The hour has come for imagination and determination. I am convinced that we shall lack neither.

348. The second is that over and above the current difficulties—and I do not underestimate their dimensions or potential for deterioration—the future will be what we choose to make it. In spite of the crisis, we are witnessing the rapid development of a number of third-world countries, the sustained increase of international trade, the establishment of zones of monetary stability and the strengthening of regional solidarities. These developments prove that a favourable evolution is within our reach. It is our task to transform these signs of hope into a reality, the reality of a new international order, one that is more just, more consistent with the common interests of North and South and, above all, more worthy of what mankind expects of itself.

349. Mr. MacGUIGAN (Canada): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of this special session of the General Assembly.

350. Next, I should like to associate myself with all those who have already welcomed Zimbabwe to the

⁷See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Plenary Meetings, 24th meeting, paras. 7-30.*

Assembly. As a fellow-member of the Commonwealth, Canada has participated in Zimbabwe's recent evolution to freedom and independence. Personally, one of my first actions as the new Foreign Minister was to attend the Zimbabwe Independence Day celebration in Salisbury in April, and I am happy to have the opportunity now to welcome Zimbabwe among these United Nations. Since I represent a member of the Commonwealth, it is perhaps understandable that I regard these events as a particular achievement of the Commonwealth and, in this context, of the responsiveness and the responsibility shown by the United Kingdom.

351. We are here to consider our future—not just the future of the developing world but the future of all of us, developed and developing countries together. There can be no real peace in the world so long as almost 1 billion people live in the helplessness of absolute poverty. There can be no enduring stability so long as many nations remain dangerously vulnerable to economic uncertainty. There can be no meaningful security so long as the poorer countries remain unable to meet the development aspirations of their people.

352. In candour we have to admit that too often we have permitted ourselves, as Governments, to become caught up in the short-term difficulties of our individual political and economic situations to the neglect of longer-term global objectives. Too many of us have viewed international development as a matter of charity, rather than recognizing that progress and improvement in one part of this interdependent world benefit everyone.

353. For example, the adaptation of the world trade and payments system to promote accelerated growth in developing countries is to the benefit of all. To attempt to preserve entrenched privilege is by far the costliest approach in anything but the shortest term, compounding our problems for the future and resulting in further insecurity and instability.

354. I propose to exercise the candour I spoke of not only on behalf of the Canadians I represent but also, before the end of my address, to them.

355. The circumstances in which this special session is taking place are not those which prevailed five years ago when the seventh special session achieved agreement on such important overall goals as trade, transfer of resources, technology and food. At that time we believed that we had enhanced our sensitivity to the problems of the developing countries and to our interdependence as nations. But in the intervening period we have made insufficient progress in moving towards our goals or in resolving North-South problems. A number of explanations have been offered for this lack of action, some valid, others specious.

356. In a number of industrialized countries, for example, the blame has been laid on economic recession and inflation. This, however, ignores some rather basic truths. We have to admit that, although all industrialized countries have suffered severe economic problems, not all have neglected their obligations to the developing world. Such an excuse also overlooks the possibility that our failure to achieve more balanced global development may itself have contributed in no small measure to the factors that have fed the recession. There also remain so far unfulfilled hopes for tangible evidence of the concern of the countries of the Eastern bloc for third-world development. Their excuses for failing to do more do not ring true.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

357. It has been said that military expenditures have made a greater development effort impossible. That epitomizes the absurdity of a situation in which the nations of the world last year spent more than \$450 billion on armaments and only some \$30 billion on official aid to developing countries.

358. Since the last major price increase for petroleum, there has been relatively little recycling of revenues of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to developing countries, despite the amassing of sizable surpluses. We realize that some oil-exporting countries have encountered difficulties as a result of rising costs in other areas of the world. But, surely, this suggests the wisdom of a greater involvement by OPEC as a group in efforts to improve our international financial system.

359. Finally, a number of developing countries must themselves accept a share of the responsibility. It is difficult for developed countries to generate public support for increased aid when some developing countries have failed to build structures and programmes which can ensure an adequate level of social justice in the distribution of the benefits that result from international aid.

360. In fairness, however, it is also true that certain economic and political developments have impeded our ability to implement the objectives agreed to five years ago by both developed and developing countries. In the developed countries, the combined effects of economic stagnation and inflation have persisted to a degree we could not then foresee. The impact of this on the goals of developing countries has been severe, as has the burden of price increases on petroleum-importing developing countries. Both national and international economies have also had to absorb the costs of increasing waves of refugees in various parts of the world. That could scarcely have been foreseen five years ago.

361. I also believe that we have been impeded by our use of unwieldy methods of negotiating in global forums the complex issues affecting the international development process. In that regard, Canada feels that the methods we used five years ago to reach general global agreements are not necessarily appropriate today. At that time we were attempting to achieve comprehensive and fairly generalized agreements on a number of broad policy objectives. Today we are called on to translate those generalized agreements into concrete economic results. As a result, different methods of negotiation need to be found, methods which take account, for example, of the development prospects of individual countries, of the situation of individual countries as exporters or importers of energy, as exporters or importers of manufactured products, and as producers or consumers of commodities, as well as of capacities to achieve greater self-sufficiency in food. Canada will therefore do its utmost in the forthcoming negotiations to go beyond generalized approaches and into the specific opportunities each area of consideration offers.

362. Because all the subjects proposed for the agenda of the global negotiations cannot be simultaneously examined, it is essential that we select the most urgent for intensive consideration. I should like briefly to review a number of key problems.

363. The most compelling of the challenges remains the plight of the world's poorest people, almost 1 billion of whom live on the borderline of human existence. This is unacceptable and intolerable to the global conscience. We must ensure that these people have access to the most fundamental of human requirements: food, shel-

ter, health care, sanitation, clean water, and education—things that all human beings have a right to expect. The draft international development strategy identifies qualitative goals for these requirements, to which we all subscribe: to prolong life expectancy, to end illiteracy, to enhance health standards and to improve nutrition. But there must also be quantitative goals for the poorest countries. They need material assistance and, of necessity, it must come from those which are richer. To launch such a war on world poverty, we shall need widespread public awareness of the necessity of these goals, a subject which I shall touch on later in my remarks.

364. For many other developing countries, the higher the level of development, the more complex the problems become—problems considered in the draft agenda for the global negotiations. Again, however, generalized proposals will make little impact on the real economic situations that prevail. For that reason, Canada encourages the use of the relevant specialized forums of the United Nations system in the global negotiations. In that way, we can explore in depth the questions of trade, finance and food so that the full force of international instruments can be applied to help the developing countries.

365. Nowhere does the importance of predictability apply more than in the fields of commodities and raw materials. While the establishment of the Common Fund represents a major achievement in this regard, it does not in itself solve our commodity trading problems. We also need to focus on the specific problems of individual commodities. Although industrial diversification may help avoid economic dependence on the export earnings of one or a few commodities, it is a complex process. It depends on more assured access to finance, to technology and to markets, and on astute management in making difficult choices. It is a long-term process which requires perfecting.

366. In the past five years, the gap in the availability of financing has widened dramatically and dangerously. In particular, the impact of increased oil prices on the finances of developing countries has caused severe dislocations. In such a situation, the smooth recycling of oil revenues will be to the benefit of everyone, both importers and exporters of oil. In this process, I believe we should encourage the adaptation of the international lending institutions to the needs of both oil exporters and oil importers. If necessary, we could explore new approaches. We could, for example, consider altering the gearing ratio of the World Bank to enable it to mobilize additional resources, while retaining its present capital base.

367. In adapting international institutions to meet new needs, we should not ignore the vital roles that they are already able to play. It is encouraging that IMF is assuming an increased role in the recycling process. That is an important development, one that could be crucial for all countries that have serious deficit problems, and particularly the developing countries. The increased flexibility demonstrated by IMF recently, notably through the relaxation of lending limits and adjustment time, is noteworthy. Those recent moves, coupled with the increased co-ordination between the World Bank and the Fund in their programmes to assist countries with serious balance of payments difficulties, are trends which Canada will strive to promote.

368. We must also intensify the consultation process between oil exporters and oil importers. We can understand why exporting countries do not want to make long-term commitments for their oil without receiving

counterpart assurances about resolving their own economic and financial concerns. But we must continue to search for methods of improving predictability in our system, or it will cease to function. Concomitantly, we must intensify our search for new and alternative energy sources, particularly renewable sources.

369. Access to technology—along with financing and human resources—is one of the basic tools of development. But in sharing technology, we should search for more imaginative approaches. Bilateral, trilateral or regional co-operation offers promise. Canada's own experience in this regard may be of interest to third-world countries, since we are both importers of technology and a host country to transnational corporations in this field. My country hopes we shall have the opportunity to extend our activities in promoting joint ventures with developing countries, based particularly on technology associated with resource-based, developing economies.

370. Access to markets is of great importance to developing countries. We hope that these countries will make better use of the benefits which resulted from the Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations. At the same time, the developed countries have to resist pressures for protectionist measures. Instead, they should look hard at facilitating access to their markets for imports from developing countries, a step which can ultimately benefit their own consumers. Here again, some structural adjustments will be needed, and public opinion in the North must be helped to recognize that the expansion of the economies of developing countries is in the long run in the direct interest of developed countries.

371. Food security is another major issue on the agenda of the global negotiations. If we do nothing, the combined food deficit of the developing countries will have increased between three-fold and four-fold by 1990. We must reach agreement on ways of achieving increased food productivity within the developing countries, as well as adequate population policies.

372. I have already referred to the level of world expenditures on armaments. As the Brandt Commission so dramatically illustrated, the build-up of arms is a threat to more than our safety and security. The enormous expenditures directed to their manufacture and sale pitifully dwarf the funds made available for development and economic justice in the world, and it may well be that the resulting deprivation will give rise to fears even more destructive than those arising from the deprivation of civil and political rights.

373. Before closing, I wish to make some general remarks on Canada's perception of its role both in this special session and in the important negotiating process which lies ahead. In many ways, our national history and culture—and our relative youth—have given us a consciousness of many of the realities of both North and South. Nature has blessed us with an abundance of resources that has enabled us to take a place as one of the world's more industrialized nations. But we remain a heavy exporter of natural resources and an importer of capital and technology; hence we share many of the concerns of the developing countries about the operation of the international system in these areas. Canadians know that our emergence from colonial status could well have proven to be long and costly had we not had available to us the resources on which to build a stable society for a free and independent people. Today, we feel we owe the same opportunities to those States of the world less well endowed by nature or history, so that they may have access to the resources necessary for their orderly growth and social progress.

374. At the outset I said that I would direct my candour to my fellow-countrymen as well as on their behalf. We have not been fully aware, they and I, of the depth and extent of human misery and need and, as a result, our policies have not been fully adequate. I pledge myself to become more aware and to help my fellow Canadians become aware of the needs of our fellow citizens of the earth. I am confident that, granted that awareness, we shall rise to the challenge. I am convinced that this campaign for awareness will first sensitize and then mobilize public opinion in my country to support policies necessary for Canada's full participation in the solution of these problems. If others in the North were to take up the same cause, we could guide the course of history. In the words of Mr. Willy Brandt, quoted this morning by the President of Bangladesh in his perceptive and creative address [see 3rd meeting, para. 45]: "The shaping of our common future is much too important to be left to governments and experts alone".

375. My Government, since its election earlier this year, has been actively reviewing its policies on North-South issues and looking for new approaches. In an effort to achieve all-party consensus, we have also established a Parliamentary Task Force on North-South Relations, whose members are present here today. I believe this Task Force can make an important contribution in helping to identify policy options and in mustering public support.

376. In our campaign for awareness in Canada, I intend to appeal particularly to the altruism and idealism of youth, who in any event have the most at stake. We shall also create a futures secretariat under the Canadian International Development Agency, with the primary mandate of promoting activities to inform and involve our citizens, at many levels, in the great issues with which we have to grapple here. While my Government is prepared to bear the major part of the cost of this initiative, we hope that the business community, universities, professional institutions and voluntary associations will seize the opportunity to co-operate in this endeavour.

377. These initiatives need not be confined to Canada. We are prepared to work with developed and developing countries to create a more hospitable climate for the kind of international action that will be necessary if we are to rid our world of poverty and to create a better life for every human being.

378. We shall make every effort to ensure as well that important North-South problems are given greater attention and urgent consideration internationally. In the councils of the industrial countries we intend to be outspoken. In negotiations with the South we shall do all we can to promote practical solutions to pressing problems. In response to the proposal of the Brandt Commission for a summit meeting on North-South issues, we have made it known that we would support such a meeting if it commanded international support and was intended not for rhetorical exchanges but rather to focus the perspective of Heads of Government and to reinforce the global negotiations. The fact that Canada will act as host in 1981 to the economic summit conference of seven industrial countries will also give us the opportunity, which was agreed at the Venice Summit Conference of 22-23 June 1980, to make the problems of developing countries the primary subject of attention.

379. In short, we do not intend to shun our responsibility, and we pray that others will not shun theirs. If we are to survive the coming decades, to avoid growing

recrimination and hostility, to rid our world of poverty and economic injustice and to create a better life for every human person, the nations of the world must become united—United Nations not merely in name but in genuine co-operation towards mutually beneficial ends. Let us initiate that process now, at this session.

380. Mr. ULLSTEN (Sweden): Zimbabwe has now become a Member of the United Nations, and I want at the outset to extend our congratulations and our welcome. The independence of Zimbabwe, won after a long and courageous struggle and democratic elections, has given us all new hope. The determined efforts of the country under the leadership of the Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe, have impressed the world. There is now hope that that conflict-stricken country will be able to devote all its energy and talent to development. What has happened in Zimbabwe has also raised our hopes for rapid independence for Namibia and rapid change in South Africa.

381. The world is moving deeper into crisis, and the question before us is whether we can change the dangerous direction in which we are now heading. East-West détente is in crisis; the arrogance of a super-Power is demonstrated in Afghanistan; the arms race is reaching new catastrophic levels; the energy crisis has upset the world economy; unemployment is reaching new record figures; a crisis in food supply is again a risk; the international payment system is facing dangers; those who can least afford it, the poorest countries, are facing a development crisis; and inflation is growing.

382. Do we have the collective political will and the negotiating talent to master this situation? For a long time it has been recognized that all States are dependent upon each other. It is high time that the policy conclusions which flow from this be drawn. The ways in which nations respond individually and jointly to the crisis will decide whether we shall move towards tension or détente, towards deeper recession or a resumption of real growth.

383. Human solidarity requires that all share the responsibility to the hundreds of millions of people who have the right to emerge from abject poverty. The industrialized countries bear a heavy responsibility to the large numbers of their own people whose jobs and well-being are jeopardized. The super-Powers have the responsibility to resume a dialogue that will pull the world back from the brink of disaster.

384. What is needed in the economic sphere is agreement among us on answers and action. Such agreement is certainly not easy in the face of conflicting political ambitions and competing conceptual approaches. Yet basic elements of the analysis and the answers are available to all who want to have them.

385. The Brandt Commission's report builds squarely on the awareness of the interdependence of North and South and draws political conclusions from it. What the report has told the world is neither startlingly new nor original. The most remarkable feature of the report is that it has been submitted jointly by a group of members with widely different backgrounds and political domiciles. That synthesis is remarkable, and we pay a tribute to Mr. Brandt, who brought it about.

386. It is now for Governments, I submit, to discuss to what extent the consensus in the Brandt Commission can be transferred to the intergovernmental level and transformed into agreement. A summit meeting early next year, as suggested by the Brandt Commission, might well be needed to acknowledge that North-South relations must receive attention at the highest political

levels, and to give impetus to negotiations. What we need is a dynamic approach that takes the world forward and builds on the awareness that our problems can be overcome only through joint and co-ordinated action. Fending for ourselves in times of recession is risky for all.

387. The idea of bringing about change in the world economic order in favour of the developing countries has remained empty rhetoric in too many quarters. References to lack of public support are not good excuses. It is, indeed, the duty of political leaders to convey to their electorate indispensable knowledge about the need to extend aid, about the dangers of protectionism and isolationism, and about the usefulness and necessity of interaction. It is their duty to explain that East and West, North and South are interdependent in the maintenance of peace and the maintenance of a healthy world economy. If that duty is not fulfilled, there may, indeed, arise popular pressures for short-term policies which might appear advantageous to some but which are in reality disastrous for all. We shall then face a downward spiral in the world economy instead of an upward surge, a dangerous disintegration instead of dynamic development. The alternative to co-operation is a shrinking world economy.

388. The present world crisis, which threatens peace, impedes development, and jeopardizes jobs, has several components.

389. First, in a world that cries for more resources, for technical assistance, and for investments, it is imperative that détente prevail between blocs and States. Resources must not be drained away in conflicts and armaments. Staggering and ever increasing sums are spent on arms by rich and poor countries, while resources for economic and social development are stagnating. The result is more violence, higher tension.

390. Secondly, the world is facing a crisis in the field of energy. Without much thought being given to the finite nature of the world's oil and gas supplies, the industrialized world has developed techniques and habits that are wasteful of resources and destructive of the environment. It is now necessary to apply less wasteful techniques, to rely more on sources of energy other than oil and to recognize that the developing countries are entitled to a greater share of the available resources.

391. Thirdly, the world may again face the risk of a food crisis, which can be prevented only by co-ordinated action in different spheres and in different countries.

392. Fourthly, there is a development crisis. Whereas some developing countries have made most remarkable progress, others—the poorest—are falling sadly behind. Much more assistance is needed for those countries if the gap is not to widen between them and the others.

393. Fifthly, there is a danger that a crisis will develop in the international payments system. Most oil-importing States have huge deficits in their foreign trade. Some oil-exporting countries cannot put their surpluses to use in their own economies, and they face difficulties in investing capital in ways that preserve its value.

394. The South has an enormous need to import goods necessary to develop its resources and infrastructures. The North suffers from unemployment and unused industrial capacity. Large sums are available in the international capital markets awaiting productive use. The conclusion would seem clear to me that the time is ripe for co-ordinated international policies to master the world economic crisis.

395. I should like to elaborate on two main issues, namely, the need for increased transfers of financial resources to the developing countries, and the need for a wise and rational employment of natural resources. We also need to develop a greater readiness to handle the debt problems which will increase in the future.

396. Our mutual interests call for immediate action. The economies of the industrialized countries stand to gain from sustained demands and growth in the developing countries. The developing countries must not wait for improvements in their own economies before they move ahead in development co-operation and increase transfers to the underdeveloped countries. Thus it is a common North-South interest that the transfer of resources to developing countries, and particularly the least developed among them, not only be maintained but substantially increased over the coming years.

397. I wish to describe some concrete ways in which this can be done.

398. New efforts have to be made to increase official development assistance. The poorest developing countries will continue to be dependent on this kind of financing and the soft funds of the international institutions can only be adequately replenished if sufficient official development assistance is available. Today there are wide divergencies in the performance of individual donor countries with regard to official development assistance.

399. It is with great indignation that one must note that the aid extended by rich industrialized nations like the United States is stagnating or even diminishing. It is with equal indignation that one must note that the words of solidarity with the under-developed world always spoken by the planned economies of Eastern Europe have been accompanied by an aid performance that is almost below visibility. If all economically advanced countries were to live up to the 0.7 per cent of gross national product aid target, and if other forms of transfers were effected as well, this would indeed make an enormous difference: an upsurge in demands from developing countries for goods, an upsurge in production in both developed and developing countries, an upsurge in world trade. It would also, indeed, mean an upsurge in the efforts to combat poverty and unemployment.

400. We cannot expect much increased borrowing by the developing countries in the capital markets. The debts they incurred in the middle of the 1970s and which helped the world during the crisis of those years were burdensome enough. In fact, today the payments on debts for some countries exceed the inflow of aid. I am not suggesting that all the problems in the field of international payments can be solved through transfer of resources to the developing countries. But I am suggesting that this approach may significantly contribute to the utilization of surplus capital for productive investments, thereby creating jobs and satisfying development needs.

401. We welcome the report [A/S-11/5/Add.2] presented by the Secretary-General to this session on some recent proposals concerning the expansion of the volume of resource transfers to developing countries. Indeed, many ideas must be explored. The international community must find means to activate the surpluses of the oil producers in such a way that the long-term interests of all countries are duly taken into account. For such an urgent task the existing international financing institutions—IMF and the World Bank—constitute the best instruments. But they would need wider room for manoeuvring. A general capital increase is just being

implemented in the World Bank, but we feel rather strongly that the Bank will need to be able to borrow even more. The Brandt Commission proposed a modification of the Bank's gearing ratio.

402. We, for our part, would wish to repeat our suggestion that the Bank should consider another capital increase, say of the same size as the one now being implemented but based exclusively on callable capital. In this way, an additional \$40 billion might be made available, thereby greatly improving the capacity of the Bank to channel funds to the developing countries. In this context, special arrangements must be made for those countries which require funds on soft terms. Care must also be taken to strengthen the influence of the developing countries in the Bank and in IDA.

403. The question of automatic transfer of resources has been raised on various occasions. Given our very discouraging experience of the present system of voluntary contributions, it would seem justified to embark on studies of this concept which one day might be looked upon as part of a rational international economic policy and of well functioning international development institutions. A number of proposals and ideas regarding international taxation have been floated in recent months. The Brandt Commission, among others, has given the matter attention. The United Nations system should now evaluate various methods and their consequences in order to give us all a better basis for discussion and possible future action.

404. Further, we have to increase non-concessional flows of funds in order to make it possible to carry out the vast recycling that is necessary over the coming years. It is both a short-term and a medium-term problem. In the short term, several countries are facing acute difficulties, and the international community has to respond. The coming annual meetings in Washington of IMF and the World Bank will provide the setting for this discussion.

405. The next point I want to make under the general heading of transfer of resources relates to IMF. We know that the Group of 77 has submitted a series of proposals regarding international monetary reform [see *A/S-11/1 (Part IV), annex I, sect. A*]. We all realize that the role of IMF is crucial in the present period and that it cannot assist in crises without making any conditions. At the same time, it is obvious that rapidly increasing costs for essential imports such as energy and food make it very difficult for developing countries to carry out short-term stabilization programmes in the same way as earlier.

406. Accordingly, we think that the principles on which the actions of IMF and the World Bank are based, as well as the relations between IMF and the World Bank, must be examined in the light of the rapidly changing world economic situation. We welcome the wider use by the Bank of programme lending. The ability of the Bretton Woods institutions to display imagination and openness to change is a key factor if the crisis point in the world economy is to become a turning point.

407. What we are facing is the need to raise the low standard of living in the developing countries. We are also facing unused human resources in the form of large-scale unemployment in the industrialized world, and a surplus of capital. Not too much imagination should be needed to put these three elements together. What we have to do is apply on the global level the idea that fighting the poverty of the many means strengthening the economy for all of us.

408. I should now like to turn to my second main issue: a wiser and more rational use of resources. This is a difficult subject. In a world where 800 million people live in conditions of absolute poverty, it is not easy to take the long-term view when conflicts arise between the immediate need for resources and the need to ensure that renewable resources are not destroyed by over-exploitation, and that finite resources are not depleted. We have no right to plunder the resources on which our offspring will rely for their livelihood. An understanding of the interrelationships between development, population, resources and environment is of crucial importance, not as an academic exercise, but as a background for government policies and action.

409. When we consider the issue of a wiser use of natural resources, it is necessary to focus on the vital chapter of energy. The excessive use which the industrialized world has made of oil is the main reason for the world energy crisis. The industrialized world must accordingly shoulder the main responsibility for the adjustment to a new energy system. This means a reduction in their oil consumption—or I should say in our oil consumption—and increased use of other energy sources. The 1981 United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy takes on even greater significance in the present situation.

410. We can foresee the need for investment in new equipment, changes in consumption patterns and lifestyles in the industrialized world and economic and social adjustment to higher energy prices. The main obstacles are not technical; they are political, both within the various countries and in the international community.

411. The disarray in world energy is indeed only too clear an illustration of the world's interdependence. A durable relationship between oil producers and oil consumers can rest only on trust and co-operative efforts based on mutual interest and recognition of mutual vulnerability. The need for an international dialogue to reach this mutual understanding is a central element of the global round.

412. The elaboration of a new international development strategy has been a difficult task. It is appropriate that the draft strategy discusses changes in the structure of world production. It foresees an expanded and diversified production and employment situation in developing countries, for instance in food and agricultural production and in industrialization. It calls for an increased flow of resources in real terms to the developing countries on a predictable, continuous, and increasingly assured basis.

413. One particular concern of my delegation has been the need for effective mobilization of the human resources of the developing countries. This can only be achieved if there is productive employment, and genuine participation by the people in the decision-making process. We wish to support democratic evolution in the developing countries, as elsewhere; participation by the people is the essence of democracy.

414. We wish also to underline the need fully to integrate women in the development process and to ensure their participation. They are entitled to it, and their participation is essential for successful development.

415. We are convinced also that basic health services and improved educational opportunities are indispensable elements in a coherent economic and social policy and are not just parts of social welfare programmes. Social progress is part and parcel of economic development, not simply a consequence of it.

416. Purchasing power has to be created in the developing world if the industrial development we wish to promote is really to serve the interests of the great masses of the people. A more equal distribution of income and wealth is often a prerequisite, moreover, for sustainable development and for an effective use of resources.

417. The global round of negotiations that we are to launch at this session offers an opportunity to respond to many of our concerns with concrete decisions. This opportunity must be fully utilized. The General Assembly's decision [resolution 34/138] on a round of global negotiations has our complete support. We believe that such negotiations will be in the interest not only of the international community as a whole, but equally of each of the nations represented.

418. It is obvious that, when formulating the goals and objectives for the negotiations, we must pay special attention to the grievances of the developing countries. Although the problems are in many cases of a long-term character, we must not hesitate to agree on quick and efficient action to assist those of the developing countries that have great, acute needs.

419. At this special session devoted to world economic problems, the dangers and difficulties facing us in the new decade seem almost overwhelming. But we would betray the confidence placed in us if we indulged in passivity or defeatism. The challenge is there. The responsibility is there.

420. Let us not make the global round a last-ditch effort in a series of failures. Let us make it the first endeavour in a fresh approach that truly builds on our interdependence. To this I pledge the full support of my Government.

421. Mr. FRYDENLUND (Norway): The eleventh special session has already, under the able leadership of the President, made history by admitting the Republic of Zimbabwe to membership in the United Nations. I personally find it most fitting that this important event should have taken place during his presidency of the General Assembly.

422. Zimbabwe's membership in the United Nations represents a most important event in the recent historic developments in southern Africa. We are proud to see the Zimbabwean delegation amongst us today, led by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. We are happy, along with him and with the people of Zimbabwe, that long years of war and suffering are over. We are impressed by his political wisdom and courage and by his able handling of the difficult and pressing tasks of national reconstruction and reconciliation, based on the development of a non-racial society with equal rights for all.

423. Norway extended economic and humanitarian assistance to the Patriotic Front during the independence struggle. We shall now actively support independent Zimbabwe. The Norwegian Government has already taken concrete steps to that effect. I join the appeal already made from this rostrum to the world community to come forward with generous assistance to Zimbabwe at this crucial stage of its development.

424. This special session of the General Assembly is meant to be a milestone on the road to a new international economic order. Today, however, we must recognize the fact that the external circumstances are not the most favourable ones. First, the international political situation is one of increased tension, diverting attention away from the North-South dialogue, and secondly, the international economic situation shows no

signs of improvement; the contrary seems to be the case. Compared with that of the 1960s, the present situation is one of reduced economic growth, a doubling of unemployment and a tripling of inflation. This deplorable situation has had a negative effect on international co-operation for development, tending to make industrialized countries more inward-looking, concentrating more on their own economic problems.

425. This gloomy background should, however, lead us to draw contrary conclusions. It should serve as a catalyst for innovative thinking and for strong remedial action. It should underline the need for a reassessment of conventional theories and established practice, as the crisis we are facing is more fundamental than the cyclical crises we have been used to: it calls for structural changes.

426. One encouraging result of the present economic crisis, however, is that it seems to have led to a greater realization of the interdependence between different countries and groups of countries, be it between industrialized and developing countries or between oil-producing and oil-importing countries.

427. Developing countries today constitute the markets for nearly one third of the exports of the manufactures from the industrialized countries. Balance of payments difficulties and other economic problems in developing countries, therefore, spread rapidly from those countries to the industrialized world. Conversely, financial transfers to developing countries from industrialized countries and countries with financial surpluses are liable to have positive secondary effects on the world economy as a whole.

428. In the inter-war and post-war periods, John Maynard Keynes's economic theories were to a certain extent implemented on the national level, involving concrete measures to stimulate consumption and increase employment. What is needed today is probably an application of Keynes's theories on the international level, implying massive transfers of resources. It is an anomaly of the present world economic order that, on the one hand, considerable unemployment and unused capacities are to be found in industrialized countries, while in developing countries enormous needs, both for investment and consumption, cannot be met. It has to be acknowledged, however, that a better system of financial co-operation, including re-cycling, will put great demands both on the co-operative will of individual countries and on the co-operative machinery linking them.

429. The present state of affairs also makes it necessary to take a new look at the international machinery for economic co-operation. I do not say this in order that we discard what has previously been constructed and has proved its great value. I should think that as a starting-point we would all agree, however, that the existing machinery for economic co-operation is inadequate when seen in relation to the challenges and problems with which the future confronts us. We must therefore be prepared to reassess, to develop and to improve, having particularly in mind the special needs and requirements of developing countries. In this connexion, it is also reasonable to underline the importance of regional co-operation among the developing countries themselves.

430. We should also be prepared to try new approaches to the negotiating process. Thus, my Government supports the proposal of the Brandt Commission to organize a special summit meeting dedicated to development questions. Such a meeting should not in

any way replace the real negotiations taking place here and in other forums. It could, however, be instrumental in giving the necessary political impetus to those negotiations.

431. This session gives us an opportunity to assess the progress made with regard to the work on a new international economic order. It must be admitted that the results so far have been very modest indeed, bearing in mind the numerous and comprehensive conferences that we have behind us since the sixth special session of the General Assembly in the spring of 1974. The recently finalized negotiations on a Common Fund here constitute only a positive exception.

432. It can be said that the political will in industrialized countries has been insufficient for major changes or reforms to be adopted. My Government finds it particularly regrettable that during the period in question official development assistance, measured as a percentage of gross national product, has stagnated for industrialized countries as a whole.

433. Although political will is the decisive factor, the time has also come both to make a critical review of the manner in which the negotiations on a new international economic order have been conducted and to reassess the realism of some of the objectives which have been put forward.

434. With respect to the forms of negotiation, it must be admitted that mammoth conferences leading to the adoption of texts of a very general character have not contributed very much to the solution of basic development problems. Facing a new round of global negotiations within the United Nations system, we should be critically aware of this.

435. More must result from these negotiations than just another declaration of principles with limited operational value. Such a result would weaken the belief in international economic negotiations. It would also raise a question of the credibility of the United Nations as a forum for such negotiations in the future. Negotiations must therefore be action-oriented. We must be willing and able to select and set priorities among the central issues that are before us. This must not prevent the various issues from being considered in conjunction. There must be possibilities for trade-offs as between the different sectors and issues. This is in fact the central new and promising feature of the new round of global negotiations as compared to previous conferences.

436. The question of energy is in this connexion a new and highly important element. The Norwegian Government welcomes the fact that energy questions have been brought into the broader economic negotiations in the United Nations. Norway will, in its capacity both as an oil-producing country and as a country highly dependent on international trade, participate constructively in these negotiations. We are of the view that the global negotiations may prove to be an important step in the establishment of a dialogue between producers and consumers of energy. We must make maximum use of this opportunity, and I would hope that in the energy sector we can at least arrive at an agreement on certain principles. Naturally this will presuppose a willingness on all sides to discuss not only those aspects of the problems that are important from one's own point of view, but also those that are known to be essential to others.

437. During preparations for this session, the procedures for the global negotiations have caused considerable disagreement. The question of procedures is important, as it very often reflects fundamental problems of substance and of power. On the other hand, it must be

possible during this session to solve the questions of procedures in a spirit of compromise. Here I should like to recall that Norway has put forward a specific proposal [see *A/S-11 (Part IV), annex I, sect. E*] in the hope that it might constitute a bridge between diverging views on the questions of procedures for global negotiations.

438. If the new round of global negotiations is to provide the substantial results that we all want to see, the specialized agencies within the United Nations family must, in our view, be brought into the picture. On the other hand, the central organ here in New York—the conference itself—must be given both co-ordinating and negotiating authority. With this background we have foreseen that the new round of negotiations might in practice take place in three phases: a first, and short, conceptual phase where the central conference establishes guidelines, priorities and objectives for the negotiations; a second, and longer, negotiating phase which would comprise negotiations by the conference and its subsidiary organs, as well as in the relevant specialized agencies in accordance with their procedures; and, finally, a third concluding phase in which the conference would co-ordinate the results of the various negotiations and establish agreed conclusions to be embodied in a final document. This commonly accepted final document ought to be given as far as possible a binding character.

439. In connexion with the global negotiations, I shall refer also to the proposals put forward by the Secretary-General for a programme of immediate measures in favour of low-income and other developing countries seriously affected by the rising energy costs and the economic crisis in general [see *A/S-11/5/Add.1*]. The problems and needs which the Secretary-General has pointed to are acute and pressing. The Secretary-General therefore deserves credit for having focused our attention on these problems in advance of the special session.

440. We agree with the Group of 77 that these proposals need further elaboration and that they should be considered for appropriate action at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

441. The second main question at this special session is the new international development strategy for the 1980s. We recognize that a new development strategy must be realistic. On the other hand, it should also be sufficiently ambitious to constitute a challenge to the international community and to individual Governments. Against this background, my Government can accept an annual growth target of 7 per cent for developing countries as a whole. Such a high growth rate presupposes, however, active and sustained action: globally, regionally and nationally.

442. In this connexion, I should like to draw special attention to the target for official development assistance, on which there is, I understand, still no agreement. In our view we consider the question of a time-bound target for official development assistance from all industrialized countries of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product—a target which should be increased later to 1 per cent—as one of the most crucial questions in the new strategy. That question has become a symbol of the willingness of industrial countries to follow up their obligations. More than any other question, it will be decisive for the kind of solidarity action we can count on between rich and poor countries in the 1980s. Official development assistance will also be decisive for the attainment of other objectives embodied in the strategy. Not least does this apply in relation to the poorest and the most underprivileged groups.

443. The social aspects of the development process and the implementation of the necessary structural change must be given high priority, as our goal is a more equitable economic order.

444. I should like to express my satisfaction with the support which has been given in the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy to the question of the participation and integration of women in the development process. Those objectives have been clearly expressed in the text before us (*see A/S-11/2 (Part III), annex, para. 162*). It remains now to supplement the already stated objectives by incorporating in the strategy relevant recommendations from the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women. A more active participation by women in development is a prerequisite both to overall development and to economic growth. I should like to stress that the new international development strategy must pursue the objective of securing women's equal participation, both as agents and beneficiaries, in all sectors and at all levels of the development process.

445. It is of overriding political importance that this special session of the General Assembly should succeed; that is, that it should adopt a new international development strategy for the 1980s and a framework for global negotiations within the United Nations system. Those two important matters cannot be considered independently of each other. Whereas the development strategy lays down the long-term basic objectives, the global negotiations will constitute an important vehicle for the realization of those objectives. As an element of this process it should also be possible to implement certain urgent measures of assistance, as proposed by the Secretary-General.

446. In the introductory part of this statement, I mentioned the political and economic problems that con-

stitute the serious background to this special session. It would, however, be irresponsible and short-sighted if we were to use those problems as a pretext for neglecting the development and poverty problems of the world. The prognoses of the World Bank⁸ are undoubtedly well founded on realistic calculations. However, it is an unacceptable conclusion for the world community when the Bank predicts that by the year 2000 there will still be from about 500 million to 700 million people living in what is called absolute poverty. Such misery cannot be accepted as unavoidable. With the resources at the disposal of the world community, it should be possible to mobilize co-ordinated action to eradicate the problem of poverty considerably earlier.

447. It goes without saying that neither this problem nor development problems in general can be solved through international action alone. In the last instance the decisive factor has to be the mobilization of the resources of individual countries. International solidarity is, however, often necessary for such national action to get off the ground.

448. Finally, I turn my attention specifically to this special session, and should like to say the following. Experience over the last years has contributed to a certain moderation when assessing the possibilities of one single conference to influence subsequent developments. It is, however, to be expected that this special session of the General Assembly, dedicated solely to international co-operation for development, will set the tone for the work in this field in the years to come—maybe for the whole of the next decade. Therefore, we cannot fail.

The meeting rose at 9 p.m.

⁸See *World Development Report, 1980*, issued by the World Bank.

