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**GENERAL
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**7th
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 28 August 1980,
at 11 a.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 6

Organization of the session (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding to the debate on agenda item 7, I should like to remind members of decision S-11/13 taken by the Assembly at its 1st plenary meeting [para. 74] regarding the chairmanship of the Special Political Committee. I have now been informed that Mr. Mohammad Samir Mansouri of the Syrian Arab Republic will replace last year's Chairman and will therefore be Chairman of the Special Political Committee at the eleventh special session.

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

2. Mr. BURTICA (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to address to you the sincere congratulations of the Romanian delegation and to tell you how happy we are to see you, the representative of a friendly developing country, presiding over this important session.

3. We are convinced that your competence will contribute greatly to the progress of our deliberations which we hope to see culminate in fruitful results.

4. I also take this opportunity warmly to welcome the unanimous admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the great United Nations family. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe once again confirms the undisputed fact that there are no longer forces in the world capable of preventing the realization of the aspirations of peoples for freedom and independence.

5. Romania has from the very beginning consistently supported the heroic struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against colonialism and racism and to gain respect for its sovereign will to build its future in accordance with its own interests.

6. Relations of sincere friendship based on mutual respect and full equality have already been established between Romania and the Republic of Zimbabwe. I wish at this time to reaffirm the sincere desire of Romania to expand and deepen relations of

co-operation in all fields with this young independent African State.

7. This special session of the General Assembly is taking place in extremely complex international circumstances. Many problems, as yet unsolved, have piled up in the world, and this has led to a sharpening of some contradictions and to the emergence of new ones. Although recent international tensions may be considered to have passed their peak, serious threats to peace and détente still remain.

8. Of especially deep concern are the unprecedented dimensions of the arms race, which is expected this year to absorb the huge sum of \$500 billion, placing a heavy burden on the shoulders of all peoples irrespective of their social systems and their levels of development.

9. The economic crisis, the energy crisis, and the monetary and financial crisis pose extremely serious problems for the development and stability of the world economy and are exerting a strong adverse influence on the economic growth of all countries.

10. This state of affairs is due mainly to the continuation of underdevelopment, the widening of the gap between countries and the maintenance of the division of the world into rich and poor countries.

11. It is more and more obvious that lack of significant progress towards the establishment of the new international economic order and in restructuring economic relations between States is widening the scope of global crises and making their solution even more difficult.

12. The monopoly positions of transnational corporations and of certain countries promote the maintenance of the present inequitable world division of labour and raise additional obstacles to finding appropriate solutions to the crucial problems confronting mankind.

13. Hence developing countries remain deprived of the possibility of equitable participation in the economic life of the world and of benefiting from modern science and technology.

14. At the end of this century, a century which has opened broad possibilities for the progress of all mankind, hundreds of millions of the earth's people are still living in poverty and hunger and lacking the most elementary conditions of life.

15. A lucid analysis of existing realities once again demonstrates the urgent need for resolute commitment to the search for solutions to the problems of underdevelopment and to the establishment of a new international economic and political order.

16. The Socialist Republic of Romania regards the establishment of the new international order as a complex historical process which requires not confrontation between various States or groups of States but rather close co-operation between the developed and the developing countries, irrespective of their social systems.

17. That is the very spirit that is promoted by the President of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, who, in

his talks with many Heads of State or Government and eminent persons in the political and economic fields of all continents, as well as in many official statements and documents, has put forward innovative proposals and initiatives for action aimed at meeting the dire need for radical structural changes in the world economy and in international economic relations. Consistent with that policy, Romania has in recent years put forward in international organizations proposals for practical steps aimed at directing the efforts of the world community towards major objectives. We have proposed steps aimed, mainly, at eliminating under-development, accelerating the economic and social development of developing countries and narrowing of the gap between countries, stimulating the industrialization and modernization of agriculture, giving the less developed countries access to modern technology and training national personnel—all of them essential conditions for putting to good use all material and labour resources for the strengthening of independence and security of all States and for ensuring a dignified life for every human being and the right of every people to live in peace.

18. In an integrated world economy in which universal interdependence is constantly growing, the tensions and imbalances generated by the present system of international relations are affecting all countries, which thus find new obstacles in the way of their progress. When progress has become indivisible, the elimination of underdevelopment, the implementation of a consistent programme of structural changes and the establishment of a new international economic order not only represent legitimate aspirations of the countries in which three quarters of the world's population live, but are also prerequisites for progress in peace and stability for all countries irrespective of their levels of development and socio-economic systems and for the progress of the world community as a whole.

19. There is no doubt that the liquidation of underdevelopment implies first of all an effort by the developing countries themselves, as well as increased co-operation among them and their assisting each other with a view to establishing, at the national level, a strong technical and material base. However, the results of the efforts of the developing countries are often diminished and sometimes even nullified by existing international economic mechanisms and relations.

20. It is that very fact that makes us insist upon the need to commit ourselves, jointly and firmly, to a process of radical change that should be conducive to relations of full equality among States, to respect for the right of each nation to be the true master of its national wealth and to turn it to good account in accordance with its own interests, and to the resolute liquidation of the imperialist policy of *diktat* and force.

21. It is incumbent on the developed countries to extend much more substantial assistance to the developing countries. But, along with the other countries of the Group of 77, we note with regret that so far the developed countries have not shown the necessary understanding of the demands of the developing countries, which only reflect the requirements of the general progress of humanity.

22. Romania considers that the constructive proposals presented by the developing countries offer a sufficiently broad basis for the achievement of the necessary consensus so that an effective start may be made on the process of establishing a new international economic order.

23. The totally insignificant results of the efforts made so far to establish a new international economic order are sometimes attributed to the persistence and acuteness of the crisis through which the world economy is passing. In our view, to take that approach is to turn the problem upside down, because it is precisely in order to end crises and to eliminate their adverse effects that it is necessary to take radical steps and perseveringly to pursue their practical implementation.

24. The measures advocated by Romania have as their essential aim the vigorous expansion of productive activity in the developing countries and the establishment of a new and equitable international division of labour.

25. In that process a major role will be played by the rapid industrialization of the developing countries, the setting up of the necessary systems and conditions to enable them to assimilate and to promote scientific and technological progress, and the equitable and unimpeded transfer of technology.

26. At the same time, the solution of the grave problems of world food supply require the modernization of agriculture in the developing countries, which must be helped to develop their production.

27. Developments in recent years have made the energy question one of the most important and pressing of the problems whose solution requires immediate and responsible efforts by all States. The negotiation of a series of measures in the field of energy production, consumption and distribution, aimed at the gradual and equitable transition to a diversified system of energy resources, is a major objective that must be attained with the participation of, and in the interests of, each State. To that end measures at the national level are required to rationalize consumption and to develop energy potential, including a more intensive utilization of new energy resources. At the same time it is necessary to promote equitable co-operation between producers and consumers, which, proceeding from the principle of the permanent sovereignty of States over their own natural resources, should take into account the interests and economic stability of all countries and above all the necessity of ensuring more rapid economic progress for the developing countries.

28. The requirements of balanced economic growth also demand the creation of new mechanisms to ensure an economically justified relation between the prices of the main categories of products—raw materials, energy, food products, and manufactured goods. It is true that the problem of international prices is an extremely complex one. It is, however, necessary that it become a major preoccupation in the process of restructuring international relations. It is obvious that from the outset an important element in this effort will be recognition of the sovereign right of countries concerning their national resources and their economic activities aimed at turning their own potential to good account. At the same time it is necessary to minimize the influence of monopoly situations on the market and to ensure that prices reflect the cost and usefulness of products and are both remunerative for producers and equitable for consumers. Furthermore it is necessary to find ways to eliminate excessive price fluctuations on international markets and to protect the purchasing power of the developing countries against the erosion caused by inflationary process.

29. The indebtedness of the developing countries to the developed countries, which has reached frightening proportions, is a problem of extreme gravity. Taking

that situation into account, Romania believes it necessary to identify and to agree upon measures capable of easing that heavy burden on the developing countries and ensuring equilibrium in their balance of payments. One could thus envisage the cancelling of the foreign debts of countries having a gross national product lower than \$500 or \$600 *per capita*, as well as measures that favour other developing countries, such as reductions, moratoriums or postponements of payments, without interest, for a period of 15 to 20 years.

30. At the same time the developing countries feel very strongly the worsening of conditions of access to the international financial market. Especially because of the tendency of recent years towards increased interest rates, credits, far from facilitating the necessary economic development of developing countries, have become a hindrance to implementation of their national projects. We feel that it is now very urgent to adopt measures that would reduce interest rates to reasonable levels and facilitate equitable access by the developing countries to financial markets and to long-term credits.

31. It is also necessary to pay greater attention to international co-operation to reorient the process of recycling the financial means of countries having surpluses and to link that process more closely with the financing needs of the developing countries with a view to accelerating their economic and social development.

32. In our view, our efforts should also be directed towards continuing the process of the liberalization of international trade and, especially, to facilitating access for developing-country exports to the markets of the developed countries. The adoption of firm measures against protectionism and capable of promoting the foreign trade of developing countries is a prior condition for the efforts of those countries to maintain and strengthen their own contribution to the development of the world economy, including the economies of the developed countries.

33. The immense waste generated by the arms race, and the pressing need to identify and draw on new financial and, generally, other material resources for development, emphasize the timeliness of the proposal submitted by Romania concerning the establishment of a development fund to which some of the savings that can be made through the reduction of military expenditures could be contributed. One should not forget that at the present level of these expenditures, a mere ten per cent reduction would make available about \$40 to 50 billion annually, which would be an important source of financing for major projects in the industrial, agricultural, transport and other economic sectors of the developing countries.

34. We have stressed a few of the main courses of action which, in our view, should be followed in the process of establishing the new order, since the adoption of the new strategy for the third development decade is also on the agenda of this special session. In Romania's opinion, if the new strategy is to produce concrete effects, it is imperative that it should be firmly integrated in the process of the establishment of the new international economic order.

35. The results achieved during the preparatory work for the elaboration of the new international development strategy are, indeed, very modest. The negotiations have not led, so far, to consensus on the fundamental problems. This state of affairs compels us to make new efforts to adopt measures which would take into account the experience of the first two Development Decades and would serve the interests of the

progress of all countries, particularly the developing ones. Postponement of the necessary structural changes would inevitably lead in the course of this decade to a proliferation of difficulties and to ever more serious phenomena, making solution of global problems even more complicated than is now.

36. That is why Romania considers that the new strategy must establish a concrete programme of action for the elimination of underdevelopment and the establishment of the new international economic order. The qualitative and quantitative targets proposed by Group of 77 cover only minimum requirements for correcting some of the most severe deficiencies of the present situation. Their universal acceptance is an indispensable condition for overcoming the opposition to change which has, for many years, characterized the dialogue between developed and developing countries.

37. It goes without saying that the attainment of these objectives demands both the efforts of the developing countries themselves and concrete commitments on the part of the developed countries to support those efforts.

38. Launching the global negotiations on international economic co-operation is an essential task of the current special session. Romania considers those negotiations to be of the utmost political importance for the solution—with the participation and in the interests of all countries—of fundamental problems in the fields of raw materials, energy, trade, development, and money and finance.

39. The pressing need to take major steps towards solution of these problems convinces us that the adoption at this special session of a decision to launch the global negotiations in 1981 represents a real test of our common desire to pass effectively to the action stage.

40. We are not unaware, of course, of the difficulties yet to be overcome in order to organize the global negotiations appropriately and ensure their success. We believe, however, that consensus is possible if all developed countries show themselves receptive to the proposals of the Group of 77 and if all of us act with full awareness of our responsibilities.

41. Romania considers that nothing should prevent us from committing ourselves, here and now, all together, to a genuine solution of the world's economic problems, as that is of decisive importance for the future of all nations, for international economic co-operation and for peace and progress on our planet.

42. Experience has proved—witness the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea—that when there is a desire to reach agreement, solutions can be found to even the most complex and difficult problems which give rise to the most conflicting opinions.

43. The Romanian delegation considers that the machinery of global negotiations should guarantee the democratic participation of all States and an integrated approach to the issues to be negotiated. The proposals of the Group of 77 clearly stress the role to be reserved for the central negotiating body. That body should be called upon to establish the objectives to be achieved and the areas and problems to be considered. It would also be called upon to utilize the expertise of the specialized agencies and to give the measures that will be agreed on the required political authority.

44. Conceived as a comprehensive activity capable of reopening the international economic dialogue, the global negotiations should lead to the adoption of firm measures committing the responsibility of all participating countries, with a view to resolving the substance of the issues in the interests of general economic progress

and in keeping with the requirements of the new international economic order.

45. The world economy, like international economic relations, is going through a difficult period. Under the circumstances, it is all the more necessary for us to spare no effort to overcome these difficulties.

46. On behalf of the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and in the name of the Romanian Government, we appeal to this special session of the United Nations General Assembly to act vigorously to find solutions to the serious problems confronting the world economy which hinder economic co-operation among States. Let us not miss this chance to break the present deadlock and reopen the international dialogue and pass on to action with the participation and in the interests of all States.

47. For its part, the Romanian delegation is determined to strive to the best of its ability to ensure the success of this session, which we hope will adopt decisions capable of effectively contributing to the advent of a new international order, to the progress of all mankind and the well-being of every nation.

48. Mr. LI Qiang (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, first of all I wish to express warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency at this session which is attracting world attention. The Chinese delegation sincerely hopes that the current session will achieve major progress in improving the economies of the developing countries and promoting world peace and stability. We are deeply impressed by the important speech delivered by His Excellency esteemed President Ziaur Rahman at the plenary meeting the day before yesterday [3rd meeting, paras. 2-46]. In our view, his analysis of the North-South relationship is far-sighted, and the question of the least developed countries he brought up merits special attention. We trust that the proposals he made in this regard will be given positive consideration by all sides.

49. The Chinese delegation expresses its warm congratulations on the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe into the United Nations. This special session is honoured by the personal participation of the Honourable Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, outstanding leader of the heroic Zimbabwe people and a great fighter in the struggle for national liberation. The new situation in southern Africa brought about by the victory of the Zimbabwe people has greatly encouraged the peoples of Namibia and Azania who are striving for national liberation. It can be predicted that the days are not too far off when racist rule in Africa will be terminated. The wise and far-sighted policies adopted by the Government of Zimbabwe in safeguarding its national independence and developing its national economy have won universal appreciation from the international community. We are deeply convinced that the Zimbabwe people, under the wise leadership of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, will continue to win new victories in the cause of building their own country.

50. Six years ago, on the initiative of the third-world countries, we adopted here 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)]. This is an event of historic significance. It reflects the trend of our times that the developing countries not only cherish independence but also aspire to development. To create a New International Economic Order, they have waged struggles in many fields, constantly pointing at the old order. This demonstrates that the third-world countries

have already become a force to be reckoned with in the international economic arena. However, like all new emerging things, a New International Economic Order is bound to meet all kinds of resistance and obstacles along its road to progress. Therefore it has not been easy for us to achieve what we have won in this connexion. And we are also soberly aware that the forces defending the old international economic order are still fairly strong and that the struggle to break the old order and establish the new will remain protracted, strenuous and complicated. We should make unremitting efforts to carry on this struggle.

51. The economic and political situation the world faces today is very grave indeed. It poses serious challenges and demands that we make the right choice.

52. The 1980s will be a decade of economic instability and difficulties. In the foreseeable future the developed countries will encounter a slowdown in economic growth, worsening inflation and new economic crises. Many developing countries will find their terms of trade further deteriorating, their exports of finished goods increasingly threatened by protectionism and their debts mounting. The gap between the poor countries and the rich ones will be widening. The energy problem of universal concern will become more acute. In the face of such a prospect, whether to preserve the narrow vested interests by propping up the old international economic order or to find a new way out by reforming the existing international economic structure represents two different options, which will lead to diametrically opposite consequences. Some developed countries remain rigid in negotiations, and they even try their best to shift their own difficulties on to the third-world countries. Their purpose is to keep the developing countries under their control and exploitation economically, which runs counter to the progress of history. It is not only natural that the developing countries will oppose firmly any attempt by a few developed countries to expand their economy at the expense of the vital interests of the former, but it will be impossible for such an attempt to succeed. The attempt will only increase tensions between the North and the South, aggravate the world economy and further destabilize the international political situation. In the final analysis, a key factor in the deteriorating international economy is the inequality and irrationality inherent in the existing international economic relations, although there are other important factors too. Only by breaking the old international economic order and establishing the new and by carrying out constant reforms can we promote the stability and development of the world economy. This has all along been the correct position taken by the vast majority of the developing countries. And it has also been gradually accepted by some developed countries and quite a few westerners of broad vision. They point out that it is a historical imperative that there should be profound reforms in international economic relations so as to bring about a fundamental change in the situation which is unfavourable to the developing countries. Facts amply show that the only correct choice for us is to march towards the establishment of a New International Economic Order. We should not mark time, still less turn back.

53. Politically, the 1980s will be a decade fraught with crises. The racists in southern Africa, instead of stepping down from the stage of history, will intensify the repression at home and at the same time continue to threaten the security of the neighbouring countries. In the Middle East, so long as Israel is bent on its expansionism, there will be no stability in the region. In particu-

lar, the Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan and its support of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea have fully shown that, relying on their ever expanding military power, the hegemonists are actively pursuing a strategy of southward drive and quickening their pace of expansion. As a result, there is little tranquillity in the world. And it is the third-world countries that bear the brunt and suffer the most. Therefore, to expand the economy of the third-world countries and the world at large, we must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against all forces, and especially those of hegemonism, that endanger the peace of the world and the security of all countries. World peace cannot be maintained unless we oppose hegemonism. And without peace, there can be no economic development.

54. In the view of the Chinese delegation, the struggle to break the old order and establish the new in the economic field is closely related to the struggle against hegemonism in the political field, and the two supplement each other. The steady progress achieved in the struggle for the new economic order will strengthen the independence and security of the developing countries and enhance their ability to combat external aggression and interference. On the other hand, if the third-world countries do not oppose hegemonism while striving for the transformation of the old international economic relations, they will be constantly exposed to the threat of hegemonist aggression and expansion in the economic field and may even run the risk of losing once again their political independence. Only when these two struggles are well co-ordinated strategically will the third world countries be better able to meet the challenges of the 1980s, promote the development of the international economy and safeguard world peace.

55. As matters now stand, we must take the overall situation into consideration, break the long-standing stalemate in the North-South dialogue and earnestly help the developing countries lessen their economic difficulties, thus taking big strides in building the New International Economic Order.

56. In our view, the developed countries should make new great efforts in response to the legitimate demands of the developing countries. This is the key to strengthening the international economic co-operation between the North and the South on a reasonable and equitable basis beneficial to both sides. It is inconceivable that the third-world countries, which have already won political independence, would tolerate for long the inequitable international economic relations left behind by the colonial system. It is quite obvious that economically there are both contradiction and interdependence between the North and the South. The developed countries must have the co-operation of the developing countries to achieve further progress. And to obtain such co-operation, the existing unfair international economic relations must be reformed. The developed countries should accord better terms of trade to the developing countries, ensure the purchasing power of the latter's export earnings and abandon protectionism. They should increase aid to the developing countries, ease their debt servicing burden, and give special treatment to the least developed countries and those in serious difficulties. They should abolish discriminatory and restrictive regulations and practices that are detrimental to the transfer of technology to the developing countries. And they should agree to the necessary reform of the present international financial institutions and their unreasonable rules and regulations, thus giving more rights to the developing countries in the decision-making process. In these respects, all the developed

industrialized countries should make the necessary concessions and assume corresponding obligations. We believe that although reforms in the international economic field will give rise to some temporary difficulties and problems for the developed countries, in the long run they will benefit both the North and the South. If the developed countries can help to improve the North-South relations not only in words but also in deeds, it will then be possible to achieve gradual progress in the global negotiations and brighten the prospect for the steady and orderly reform of the international economic relations.

57. The further strengthening of the unity of the developing countries is an important factor conducive to the establishment of the New International Economic Order. Although the world situation has been complex and volatile in the last six years, the third-world countries, bearing the overall situation in mind, have supported each other and safeguarded their unity. This is why we have been able to obtain some results in past negotiations. Looking ahead, the third-world countries will certainly encounter more challenges, and there is all the more need to strengthen their unity. Owing to different conditions, the levels of their development are varied. They should show understanding for each other. Developing countries with more favourable conditions should pay more attention to the needs of those in a less favourable position. Temporary and partial differences should be settled properly through consultations among themselves. If they fail to find a solution for the time being, they should wait with patience. In order to disrupt the unity of the third-world countries and weaken their position in negotiations, certain big Powers are trying deliberately to exacerbate the contradictions between the third-world countries and spread various pessimistic views to sow discord among them. We must guard against this. The third-world countries had the same experience in the past and are now facing a common task. Their long-term common interests far transcend those temporary and partial differences. We believe that in the struggle to break the old order and establish the new in the international economic field, the third-world countries will continue to play the role of the main force. Their need for unity is a historical trend, which is irreversible.

58. Economic co-operation among the developing countries to enhance their collective self-reliance is also an important part in reforming the old international economic relations and establishing the New International Economic Order. It will make them less dependent on developed countries economically, strengthen their unity and co-operation and improve their status in international economic relations. The various organizations for regional co-operation in Asia, Africa and Latin America have already demonstrated their vitality. The Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations,¹ which was issued by the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-seven, held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 12 to 16 February 1979, systematically expounded the position of the developing countries on enhancing their collective self-reliance and was an expression of their firm conviction. Last April, the Economic Conference of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980, worked

¹See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), annex VI.

out a grand plan for the step-by-step establishment of an African common market. We are convinced that through collective self-reliance, the developing countries will establish new relations of co-operation on the basis of genuine equality in the international economic field. There are bright prospects for such co-operation.

59. The energy problem is of concern to all countries. It is a strategic issue with a vital bearing on the economic, political and many other fields. Using oil as a weapon, the countries members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) opened up new vistas and made important contributions to the struggle for the establishment of the New International Economic Order. Of course, a new struggle will always give rise to new problems which need to be studied anew. We maintain that in the solution of the energy problem, the rights and interests of the oil-producing countries should be fully respected and the purchasing power of their oil export earnings be ensured, so as to conserve and explore oil resources rationally and prevent prodigal waste; the said oil struggle should continue to help pave the way for the establishment of the New International Economic Order and contribute to the safeguarding and strengthening of the unity of the third world; hegemonist rivalry for oilfields and oil supply routes should be opposed in the interest of the security of oil-producing countries and the peace of the world; and full consultations between the parties concerned should be conducted to make an overall arrangement in favour of the stability and development of the economy of the third-world countries and that of the whole world. The energy problem is very important and complicated and must be approached seriously, given careful consideration and treated with broad vision. We believe that with the joint efforts of the parties concerned we are sure to find an appropriate solution to the energy problem step by step, thus making new contributions to the social and economic progress of mankind.

60. China is a developing socialist country. Its present task is to modernize its industry, agriculture, national defence, and science and technology by the end of this century. China is a country with a vast territory and rich resources, and the people are industrious. But its material base is still poor and its science and technology and economic management backward. Practice over the last 30 years has taught us that in modernizing China we must start from the actual conditions in China and, in the light of its social and economic characteristics, find a system of economic management, guiding principles and policies that conform to the laws of its socialist economic development. In this process we must also absorb and draw on the useful experience of other countries in their modernization. We have achieved marked success in the readjustment of our national economy in recent years. We are now working out a long-term economic plan. We are confident that, by comprehensively carrying out the policies of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement, we shall achieve sustained and stable development in our national economy, so as to meet gradually the growing material and cultural needs of the whole society.

61. The modernization of China will be achieved primarily through self-reliance. This policy will not change. But self-reliance does not mean cutting the country off from the international community. We believe that the importation of foreign technical know-how and the use of foreign capital in a planned way, far from damaging the principle of self-reliance, will speed up our development and strengthen our ability for self-

reliance. Facts have proved that it is impossible for any country to modernize itself by completely relying on foreign countries, nor is it advisable to exclude international economic co-operation. It is China's long-term policy, and not a matter of expediency, to seek broad international economic and technological co-operation.

62. China belongs to the third world, and it will always stand by the developing countries through thick and thin, and we will support each other. China did so in the past and it will continue to do so in the future. In recent years China has done what it could in extending aid to other developing countries, despite many difficulties in its own economy. We believe that, with the growth of its economy, China will be able to have fuller and broader economic and technological co-operation with the third-world countries.

63. The 1980s is a crucial decade. It poses a grave challenge to us, but at the same time it opens up broad vistas to meet the challenge. We must not fail to live up to the expectations of our time. In order to safeguard world peace, promote the economic growth of the developing countries and speed up the establishment of the New International Economic Order, we should make the correct choice in good time. While our task is arduous and the road ahead tortuous, the future is bright. We will certainly attain our goal. To this end the Chinese delegation is ready to work together with all the countries that love peace and uphold justice.

64. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an honour and a privilege for me to welcome, on behalf of Spain, the Republic of Zimbabwe on the occasion of its admission as the 153rd Member of this Organization, and to extend a cordial greeting to Mr. Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of that nation for which we wish a successful future of peace, freedom and progress.

65. Eleven months ago and at this very rostrum² my country, Spain, through its Minister of Foreign Affairs, was the first Western country to proclaim in public its support for the proposal of the Group of 77 to hold within the United Nations system a series of sustained global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development which would, on the one hand, contribute to the implementation of the new international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade, and, on the other, to the solution of international economic problems within the framework of the restructuring of international economic relations, reflecting mutual benefit, common interests and the responsibilities of all. Because of this, since from the very outset we clearly demonstrated that within the modest limits of our means we were prepared to negotiate and that we even deemed the global negotiations to be essential, I wish at the present time to express our concern at the current situation.

66. In the years since the sixth special session adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI)*], negotiations to attain the objectives of that order have been successful only to a partial and inadequate extent.

67. It is true that notable progress has been achieved in many fields. It is sufficient to recall the recent adoption of the agreement to establish the Common Fund for Commodities and the creation of the Interim Fund for Science and Technology for Development, the United

²See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 5th meeting, paras. 163-175.

Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries, IFAD, to which my country has made a significant contribution, the conclusion of multilateral trade negotiations, the present negotiations on the International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology, the restructuring, already under way, of the economic and social sectors of our Organization, and so forth.

68. However, there can be no doubt that on issues as essential as monetary and financial affairs, prices of exports, access to markets, science and technology, disarmament, and energy prices and supplies, the progress achieved has been too slow. In the field of the transfer of resources, results have been disappointing. While the annual figure of official development assistance has now reached \$20 billion, it must be recalled that the figure of annual military expenditures, nuclear as well as conventional, is close to \$450 billion. We are in the seventh year of an economic recession, with increasing unemployment, and we are far from controlling the destructive inflationary process; we are also faced with growing protectionism.

69. Throughout the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and during the first half of 1980, we have been meeting in the Committee of the Whole, we have been holding consultations among groups, we have established bilateral contacts, meetings of friends of the President, informal consultations, contacts at different levels and with different participation. None the less, we have not managed to reach agreement on the two essential elements, the two basic points of the global negotiations, that is, their agenda and their procedures. As I have stated, this is not because of a lack of dedication or perseverance on the part of the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Crnobraj of Yugoslavia, who spared no effort and laboured very intelligently towards this end.

70. I do not want to appear overly pessimistic; our meetings have not been useless, and at the last session of the Committee of the Whole, last July, some considerable progress was achieved in certain fields, even in the field of energy, one that is fundamental to all of us, but especially to the countries that do not possess their own energy sources. In this connexion, account must be taken of the fact that successive increases in the price of oil have seriously endangered the economies of the intermediate-level industrialized countries, such as Spain for example.

71. In the Group of 77 we sometimes do see attitudes in this field of energy that we deem to be very constructive. Now, as is clearly reflected in the report of the Committee [A/S-11/1 (Part IV) and Corr. I] submitted to this special session, the truth is that we did fail and that we are today facing the same problems as we faced last July, but under much more difficult conditions, because time is passing very quickly and it is increasingly urgent that we take essential decisions so that the international economic situation, while it cannot be transformed overnight, can at least begin its course towards needed structural change for the establishment of an international economic order that is more just and equitable than the present order; for this, international solidarity is indispensable.

72. As regards the causes of our failure last July, I am, of course, not attempting to pinpoint or to place blame, but it is clear that, when what is being discussed is a way of putting an end to an unjust and unproductive world economic situation, it is those that benefit from that situation that must be called upon to make the needed concessions. Towards this end political will is needed,

the resolve to find solutions to problems whose solution depends on the countries in a position to effect those solutions. It is futile, even dangerous, to think that either at this special session or in any other forum of our Organization we shall be able to progress if that political will does not exist or exists to an insufficient degree.

73. We cannot confine ourselves to a mere North-South dialogue. The developing countries have understood this and have fostered technical and economic co-operation among themselves: the South-South dialogue. To this we have to add the ongoing East-West dialogue, which involves the duty of the industrialized countries with centrally-planned economies to shoulder their responsibilities in the field of development assistance.

74. I do not wish to go into detail here on our position regarding the two problems to which I have already referred, namely the agenda and the procedures for the global negotiations. My delegation will do that in Committee consultations, but I shall outline our general position. As far as the agenda is concerned, we believe that it is possible and necessary for a compromise to be reached among all the negotiating parties on the two items of greatest conflict: on the one hand, the improvement and protection of the purchasing power of the developing countries' exports of commodities and raw materials, possibly even to include a system of compensatory financing to offset declines in the export income from those countries' raw materials, and on the other hand, the establishment of a study and forecasting system regarding the supply, demand and prices of energy, as well as the establishment of a forum for ongoing dialogue on this issue, which is one of cardinal importance in which our approach coincides with that of the European Economic Community.

75. As far as procedures are concerned, our position is also clear and precise. We believe that the global negotiations must lead to the adoption of a coherent series of interrelated and comprehensive agreements, and, as trite as this may seem, we believe it appropriate to indicate that if we negotiate it is in order to reach agreement, and if that intention does not exist from the very outset it is better not to negotiate, since to do so under such conditions would merely waste time and mislead public opinion in our countries.

76. As far as the item on the new international development strategy is concerned, we have achieved significant progress, and in this connexion I wish to congratulate our colleague, Mr. Naik of Pakistan, who with a great deal of wisdom, patience and skill has been presiding over the highly complex negotiations in the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy.

77. Now let us have no illusions. In the section of the draft strategy [see A/S-11/2 (Part III), annex] on goals and objectives, we have not yet reached agreement on the most important specific point in it, that is, the figures and dates. In the section on policy measures, our disagreements range from where to put commas to whole paragraphs and even entire sub-sections. Lastly, while in the preamble only one problem remains to be resolved, that of the right to nationalize, it must be acknowledged that this is a wide-ranging one. Now, since it is absolutely inconceivable that this special session, convened in order to adopt the new international development strategy for the third decade, should not fulfil its task, we shall all have to make every possible effort to overcome those differences.

78. Lastly, I should like to refer to the important proposal made by the Secretary-General at the inauguration of the last resumed session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva,³ when he submitted his special plan of \$5 billion for 1981 in favour of the low-income countries with serious balance of payments problems; assistance which, as he himself stressed, would be provided by the industrialized countries and other countries in a position to do so. In our view, it would be appropriate to study that special plan with the thoroughness and attention it deserves, but also with an awareness that it cannot in any way become what we might call a consolation prize in case the global negotiations were to fail. We know that that is in no way the intention of the Secretary-General, but we fear that it might be so interpreted in some circles. The situation of the world economy can be compared to that of a person very seriously ill and in need of radical surgery, for whom a few aspirin tablets—useful as aspirin may be in other circumstances—can provide only temporary relief.

79. Spain, whose development process is recent, can understand better than other countries in the group of Western European and other States how serious and just are the economic claims and positions of the Group of 77, as well as a good many of its political claims.

80. In conclusion, I should like to stress from this rostrum the absolute need for this special session to attain the objectives covered by its agenda. For our peoples and for all mankind, we cannot afford any further failures.

81. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation welcomes your presiding over this special session of the Assembly. Your experience, your skill and your prestige, so clearly demonstrated in the previous sessions you guided with such wisdom, guarantee further success in this new event of such importance for the international community.

82. Ecuador also wishes to welcome the noble and stalwart people of Zimbabwe and its illustrious Prime Minister, whose reception here at the United Nations by a unanimous ovation has demonstrated how pleased the world is at the attainment by that new country of full independence, and at its having reached a heroic stage in its struggle for freedom, for rejection of discrimination and colonialism and for the genuine juridical birth of a State through the proper exercise of the voting process, which is how the peoples of true democracies enshrine genuine institutions. The world community owes unreserved support for the development of Zimbabwe, and my country expresses its best wishes for its prosperity and peaceful progress.

83. This special session of the Assembly is both a welcome event and an opportunity in the evolution of the United Nations, especially in the face of the urgent need for a new international economic order. The North-South negotiations have suffered from slow progress, in contrast with the hopes placed in them by our peoples.

84. Those hopes took form in the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, to which the negotiating function asked by the Group of 77 was initially denied and whose preliminary consensus has not been fulfilled either with respect to the transfer of official resources for development or with respect to a level of \$8.3 billion in foreign assist-

ance for agricultural production. Account should be taken of the importance to our countries of an increase in agricultural production and a better world food supply through the co-ordination of programmes enabling us to achieve integrated rural development. In this whole process we can note as a positive fact of political significance only the cautious initiation of the Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities, the agreement for which will be opened for signature in October, and to which the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) will contribute \$100 million in order to promote an atmosphere of trust between developed and developing countries.

85. The Group of 77, following some very difficult preparatory stages at various levels, formulated prior to this session a common stand with respect to the specific objectives of the global negotiations and the new international development strategy as an integral part of the new international economic order, the philosophy and Programme of Action for which were adopted in 1974.

86. We must point out that any stand by the Group of 77, which reflects the common views of 120 countries, two thirds of the population of the world, is as worthy of respect as it is dramatic in demonstrating the consensus of poor peoples. Such a stance cannot be disregarded by the rich countries, given the urgent need to reduce the tensions generated by injustice so that all peoples can enjoy a world of peace.

87. This is the third time that the General Assembly is devoting a special session to development and international economic co-operation. At the beginning of the 1980s, the time has come to lay the foundations of the world economy for a decisive decade in the evolution of the world.

88. Six years ago it was felt that a new era was beginning for such an evolution in international economic relations. There was talk of structural changes in the world economy, of the developing countries as a new great economic and political presence, of "interdependence" which, having begun as a mere concept, was to become a reality in the 1970s. But the framework of the traditional order proved inadequate to respond to the requirements of an international economy in daily growth and evolution in terms different from those of two decades ago. Today we see with disappointment that its effects not only undermine the development process of the third world, but are also affecting the economies of the great industrial Powers themselves while the great gulf between the prosperity of the North and the poverty of the South is deepening.

89. Now that we are meeting again in the shadow of an imminent common peril, there is still a chance of reaching agreement and making progress towards a new international economic order that will be of equally common benefit to all countries. The sharing of efforts in a growing world economy and the reduction of the gaps afflicting the poor countries would be bound to benefit all, because overall economic, social and cultural progress for the developing world would at the same time eliminate the scourges of inflation and the unemployment that afflict the rich countries, which most of the underdeveloped countries are looking to for determined and understanding action. Even the reasonable and moderate Brandt report⁴ states the

³See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Plenary Meetings, 24th meeting, paras. 7-30.*

⁴*North-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).

urgency of such decisions and the resultant transfers; we see neither the deeds nor the actions and figures which would herald the needed rectification.

90. Ecuador believes there to be a close link between democracy and economic and social development, with full respect for human rights as the very essence of development, and with the necessary harmonization of economic, social and cultural aspects within the global approach to development.

91. The injustice that affects the developing peoples is a fact, a widespread fact, something that has been experienced, and is measured by the increasingly distressing data on inequality. Because of this, the factors behind that injustice and the different aspects of it, all parts of an oppressive whole, cannot be dealt with in isolation, piecemeal, or set aside. Because of this, also, negotiations on raw materials, energy, trade, development, and monetary and financial issues should be global, just as the increasingly difficult situation that makes those negotiations necessary is global, and just as the interdependence of those five areas is also global. Structural reforms in the international monetary and financial system must be accompanied by reforms leading to fairer trade and stabilization of the monetary value of the raw materials and commodities of the developing countries, together with greater access to the markets of industrialized countries for the manufactured and other goods produced in the developing countries, and equitable conditions for the transfer of technology, which is of great significance to development. Therefore the international community hopes to adopt a code of conduct for transnational corporations and for the international transfer of technology as part of the North-South dialogue.

92. As a channel for the transfer of technology, the work of UNDP certainly demonstrates effective international co-operation in the field, and is an encouraging attempt at co-ordinated action by the United Nations system for the benefit of development. But the pace of the growth of voluntary contributions to UNDP by the industrialized countries is hardly encouraging, except in the case of contributions from the Scandinavian countries. That operational programme, modest in financial terms but encouraging in its results for the acceleration of development, should be increased at least three-fold from its present level of \$700 million to meet world needs and to reaffirm its universality and the voluntary nature of all its decisions.

93. The attempts of the developing countries to achieve growth and economic and social progress on the basis of their own efforts have been arduous and steadfast. At the same time they have attempted to engage in dialogue and to negotiate with the developed countries in order to speed up changes aimed at full use of the world's potential for the equitable benefit of all nations large and small. In this they have attempted to correct the imbalances in international relations, characterized to date by the polarization of two groups of countries: those that exclusively benefit from such relations, and the others, the majority of nations, which do not participate under conditions of justice and equity in the prevailing system but, to the contrary, have been reduced to being suppliers, on unjust terms, of raw materials and natural resources, while the transnational corporations act as profitable middle-men in the trade in those products.

94. In spite of the optimistic expectation of the developing countries that change will steadily be achieved in the international structure of production, consumption and trade, there has as yet been no transformation.

Furthermore, the world economic situation becomes gloomier day by day, with high levels of unemployment, underemployment, inflation and high rates of protectionism in the developed countries, which affect the weak and vulnerable economies of the developing countries. Serious difficulties stand in the way of the important recommendations concerning industrial growth that emerged from the Third General Conference of UNIDO, held at New Delhi from 21 January to 9 February 1980.

95. For the development of trade it will be necessary to adopt effective measures that avoid such protectionism and generate flows of export goods from the developing countries at stable prices and in open markets, and for there to be a substantial increase in financial aid for development.

96. The recession in the industrial economies has had an adverse effect on raw-materials markets, and Ecuador's trade balance, like that of many developing countries, has felt its effects. Our country's economy is affected by imported inflation precisely because of the increased cost of the goods and services we buy, the increase in domestic prices fluctuating between 10 and 40 per cent, the volume and nature of technological transfers, which are insufficient and very highly priced, the instability of the international monetary situation, which has led to the disorderly growth of international liquidity unadapted to the needs of the developing countries, and external financial servicing, which has risen in relation to national income and the value of exports, thus generating situations of indebtedness, uncertainty and instability.

97. World inflation cannot be attributed to a readjustment of oil prices. It is, rather, due to the high cost of production in the industrialized countries, as well as their chronic budgetary deficits and the astronomical and sterile expenditures on weapons. In this we share the views of the former President of Venezuela, Mr. Rafael Caldera.

98. In the lengthy discussion in which we have been engaged over past decades on the problem of development, many arguments have been put forward, but, as many representatives here—and especially the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India, the spokesman of the Group of 77 [2nd meeting, paras. 58-92]—have mentioned, the lack of political will on the part of the powerful to accept the commitments emanating from the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States enshrined in General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX) and different world declarations on trade and development cannot be concealed by any dialectical exercise.

99. In the face of that fact it is alarming and distressing to hear at this special session offers of mere palliative measures that cannot in any way effectively improve the world economic situation.

100. Ecuador cannot fail to reject this sort of offer which evades the commitment of the industrialized countries to demonstrate the will to achieve a just and equitable system of economic relations. Nor can Ecuador accept the tendency of certain developed countries only to advocate merely marginal changes in the prevailing system, because that would contribute to the perpetuation of a neo-colonialist system.

101. We are fully aware of the duties of solidarity entailed by South-South co-operation, an undertaking conceived and established by the poor countries as an example of their responsibility. Thus we ourselves, at various levels in the developing world, are the first to

advocate urgent measures to help the neediest. That is why we shall support the decisions of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries and any urgent measures it may propose.

102. A clear example of human solidarity and responsibility is the fact that the goal of allocating 0.7 per cent of gross national product to the poorest countries, a goal set 10 years ago but which the Brandt Commission has recommended as a target for 1985, was some time ago surpassed by the oil-exporting developing countries. Those countries are in the vanguard in providing assistance, in relation to their gross national product, throughout the world. Of course, those levels of co-operation among developing countries in no way absolve the industrialized countries of their own responsibility in that field.

103. One form of South-South support is the co-operation among developing countries for collective self-reliance. We deem it essential to speed up the process of integration and the establishment of associations of producers of raw materials and basic commodities in order to seek a balance of power in the world economy.

104. Regionally, the Latin American Economic System (SELA) has incorporated into multinational action programmes the needs and the ways and means of utilizing resources that are common to the region. The admission of SELA as an Observer at this special session of the General Assembly is an event that we welcome as particularly encouraging to the Latin American countries.

105. For our part, we countries of the Andean sub-region have established mutual support programmes characteristic of South-South action. These have been in effect for 11 years now and have featured agreements on joint industrial programming, together with an Andean development corporation and several mechanisms for integration leading to an economic union, while promoting the use of the subregion's capital on equal terms with local capital.

106. Nationally, in proportion to its exportable production, Ecuador has extended credits and maintained energy supplies for countries in the region, while offering facilities for migrant labour, capital investment and technological exchange to nationals from sister countries. We realize that as part of the new strategy every country is in duty bound to foster its own institutional development; hence we have our own national economic planning process. As part of its national development plan, Ecuador is directing its efforts towards participatory democracy, economic development and social justice in which women, children and youth have an important role in the process of uniting the people in their shared development responsibilities. At the national level, we assign a strategic role to social change in development through structural reforms, and, at the international level, to the new international economic order, in which we trust.

107. However, in no way can palliatives, emergency aid, or co-operation among the poor be a substitute for, or an excuse to delay, co-operation in really new terms between industrialized and developing countries, an issue at stake in the new international economic order which we are discussing at this special session of the Assembly.

108. If we achieve that co-operation, if we launch the strategy as an expression of a genuine sense of responsible human solidarity, if we launch the global negotiations in a comprehensive way in all five areas calling for priority action, without reluctance and without decen-

tralizing the work by relegating it to other forums—which would be tantamount to further postponement of the opportunity for a comprehensive solution—and if we establish machinery within the central ambit of the United Nations to maintain the continuity of those negotiations, we shall have demonstrated a genuine commitment to find ways for mankind to co-exist in justice and to fulfil faithfully the principles of the United Nations.

109. Mr. SAKA (Ghana): Mr. President, allow me to convey to you my delegation's sincere pleasure at seeing you at the helm of affairs during this eleventh special session of the General Assembly. The skill with which you presided over the thirty-fourth session reinforces our expectation that the work of the special session will be brought to a successful conclusion.

110. I should also like to add my voice to the many congratulations that have been offered the Secretary-General by other speakers for the comprehensive and thought-provoking statement he delivered at the beginning of the session [*1st meeting, paras. 35-91*]. It is our conviction that, if every State member of the international community heeded and responded positively to the exhortations contained in that statement, we would make substantial progress towards the realization of our common objectives.

111. My delegation is highly honoured and privileged to be one of those Member States which sponsored the resolution on the admission of the newly independent sister Republic of Zimbabwe to membership of the United Nations. The admission of a new Member State into the world Organization is a genuine occasion for rejoicing because, not only does the event underscore our steady march towards the final liquidation of colonialism but it also signifies our inexorable progress towards universality.

112. The role which Ghana has played in the African liberation struggle is a matter of public record and it is not for me now to bore representatives with its details. It is certainly a cause for very special joy for the Government and people of Ghana to see Zimbabwe taking its rightful place within the comity of nations after so many years of oppression and inhuman treatment at the hands of a racist minority régime.

113. We ourselves embarked on the difficult journey to nationhood in the firm belief that our own independence would be incomplete until the entire continent of Africa was free of foreign domination and colonialism. The achievement of Zimbabwe's independence, to which all the people of Ghana were resolutely committed, has brought us nearer the realization of that historic goal.

114. On this occasion, it is my honour, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana, to salute His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe and, through him, the gallant people of Zimbabwe. They can continue to count on the support and co-operation of the Government and people of Ghana.

115. The delegation of Ghana is grateful in this regard to the President of the General Assembly for launching an appeal for massive international assistance to the newly independent Republic of Zimbabwe to enable it to achieve the political reconciliation and economic rehabilitation necessitated by the bitter years of war from which that country has just emerged [*see 1st meeting, para. 94*]. It is in the interest of the international community that such support and assistance should be given urgently in order to ensure Zimbabwe's stability.

Such stability will be a major factor in defusing the perennial tension in southern Africa, which has remained one source of threat to international peace and security.

116. Once again we are assembled here to consider issues which touch upon the survival of millions of people who constitute the bulk of the human race. It is self-evident that all States Members of this Organization are deeply concerned about the increasingly parlous state of the world economy. The world-wide nature of the problems we face—problems like inflation, unemployment and recession—underscores the urgent need for a truly global approach to the search for meaningful and lasting solutions.

117. It was in recognition of these needs that the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly was convened about six years ago and that it adopted in its resolution 3201 (S-VI) the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and also laid down in resolution 3202 (S-VI) the Programme of Action through which the necessary structural transformation was to be effected. I need not enumerate the subsequent decisions or resolutions of the United Nations, which were intended to strengthen and amplify the basic concepts and principles underlying the call for the establishment of the new order. The *raison d'être* of the new order was to replace the existing order, characterized by inequality, domination, dependency, narrow self-interest and segmentation, by a new system of international economic relations based on equity, sovereignty, equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation amongst States irrespective of their economic and social systems.

118. Our purpose during this special session is to review the progress which the international community has made towards the establishment of the New International Economic Order, to adopt a new—that is to say, the third—international development strategy, and to launch the global round of negotiations.

119. We are deeply concerned at the fact that little progress has crowned the tremendous efforts which the international community, and in particular the developing countries, have made in the quest for the establishment of the new order.

120. We share the generally expressed view to the effect that, in a number of limited areas which we recognize as important, some advances have been made. In this context, we recall the agreement reached in UNCTAD on the establishment of a Common Fund for Commodities and on the debt issue.⁵ But even in these fields the progress made is either too meagre or falls far short of the original intent and expectations. For example, the agreed capital of the Common Fund has turned out to be only a fraction of the figure originally projected and will therefore make only a limited impact on the commodity market. Yet the Common Fund was conceived as a vital aspect of the Integrated Programme for Commodities, which should constitute one of the key pillars on which the structure of the new order will be founded.

121. It is all the more disturbing that in other fields which are essential to the establishment of the new order, such as money and finance, protection of the purchasing power of the exports of developing countries, and access to markets, progress has been negligible. This state of affairs is alarming when considered

against the background of efforts to manage the world economic crisis in these fields that have not been integrated with the attempts of the international community to establish such an order.

122. The communiqué [see A/S-11/19, annex] issued at the conclusion of the ministerial meeting of the Group of 77 held from 21 to 23 August 1980 is a synthesis of the excruciating dilemma in which the majority of the world's population continues to find itself as a result of the lack of progress with regard to the "issues requiring urgent and non-postponable action".

123. Reform of the financial and monetary system has been a major concern in our efforts to establish the new economic order. Yet, after six years of protracted negotiations, we have not achieved more than partial solutions or cosmetic changes divorced from the objectives of the New International Economic Order.

124. Considering the purely financial aspect of the problem, we are deeply disappointed not only over the record of official development assistance, but equally over the lack of major advances in the predictability and assurance of the availability of concessional assistance.

125. We are all the more perturbed about the lack of meaningful progress in the monetary field. As in the financial field, the developing countries have yet to achieve full and effective participation in the decision-making processes of the major international financial institutions. The asymmetry of the balance of payments adjustment mechanism and the deflationary bias of the international monetary system have been matters of the utmost importance to the developing countries, but remain unresolved. We are still convinced of the need for flexibility in the application of the principle of conditionality which, on account of its disregard for political and social effects, has often created difficulties for Governments in developing countries, which have found it necessary to resort to IMF in their efforts to deal with their balance of payments problems. It is our considered opinion that the establishment of a medium-term balance of payments facility will be one effective way of dealing with the adjustment needs of the developing countries, since it will help to bridge the gap between the short-term lending of IMF and the long-term lending of the World Bank.

126. Progress in the food sector has also been slow, especially in view of the expectations raised by the 1974 World Food Conference. The food aid target of 10 million tons set by that Conference has not been reached; a food security system at both national and international levels is yet to be established, while hunger, starvation and malnutrition continue to be the lot of about 450 million people mostly to be found in the developing countries.

127. We recognize that the long-term solution of the food problem, in particular of the food deficit of developing countries, lies in increasing agricultural production in those countries. This goal can be attained only if the international community is ready to make the necessary substantial investments in agriculture in developing countries. In this regard, we appreciate the positive role being played by the newly established IFAD. But much more remains to be done if food, the most basic of all commodities, is to be available in sufficient quantities for all mankind.

128. It is evident that any serious attempt at tackling the problems currently besetting the world economy, particularly in the developing countries, would not succeed unless the problem of energy was dealt with in a comprehensive fashion. Oil imports by oil-importing

⁵See United Nations Conference on Trade and Development document TD/IPC/CF/CONF/26.

developing countries are expected to rise from \$29.2 billion in 1978 to \$51.8 billion in 1980 and almost \$200 billion in 1990. Yet, unlike their developed counterparts, these developing countries do not have the same capacity to trim their energy consumption, since they are nominal consumers and are the ones that need oil to speed some aspects of their development.

129. The energy field is, therefore, one area where a high degree of international co-operation is needed. It is doubtful, however, whether the energy problem could be considered in isolation from other interrelated issues like money and finance.

130. My delegation shares the general view that one effective way of tackling the energy problem is to intensify the development and diversification of energy resources in oil-importing developing countries. In this connexion, we welcome the decision of UNDP to enhance its investment support role in this field. We also appreciate the role that the World Bank is playing to stimulate investment in the exploration of energy resources in the developing countries. However, in view of the massive investment needed for an expanded energy programme in the oil-importing countries, we believe that only greater involvement by the World Bank and other international financial institutions, like the regional development banks, would make it possible for the necessary resources to be attracted to this sector. It is our fervent hope that such an approach would be forthcoming, especially following the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy scheduled to be held at Nairobi, Kenya in 1981.

131. No one can deny that the developing countries have long accepted primary responsibility for their own development. It is on the basis of this responsibility that they themselves have in recent years begun to take positive steps to foster and strengthen economic and technical co-operation among themselves as indispensable elements in the global search for the new economic order.

132. We in Ghana have therefore over the years sought, through the establishment of joint commissions of co-operation with our neighbours and through our membership in ECOWAS, to translate the spirit and ideals of collective self-reliance into reality. It is also in pursuit of the same goal that we participated in the Economic Summit of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity recently held at Lagos, a summit whose decisions and recommendations, we believe, would be invaluable inputs in the deliberations on the global negotiations.

133. We have also participated actively in the regional and interregional meetings on economic co-operation among developing countries held under the auspices of UNCTAD to prepare for the setting up of a global system of trade preferences, the promotion of co-operation among State trading organizations and the creation of multinational marketing enterprises in accordance with the mandate of the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance.

134. The Secretary-General's report, contained in document A/S-11/5/Add.1, deals specifically with the problems of the most seriously affected countries. The conclusions of the report paint a gloomy picture for such countries and rightly call for additional external assistance on concessional terms. In this connexion, I should like to recall that the Special Fund recommended by the seventh special session and established to mitigate the difficulties faced by this category of countries has

had to be suspended for lack of voluntary contributions and donations.

135. It is in due recognition of the plight of those countries that my delegation welcomes the proposals made by the Secretary-General at the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council on emergency measures for low-income countries.⁶ While appreciating the need for further elaboration and consideration of the Secretary-General's proposals, we should like strongly to recommend that, in view of events, the international community should not lose sight of the time factor underlying the proposal. The measures were expected to be transitional and for 1981 only; a total disregard of this fact would defeat the whole purpose of the proposal.

136. The establishment of the New International Economic Order through the restructuring of international economic relations should be the basic and long-term objective of the new international development strategy. But such is the stark economic reality facing most developing countries that the strategy's priority should be the accelerated development of the developing countries rather than the health of the world economy.

137. We recognize that progress has been made in most areas of the new international development strategy, but the areas where disagreement persists are so fundamental to the interests of developing countries as to detract from the progress achieved on aspects of the goals and objectives as well as policy measures. Issues like transfer of resources, monetary reform, structural aspects of trade and industry and quantitative targets are so central to the strategy that we fail to see how we can have a strategy without agreement on them.

138. Perhaps the developed countries are opposed to minimum quantitative targets because these would constitute the best yardstick for measuring their performance in the implementation of the strategy. If this is so then it is a wrong interpretation of the motive of the developing countries which are strongly advocating these targets. We believe that these targets are essential for the strategy, not only because they prescribe realistic objectives that must be attained by developed countries, but also because they will constitute the best mechanism for monitoring progress in this international endeavour.

139. General Assembly resolution 32/174 on the global round of negotiations provides the foundation on which a global, fairer system of managing the world economy will be built. The resolution further provides that the negotiations should contribute to the solution of international economic problems, taking into account the general economic capability of each country.

140. It is our firm conviction that, for the global round of negotiations to succeed in prescribing measures capable of providing effective solutions to the different problems of the different countries, it should take into account the different levels of development of those countries. We must have an effective and feasible package of measures in the major areas of trade, raw materials, energy, development, and money and finance.

141. We expect the negotiations to produce concrete agreements on a series of short-term, medium-term and long-term policy measures to which all parties should be politically committed. This, in our view, would be the only guarantee for ensuring the speedy and effective implementation of such agreements.

⁶See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Plenary Meetings, 24th meeting, paras. 7-30.*

142. We believe that the global round of negotiations presents the international community with another opportunity to move away from the sectoralization of negotiations which has partly bedevilled and frustrated our attempts at adopting an integrated and comprehensive approach which provides a better potential for finding meaningful and lasting solutions to the current problems of international economic relations.

143. We regret therefore that the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, which was charged with the task of preparations for launching the global negotiations, had to report to this session in documents A/S-11/1 (Part IV) and Corr.1 that it had been unable to agree on proposals for the agenda, procedures and time-frame for the global negotiations. In this connexion, we are deeply concerned that, despite the spirit of co-operation and accommodation that the Group of 77 has shown on all those issues, it has not been possible to reach agreement on them. We are convinced that the Group of 77's proposals on the issues still offer the most pragmatic way out of the stalemate, and should form the basis for launching the global negotiations.

144. We must not allow differences over the agenda to be subordinated to the problem of procedures, for decisions on the modalities and forums of negotiation clearly must flow from substantive considerations. We recognize the need for the involvement of the specialized agencies in the negotiations in one form or another, as is indeed reflected in the latest proposals of the Group of 77, but we do not accept the view that the final decisions on certain issues should be the preserve of the specialized agencies. We should like to emphasize that the final decisions on all issues relating to the global negotiations must be taken by the General Assembly, the highest, the central organ in the United Nations system. The central role of the General Assembly should not be questioned, since the necessary equal and effective participation of all countries—the socialist, the developing and the developed market economy countries—is possible only within the General Assembly.

145. It is clear from what I have said so far that we are faced with an array of difficult problems. In his report contained in document A/S-11/5, the Secretary-General has pinpointed some of the main stumbling-blocks in the way of progress towards the replacement of the present unjust system of international economic relations with one based on justice, equality and genuine interdependence of all countries. It is our view that, intractable though these problems may seem, they are but a reflection of the lack of political will on the part of those fortunate nations whose unequivocal support is indispensable for the attainment of the new order. In other words, we do not underestimate the gravity and complexity of the issues involved in restructuring the world economy, but it is none the less true that the required political will—which, of course, implies real compassion for the sufferings of the underprivileged—should match the enormous size of the problems in question.

146. In our view, it is the same lack of political will which now constitutes a threat to the authority and unity of the United Nations as the final negotiating forum where issues of global dimension can be tackled and resolved by the international community acting not as a group of diverse and opposing interests but as a global entity with one purpose in mind.

147. In conclusion, I should like to express the urgent hope and expectation that the special session will evoke real interest on all sides in the success of the oncoming

round of global negotiations. In this context, I pledge my delegation's full co-operation and support.

148. Mr. KAMANDA WA KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): I should like at the outset to say how happy the Zairian delegation is at seeing you, Sir, presiding over this special session of the General Assembly.

149. I think that I can say without fear of being mistaken or challenged that you will have a place in the annals of the United Nations as the man who will have presided over the greatest number of sessions of the General Assembly during his term.

150. This is a well-deserved tribute paid to a man of eminent talents and a seasoned diplomat whom all are compelled to admire. I want to assure you, as in the past, that you will have our complete support in your efforts to ensure the success of these important discussions.

151. I should like also to welcome the 153rd Member of the United Nations, Zimbabwe, and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, the indefatigable builder of the freedom and independence of his courageous people, a man who today enjoys the admiration of all for having taken over his office in such a masterly and responsible manner. His presence here reminds us all, on the one hand, that we cannot escape change and, on the other, that it is necessary to confront change with a sense of responsibility and with skill and, finally, that change is not catastrophe.

152. What an extraordinary, lucid message is the presence of Robert Mugabe here, this man who exudes level-headedness and wisdom, at a moment when some among us are hesitating to support resolutely the establishment of a new international economic order—for fear of change.

153. This eleventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly opens in an international context and at a time in the history of international relations which are characterized by political crisis, economic crisis and the crisis of humanism because of the crisis in co-operation and solidarity. It is the combination of these three factors and of their implications that has led to the paralysis, and even the total breakdown, of the present system of international relations.

154. We shall have ample time during the thirty-fifth session to take up political questions and analyse the elements of the world political crisis, but here we have to bear in mind that not only are we confronted with an unprecedented world economic crisis, but also that this economic crisis has arisen in a world that is in the midst of a crisis in its values.

155. The sources and causes of tension, of conflict, of insecurity, of distrust and of misunderstanding are such that the General Assembly, in its resolution 34/87 B of 11 December 1979, stressed that in order to facilitate the process of disarmament it is necessary to take measures and pursue policies to strengthen international peace and security and, finally, to build confidence in international relations.

156. In other words, in the international environment of the end of the twentieth century, which is full of equivocations and ambiguities and in which the concrete actions of Governments, if not their policies, are often tangential to their commitments as members of the international community and of the United Nations, there is a general feeling of unease which no one can escape and which bears the seeds of serious threats to world peace and security.

157. The precepts, concepts, notions and ideas which used to govern life in society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are now disappearing. Entire generations are disappearing, and with them the chief ideas of their times which underlay their existence, their activities and even some of what they created.

158. A new world is in gestation, a world that is already projecting other principles and a new ethic, and that international ethic itself is beginning to seep in through the faults in present-day international society.

159. Whether to reject, to accept or to contain this change which is already here—that, I think, is what the present debate is all about. There is no limit to the questions, the fears and the anxieties the present time evokes, and it is at this precise moment that the eleventh special session of the General Assembly is convened on the matter of economic co-operation for development.

160. We have heard apocalyptic declarations and pathetic accounts delivered from this rostrum on the world food shortage, on the little children of the third world who are dying of hunger now or will be dying of hunger in the year 2000, on development assistance and the assistance needed to confront this pressing problem.

161. I did not understand—and I apologize for this—whether the aid and assistance that have been suggested were also designed to relieve the suffering of the little children of the third world who will be dying of hunger in the year 2000. I wonder whether it is the children of the third world and of Africa who are dying today from all sorts of privations and frustrations or whether it is those who will die of starvation in the year 2000 who will be the happier and the luckier.

162. While thanking those of the developed countries which are aware of the sufferings of our peoples and which have given us valuable assistance in alleviating immediate problems, an assistance that we truly appreciate, it is important to remember that, besides these problems of circumstance, there are structural problems in the world economy which are certainly as important as those on the agenda if not more so.

163. What are we actually talking about? The world economy is now going through the gravest crisis that it has seen since the Second World War, and the persistent malaise of the international economic system, far from being a simple cyclical phenomenon, is essentially the symptom of profound structural defects and of a fundamental disequilibrium.

164. The institutional framework established at the end of the Second World War to govern international economic, commercial, monetary and financial relations is turning out to be incompatible with the efficient functioning of the world economy and the objectives of the new international economic order.

165. At Geneva, New Delhi, Santiago, Nairobi, New York and Manila, we have unceasingly proclaimed that this institutional framework and the present international economic order are outdated not only because they are not capable of responding to the concerns of the developing countries, which are the majority of States, but also because they are increasingly incapable of dealing with the crises that are shaking the industrialized countries themselves.

166. The fundamental problems are exacerbated by new disequilibria of the past few years, and the developing countries are penalized, on the one hand, by a short-fall in their gross domestic product because of imported inflationary pressures from the developed countries and the developed countries' monetary policy, and, on the other, by their exclusion from the prospective markets

for their finished and semi-finished goods owing to the resurgence of protectionism and other restrictive commercial practices, and the subsidization of industry on an increasing scale by the developed countries.

167. Therefore, the existing international economic system is unjust, operates most inefficiently and has already shown its inability adequately to support international development, which has had serious repercussions on the economies of the developing countries, particularly the least developed, and has meant that much of the burden of adjustment has fallen on them.

168. The present international economic system does not enable the developing countries to participate effectively in the running of the world economy and, above all, in the making of decisions on its management. It is not a question of patching it up but of burying it and replacing it with a new order.

169. The structural changes that we want to introduce into the international economy would cover sectoral adjustments such as the relocation of the structures of production, consumption and trade, changes to be made in the structures through which countries exercise effective control over the use of their own resources, restructuring of the institutional framework, including the possibility of creating a new framework to promote and support all the aforementioned aspects of the structural changes, and the full participation by the developing countries in decision-making at the international level.

170. But, unfortunately, certain developed and industrialized countries do not share our view on the evaluation of the world commercial, economic and monetary situation, and particularly not our evaluation of its causes. Certain developed and industrialized countries do not wish to face their responsibility for the causes of the present world economic crisis, nor do they want to fulfil their obligations with respect to the establishment of a new international economic order.

171. Certain developed and industrialized countries do not want to recognize the outdated character of the existing economic order or its incapacity to meet the new requirements of a world in perpetual change and, above all, the requirements of the majority of the world's States. Certain developed and industrialized countries minimize the dangers of protectionism and seek to justify their inflexible and uncompromising policies.

172. Finally, it clearly appears that the rich and powerful do not want to commit themselves to abandoning the policies, practices and habits from which they have profited so much in the past, while the poor and the weak are challenging the traditional conception of the international division of labour, which they want to replace by the development of the creative autonomy of peoples in an international exchange structured, and are unanimously proclaiming the outdated character of the present international economic order and demanding its restructuring.

173. That is what is blocking the North-South dialogue and creating the present impasse.

174. At its thirty-second session, the General Assembly decided, in its resolution 32/174 of 19 December 1977, to convene a special session of the General Assembly in 1980 in order to assess the progress made in the various forums of the United Nations in the establishment of the new international economic order, and on the basis of that assessment, to take appropriate action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-

operation, including the adoption of the new international development strategy for the 1980s.

175. On 14 December 1979, during its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly decided, in its resolution 34/138, to launch at its special session in 1980 a round of global and sustained negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

176. On 19 December 1979, by its decision 34/448, the General Assembly decided that the special session on development should be held from 25 August to 5 September 1980, with the possibility of extending the session for a few days if that should be necessary.

Mr. Sheldov (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

177. The framework of our session thus defined, we can easily conclude that we are here to comply with the wishes expressed in resolutions 32/174 and 34/138, that is to say in order to assess the progress made towards the establishment of the new international economic order, to take appropriate action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation, to adopt the new international development strategy and to launch a series of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

178. We view the global negotiations within the United Nations—and not in the related bodies—as an opportunity to find in the appropriate forum both short-term and long-term solutions to the problems raised, solutions to both incidental and structural problems. It is not at all a question of tackling incidental problems without considering those relating to the structure of international economic relations and to the present international economic order.

179. In his statement [*1st meeting, paras. 35-91*], which, as usual, was clear, frank and firm and which has been confirmed in all respects by the report of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 [*A/S-11/1 (Part IV) and Corr.1*], the Secretary-General deplored the failure of the negotiations in the Committee of the Whole on the agenda, the time-frame and the procedures of the global negotiations, as well as the lack of a consensus or agreement in the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy on the basic elements of the strategy.

180. We therefore hope that the eleventh special session of the General Assembly will succeed in meeting the hopes placed in it.

181. One can consider that the beginning of the 1980s is confirming the negative tendencies of the 1970s. In his report to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General said:

“In almost every area, economic problems multiplied. Many countries experienced unacceptable levels of inflation and unemployment. Exchange rates have been unstable and volatile. Protectionism has increased. Foreign trade has stagnated. Economic growth has been slow and erratic in industrialized countries. The developing countries have found it impossible to finance reasonable rates of development. Official development assistance has stagnated at about half the target figure agreed in the International Development Strategy. The situation is becoming critical, and a continuation of present trends would seriously jeopardize the pace of development in developing countries for years to come. This in turn would reduce growth and prosperity in the indus-

trialized countries. The forces at work in the world economy call for strong co-ordinated action to remove the structural causes of the present difficulties.”⁷

182. That analysis remains very up to date, even one year later.

183. Bearing in mind the failure of the Third General Conference of UNIDO, the first North-South dialogue of the 1980s, held from 21 January to 9 February 1980 at New Delhi, and the failure of the negotiations in the Committee of the Whole and in the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy, and considering the customary slow product-by-product pace of negotiations on agreements, the constant and dizzying increase in the price of energy which weakens the economies of energy-importing developing countries, the persistence of inflation and of the world economic recession originating in the developed industrialized countries and its negative impact on the economies of developing countries, chronic imbalances affecting international payments, the significant slowdown of world economic activity and growth, the decided deterioration in the terms of trade of developing countries, increasing protectionism, the high levels of unemployment, under-employment and inflation—and I am not mentioning everything—it does not seem that the developed industrialized countries have heeded the Secretary-General's appeal for energetic co-ordinated action to eliminate the structural causes of present difficulties.

184. The underlying causes of this situation are the inequalities inherent in the weaknesses of the present international economic system. But the major problem confronting us is that of the growing disparity between the urgent nature of the problems to be resolved—whether economic or other—and insufficient compliance by States with measures adopted by the international community to tackle those problems.

185. Further, when one speaks in elegant terms in the United Nations about the absence of political will among developed countries as if that were normal, fitting and acceptable, in the final analysis one is speaking of a refusal to change, of a refusal to comply with solutions advocated by this Organization, and of wilful non-respect for its decisions. And that is what is so serious.

186. For example, how is it that certain States are proposing to the General Assembly an agenda for global negotiations that is contrary to the spirit and the letter of the General Assembly's resolution 34/138?

187. According to the terms of that resolution, the global negotiations must be action-oriented and proceed in a simultaneous manner on various priority issues in order to ensure an integrated approach to the issues under negotiation, without any interruption of the negotiations in other United Nations forums, but rather reinforcing and drawing upon them. Secondly, the global negotiations must take place within the United Nations system with the full and complete participation of all States within a specified time-frame. This is a reaffirmation of the primary role recognized as falling to the United Nations in the conduct of world affairs and the solution of fundamental problems of common interest to all nations. And that, as we shall see later on, has the extremely important effect of rightly exalting the essential nature of the United Nations in these troubled times and at the same time indicates the need for a new

⁷Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1, p. 5.

ethic. Thirdly, the global negotiations must deal with major issues relating to raw materials, energy, trade, development and monetary and financial problems. Fourthly, they must significantly contribute to the implementation of the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade.

188. How is it, then, that today food, energy, and the problem of balance of payments are being proposed to us as the subjects of the global negotiations?

189. Common sense shows that the success of the global negotiations will depend essentially if not exclusively on the unequivocal commitment of all countries, in particular the developed countries, to enter into genuine negotiations in the context of the establishment of the new international economic order.

190. Now, we can easily recognize that there are ambiguities, that misunderstandings are fostered and that narrow-minded intransigence stands in the way of the global negotiations, the establishment of the New International Economic Order and the acceptance of a new strategy that views development as a global concept.

191. How is it that prior settlement of the energy question is being proposed so as to paralyse the North-South dialogue, thus penalizing all the developing countries that import petroleum, capital goods and food and that were counting precisely on an increase in the value of their raw materials and their export earnings?

192. Those manoeuvres certainly do not contribute to making the climate of international relations healthier, and we appeal to our partners of the developed industrialized countries to change and reverse those negative and dangerous tendencies.

193. The need for the new international economic order has been raised by the developing countries and the Group of 77 through the movement of non-aligned countries in response to the fundamental imbalances and structural defects of the world economy. The General Assembly has enshrined that need by its adoption of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], which are historic texts in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and which, therefore, demand the unswerving commitment of all States Members of the United Nations, since their validity, their legality and their juridical force cannot be questioned on any fallacious pretext of an abstention in the votes which adopted them.

194. However, as this new international economic order implies a radical break with the rules, practices and principles that have in the past allowed the developed countries to prosper, those countries are showing reluctance, and are impeding its entry into force by various delaying tactics.

195. We say that there is no basis for these fears, for it is not a question of winning out over someone or of losing while another profits; we shall succeed together or we shall lose together. It is a question of sharing the prosperity and the wealth of the world and of equitable redistribution of that wealth. It is a question of following together the principles of solidarity and of giving every individual and every social group and every nation or region of the world the opportunity to participate in development and to master the environment.

196. That is how together we shall create a new civilization based on a new ethic. In a word, the developed countries today must understand that things will no longer be as they were before.

197. Certainly, the world today is divided in two. On the one hand, there are the countries which want to defend and maintain at any price the quality of life which they have attained; on the other hand, there are the countries which want to attain a better quality of life. The prosperity of the first group of countries has gone side by side with the impoverishment of the second group; and the first group will not have a euphoric growth without the raw materials of the second group, which is seeking to redefine the terms of trade and obtain its share of the prosperity in the world.

198. The intolerable and inadmissible dependence of the second group of countries, resulting from the structures of the present international economic order, is the subject of the concern of the international community in the obvious interest of world peace, for mankind's future and very survival are at stake.

199. That is what is at stake at this eleventh special session of the General Assembly. On the one hand, there is the path of reason, the true solutions; on the other hand, there is the path of folly, the false solutions.

200. Instead of anarchy and egoism, the delegation of Zaire chooses and proposes balance and solidarity.

201. The path of folly leads to diversion, delaying tactics, the maintenance of the gap between the rich and the poor, the constantly worsening distortion between the standard of living of a small minority—a standard that can go on improving indefinitely—and, alongside this euphoric growth, the stagnation of the unfavoured masses.

202. There are three billion human beings today; by the end of the century there will be more than six billion. Of those six billion, hardly one billion will live in the favoured regions; of the remaining five billion, one billion will be in the former colonial countries, close to Rostov's take-off point. While they may have some hope of continuing to improve their standard of living, they will not necessarily have any hope of being able to reduce the distance separating their standard of living from that of the most developed countries. The situation might be relatively favourable, but it will certainly cause growing bitterness among those locked into it. The remaining four billion human beings will run a great risk, if the international community does not agree to make a gigantic, orderly effort to help them, of vegetating in their present miserable condition and of seeing their modest prospects of improving their mediocre standard of living encounter obstacles that can surely be as much a reason for revolt as poverty itself. What I have just said comes from Robert Lemaignan; it is not original with me.

203. Is it possible to imagine a harmonious, peaceful and stable human society built in that way? Do those among us who reject dialogue or make it impossible want to replace it by force? Do the rich countries have in mind resorting to force to maintain their advantages? We think that the new international economic order is the point of reconciliation of the legitimate interests of all the nations of the world. Thus, in conformity with resolution 32/174, this special session must draw up a balance sheet: a balance sheet of the way in which all sides are carrying out their obligations in relation to the establishment of the new international economic order and in relation to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. The real problem has to do with the

concessions to be agreed to by the developed and industrialized countries.

204. What the developed and industrialized countries must do is tell us clearly, among other things, whether their support of decolonization meant, and means still, that they intended the third-world countries, and particularly Africa—for it is Africa that has lost the most from the last two United Nations Development Decades and Development Strategies—to be slaves only theoretically liberated from the chains of servitude.

205. The ambiguous and hypocritical position of the rich nations today is harmful to their own interests because it strengthens the trend in many of those nations to use the developing countries for their political manoeuvres. We are not in favour of confrontation, and we reject the false solutions of force, reprisals and intimidation, or politically inspired assistance or bilateralism.

206. No, force—which is so dear to the hearts of those who wish to defend the last inch of the benefits of the rich—is not a solution. Indeed, in the minds of many in the northern hemisphere of the globe a secret hope is germinating—that is, that military superiority, the atomic threat, blackmail based on food, and economic and financial reprisals will be enough to contain the impatience of militarily under-equipped hungry people. But force will not contain that impatience. Every day it becomes more and more clear that the abuse, and even the use, of force yields very fragile results, and that it is extremely difficult to use force in a world that stands in ever-greater solidarity and is increasingly well-informed. Force, threats, even crushing military superiority cannot be a solid basis for the privileges and material prosperity of the minorities with a high standard of living.

207. The present development assistance, which is inconsistent and inadequate, is also a false solution to present world economic problems. Moreover, that inconsistency and inadequacy becomes worse each day, as the gap widens between the standard of living of the developed countries and that of the developing countries. And since certain developing countries have to use up to 60 per cent, if not more, of their gross national product for debt servicing, the so-called aid or assistance will only bring the least favoured of the developing countries closer and closer to bankruptcy, particularly since some of them are already using between 30 per cent and 70 per cent of their profits from exports to meet their oil bills.

208. The path of reason lies in a prodigious, generous and, above all, orderly world effort to find just solutions to the present problems—a difficult path, to be sure, and doubtless a path that is at first glance even unacceptable to those who feel they will unjustly have to bear the heavy costs; that is an attitude they will continue to take until they have completely understood the facts of the medium-term and long-term threats to their present increasing prosperity.

209. The path of reason lies in true multilateralism, providing for the establishment of the new international economic order. Global negotiations in the United Nations framework, in preference to politically inspired bilateralism, remain the best and most important path to the solution of the common problems of the world economy.

210. We must thus remove the ambiguities and triumph over obtuse intransigence, if mankind and civilization are to survive.

211. There are certainly many roads to choose from in the future, but the choices that will prevail will depend on the ethics supporting the new relations between nations and peoples—indeed constituting the background of those relations.

212. Those ethics will be determined by our perception of the basic needs of mankind: the need to survive, the need for peace, the need for progress in the sharing of prosperity. If those basic needs of mankind are to be met, there must be some important changes in attitudes, some reappraisal—doubtless an agonizing reappraisal—some limits deliberately placed on growth as some see it, a rational, just and viable organization of the interdependence of nations, some changes and mutations in the structures of international relations as well as relations within each nation. It is from all this that the new international economic order—the new order of survival—will result.

213. General Assembly resolution 34/138, which supplements resolution 32/174, brings to this eleventh special session a message of rationality, solidarity and action which we must all keep constantly in mind—and this applies in the first place to solidarity.

214. In asking that the global negotiations of the 1980s take place within the framework of the United Nations system, the States of the world wished not only to confirm the Organization's important role and its central place in the collective life of the United Nations, but also and above all to ennoble its very essence.

215. Yes, the United Nations was born under the sign of solidarity. For that solidarity—as Tamas Szentes has reminded us—by strengthening the national interest and the awareness of a common danger, gave rise to the anti-fascist coalition, that alliance of nations which was intended to be democratic and was created during the Second World War. The same spirit of solidarity led to the birth of the United Nations. The States which were opposed to the Second World War, for which in their view there was no explanation—States resting comfortably on their superiority in many areas, which they think is theirs by divine right—are beginning to believe that they are entitled to seek their own explanation for war, peace and the forces that create history.

216. All viable societies encourage solidarity and establish institutions and machinery to reconcile the aspirations of varied groups. But the present international community obviously is not doing that.

217. The prevailing growth model is being challenged by the majority of the States of the world, which blame it for their lack of development and the inequalities of which they are the victims. Those countries, which are the majority of the countries of the world and are also the poorest, do not want international economic relations to be organized without them or against them. They advocate the participation of everyone, on a footing of equality, in the solution of world problems.

218. In an organized society that wants to progress we must do away with gross inequalities and the most serious disparities between social groups. Thus coming to the assistance of the most seriously affected or the poorest or the least favoured countries becomes necessary for the survival of all. That means that the imperative need for solidarity is based on humanitarian concern and ethical principles as well as on an enlightened self-interest in reducing or eliminating social conflicts.

219. Joint measures in the struggle against poverty in the world will, by improving the economic conditions of the poor, also considerably improve the well-being of the rich that support those measures, thus ensuring the

survival of the world community in peace, understanding and harmony.

220. The international community must realize the need for a new ethic, for a just and equitable distribution of the world's wealth and for prosperity to be shared by all.

221. It can increasingly be seen that models of domination will be less and less accepted by the overwhelming majority of the countries of our world that produce strategic raw materials.

222. The traditional international division of labour must give way to the development of a creative autonomy of peoples in a structured and balanced international trade system.

223. The struggle against inequalities, disparities and imbalances must become the struggle of all States throughout the world, developed and underdeveloped, rich and poor, powerful and weak, capitalist, nationalist and socialist alike, because they are scourges that threaten the survival of the world. This threat to human survival leads us to understand the need to protect and safeguard the rights of mankind. The more sensitive we are to human rights, the greater our contribution will be to the establishment of the new international economic order, which is based on solidarity and equity.

224. The combating of poverty and the redistribution of income, internally as well as at the world level, is the basic task of all the States of our world 20 years before the year 2000, if the foreseeable disasters are to be avoided.

225. Will all the members of our Assembly be sensitive to the responsibility of solidarity?

226. There is also a responsibility to be rational in order to understand and to face the fact that the life and behaviour of a society is a reflection of the individuals that go to make it up. When they assess their well-being, individuals generally do so by comparing themselves to other members of society, so individual well-being can be judged not by absolute criteria but rather in relative terms. When an individual or a group sees that its relative position is incompatible with the sense of justice and equity, then clearly a feeling of alienation emerges and is evidenced in social conflicts that may affect most if not all the members of a given society. Therefore it is in the interest of the world at the domestic level as well as at the international level to avoid conflicts by helping those individuals that could be frustrated.

227. We must understand and face the fact that if the disparities between social or human groups become dangerously great, the underprivileged groups will feel they have a right to destroy the system that they consider to be responsible for their situation—above all when inequality and immobility are both as marked as they are today. In ancient times, the Roman philosopher Seneca said that the hungry do not listen to the voice of reason; they are indifferent to justice and will not kneel to pray.

228. We must understand and face the fact that today, in this second half of the twentieth century, that is to say, 20 years before the year 2000, it is no longer possible to talk about colonialism and the dominant model. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the anti-colonialist Declaration, was a point of no return, the beginning of a new era, and above all, the basis of a new international ethic. Decolonization has become an ethic of international law in the second half of the twentieth century.

229. We must understand and face the fact that we are committed to a globalizing of situations and are witnessing a state when nationalist interests are increasingly superseded by the more fundamental interest of States—survival.

230. We must understand and face the fact that all resolutions, declarations, charters, conventions and other texts adopted by the international organizations of the United Nations system that put forward rules and principles of behaviour in international economic co-operation are the axes of new international morality and a plea for the right to development. The right to development now emerging is one of the fundamental principles that we must follow to arrive at a balance in the international order and even at peaceful coexistence.

231. The attainment of the right to development, which is more than a simple aspiration of the majority of States of our world, today presupposes our support for the right to development for all peoples and all States throughout the world without distinction, since development is now considered a global concept.

232. We must understand and face the fact that human beings, from the frigid polar regions to the hot and dry zones of the tropics, can and do see the new forces sweeping away old practices and are acting accordingly.

233. We must understand and face the fact that we are witnessing the transition from a traditional international order to a new international order whose means of expression and social influence will be the rights of mankind in a global, universal vision of human society.

234. These rights are not an expression of neo-liberalism or socialism, nor are they the exclusive prerogative of any given philosophical concept. They are global, fundamental and universal. They belong to all people, transcending nationalism, transcending ideologies. They are central to our world in the context of our present society.

235. Finally, we must understand and face the fact that our present society is more than ever interdependent; its survival is part of a global prospect, a global approach to the problems of all mankind.

236. If we are not aware of these new truths, these realities of the world of tomorrow, which is already upon us, we shall be engulfed in incoherence and folly. For I believe that things will no longer be as they were in the past. They will be better for everyone, or they will be not at all.

237. The voices of folly foster ambiguity and misunderstanding, for they are the voices that speak of counter-development and support the balance of force and the subordination of some peoples by others.

238. If we do not join to pull ourselves together, catastrophe is inevitable.

239. We need action, for it is action that is most seriously lacking.

240. It is essential to form a new international awareness. But that will not suffice in itself, because the critical point in any revolutionary process is when greater awareness has to be translated into action through the mobilization of all social forces.

241. The strengthening and extension of collective awareness in a spirit of international solidarity must go side by side with appropriate action at all levels, and the United Nations is the ideal place for the encouragement, bringing together and uniting of such national and international action for the benefit of solidarity. That is why we are all agreed that the global negotiations must

be undertaken within the framework of the United Nations.

242. First, it is a question of finding among all the countries—developed industrialized and developing, rich and poor, producer and consumer, socialist and capitalist, market economy and socialist, great and powerful, small and medium-sized countries, energy-producing, strategic raw-material producing and consumer countries that are exporters of technology and capital equipment—a procedure that will enable them to recover the right to force Leviathan to accept the limitations we must place on its growth in order to survive and the right to choose the limits that optimize civilization.

243. Secondly, we must orient our thinking and our wills towards a joint vision of the world and ensure the coherence and the proper articulation of the specific objectives chosen.

244. Thirdly, we must reject the dominant growth model and adopt a new approach on the acute problems of the localization of industrial activities, of international co-operation in science and technology, the organization of trade in raw materials, the energy crisis or changes in the types and levels of energy consumption, and so on.

245. Fourthly, we must help to change the nature of international relations, and lay down the basic lines of a system of law that will direct co-operation towards the essential goal of enabling every individual, social group, nation or region to control its environment.

246. Fifthly, we must rebalance the chances and the means to be available to each country and each people, without losing sight of the fact that that cannot be done without clashes, because the new rights are emerging in a hostile environment, are even marked by hesitation on the part of many, and must be defined in principle while instruments are devised to implement them.

247. The appeal for a new international economic order calls for justice and solidarity not only among human groups within a State, a political unit, but also among States and peoples. It is a question of opposing the existing order, which is based on the sovereignty and the theoretical equality of nations, and of opening up the prospect of a new order, indicating the active principles that will make it possible to pass from one to the other.

248. The aim is to ensure that international economic co-operation is organized in such a way as to offset natural inequalities such as meagre resources, inadequate resources to support population growth, an unfavourable climate and geographical location, and correct structural inequalities, the fruit of a historical process that creates among nations relations of subordination and dependence as a result of political and military force and of economic, commercial, financial and technological flows.

249. Without trying to evaluate here their quality, content or scope, or even the motivations behind them, let me say that aid and assistance thus will become an obligation based upon a principle of achieving equality, whereas the rules of economic exchange will be reconsidered in view of the future liberation and autonomy of oppressed peoples.

250. Finally, it is a question of a true structural transformation of the terms governing relations among all components of the present-day international community, bearing in mind that ultimately at stake is the very existence of mankind, its chances of survival.

251. To achieve the new international economic order and to shelter humanity from foreseeable catastrophes it

is necessary, simultaneously to take specific actions to combat the concrete problems of inequality, disparities and fundamental imbalances, and to educate today's generation in a spirit of peace and solidarity—in other words, emphasizing the global objectives of mankind. Thus we have to reverse existing trends and do everything possible to ensure that the spirit of peace and solidarity replace the spirit of competition, confrontation, rivalry and even aggressiveness.

252. It has been written, and correctly so, that the future is explored in the light of possible antagonisms and that the values of aggressiveness, war and violence are pursued much more assiduously than those of peace, co-operation and understanding.

253. Confrontation, it has been said, requires less effort than co-operation, and the resort to conflict is tantamount to the collapse of the model required by co-operation; it also proves that its rules are no longer understood or even appreciated.

254. Professor Mircea Malitza, in his work entitled *Solidarity and the Apprenticeship Process in Society*, demonstrates that mathematicians have fully succeeded in revealing all the patterns of conflict relationships in the games theory, whereas the chapter dealing with co-operative relations is far from complete. He deduces that co-operative situations are much more complex; consequently, their description and implementation require greater effort.

255. He goes on to say that,

“Without denying the contribution of games to the acquisition of a team spirit—above all, at a tender age—we must note that many of them are zero-score games: one side wins, while the other loses. In contrast, co-operation is characterized by a non-zero-score game, in which the players can win or lose together.”

256. The global negotiations of the 1980s, the adoption of a new development strategy and the establishment of a new international economic order are certainly no game, and it is in no way a question of one side winning while the other loses. We will all win together or we will all lose together, because it is a question here of true co-operation for everyone's survival.

257. Hence to reinvent the formative value of participation in community life and, above all, that of mankind, and thus regain the sense of human community, is the main thing for the advocates of change.

258. The new order so ardently desired by us all requires a thorough restructuring of production relations, at both the national and international levels, a new mode of distribution of wealth and the restoration to the third world of all its values.

259. International solidarity will thus mean the participation of the industrialized and other countries in this historic effort to establish a fairer world, curbing selfish interests and offsetting inequalities, in order to contribute effectively to improving the condition of all inhabitants of the earth.

260. In the face of the numerous conflicts besetting us in the latter days of this century in the economic field and in that of co-operation, it is essential that everyone be mindful of achieving results. The considerable work of the United Nations in the elaboration of standards and rules, especially in the field of co-operation and development and in the reaffirmation not only of human rights but also of the rights of peoples and States—and above all the rights of mankind—cannot be allowed to remain incomplete.

261. While it is very difficult to see into the future, at least let us hope that, in good faith, moved by a sense of responsibility commensurate with our duty towards mankind, our world and our civilization, our partners among the developed countries will make great efforts to combat the scourges already threatening us.

262. To paraphrase the Secretary-General's words, let us make the United Nations the mainstay of tomorrow's

world community, the preferred framework for solution of the bulk of present-day world problems, and let us help it to fulfil its mission in the service of all people and of mankind itself.

The meeting rose at 1.55 p.m.