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**GENERAL
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at 3.45 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

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**

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 1st meeting, I now call on the President of the World Food Council.

2. Mr. TANCO (President of the World Food Council): I should like to begin by thanking the General Assembly, through the President, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, for inviting me to address this eleventh special session on behalf of the World Food Council.

3. It is not given to many to participate in what could be an historic restructuring of economic relationships between the poor and rich nations of this world, to join with others in achieving what the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, Mr. Dadzie, has called a "revolution in positions and perspectives", and finally to break through the now ritualized postures and rhetoric of confrontation between North and South and arrive at common and durable solutions to global problems of mutual interest.

4. Success would be momentous. But many, whether friend or foe, predict failure. The smell of pessimism has been wafting through the corridors of the United Nations since last week.

5. But we dare not fail. The world is convulsing even now, at the edge of upheaval. Certainly, one successful special session alone will not move us back too far from the edge, but another failure could push us over the precipice.

6. The need for change, for a new international economic order, is inevitable. The only question that remains is whether we, the world community, will take deliberate and decisive steps to structure this change in the directions we all agree upon. If we do not, then change will be forced upon us by a rushing unfolding of events over which we may not have any control.

7. None of us can admit that we belong to an international system that cannot save itself from cataclysm. The United Nations system may be imperfect, but it is for us to make it work.

8. In no other area is there more need for a restructuring of the old international order than in the area of food. In no other area is it more compelling to succeed.

9. At this time, when the world's attention is riveted on the explosive conflicts between nations, on the problems of energy and inflation, we must reassert the primacy of the problem of hunger. We cannot have even the approaching drums of war deafen us to the cries of the hungry, for hunger has killed more people than all the wars put together. Truly, the problem of food towers above all of mankind's problems.

10. As I, and others before me, have said, the right to food, after all, is the first of all human rights. We cannot hope for peace in a world where nearly one fourth of humanity goes hungry every day, and where one eighth of the world's population continues to be malnourished.

11. There is an urgent need for a truly major international effort to eradicate hunger. Agreement and action for such an effort will, in turn, provide the corner-stone of an expanded world economy and will thus be a vital part of the restructuring of the global economic order so that the needs of all the world's peoples may be met.

12. It is clear that the problem of world hunger is an inextricable part of the global agenda of development and international economic relations. That is why the World Food Council firmly believes that actions to overcome hunger and malnutrition have the right to be at the core of the international development strategy for the decade ahead. We welcome the strong paragraphs on food and agriculture contained in the draft international development strategy [see A/S-11/2 (Part III), annex, paras. 79-93] and we urge this Assembly to keep the issue of food and hunger at the centre of its deliberations.

13. Allow me briefly to outline to this special session the hunger problems that continue to plague the world, the progress that has been made on some fronts, the integrated global food strategy that has been emerging from the deliberations of our ministerial body, and some of the critical issues that need to be included in the global negotiations for a new international economic order.

14. The vision and the hope of the international community that gathered in the World Food Conference, held in Rome in 1974 and said that "... no child would go to bed hungry ..." by the end of the decade has obviously not been fulfilled. Instead, last year's International Year of the Child, saw 17 million children under the age of four die from hunger. Instead, millions are facing hunger in South-East Asia and Africa.

15. Consider the arithmetic of world hunger in the following facts. There are an estimated 1 billion human beings hungry, with nearly half of them malnourished, and their numbers are increasing rather than decreasing. One third of all children born alive today will die from malnutrition and disease before the age of five. Every year 250,000 children go blind due to vitamin A defi-

ciency. Even now 200 million people are afflicted with endemic goitre caused by iodine deficiency.

16. Behind these statistics are people, helpless millions who cry out to us, to the international community to act—and to act quickly.

17. Why these heart-breaking statistics? Because, basically the world food situation is deteriorating. *Per capita* food production in most developing countries is down, food imports are up, and the diets of the poor have deteriorated even further. Consider again the following facts.

18. First, food and agricultural production in all developing countries is growing at well below the 4 per cent annual target set by the World Food Conference.

19. Secondly, in the 43 food-deficit countries that we have identified, growth in food production this last decade was only 2 per cent per annum, which was, of course, far less than their population growth. Simply put, this means that there is less food per person in these countries today than there was 10 years ago. From net exporters of grain, these countries have become, alas, more and more, heavy importers of food.

20. Thirdly, the burden falls hardest on the low-income countries. In most of these, actual food availability declined in the 1970s. Some 40 of these countries which are not producing enough food to feed their people are so poor that they cannot even buy imported food.

21. Finally, especially alarming for the future is that current and projected levels of investment in food production and distribution in these countries fall far short of assuring that the food needs of their populations can be met in the future.

22. We must therefore face the reality that the world hunger problem is getting worse rather than better, and that a major crisis lies ahead unless a concerted effect is made to forestall it.

23. In the face of these grim facts, might those advocating despair not be right, after all? On balance, I believe not.

24. Since the 1974 World Food Conference, which was itself a major step in the process of global co-operation, some progress has been made. More important since then—the political commitment among world leaders to banish the scourge of hunger from the earth has spread and grown stronger. From my travels around the world as President of the World Food Council, I can bear personal testimony to this heightened commitment.

25. Third-world leaders are now more and more according the highest priority to overcoming their food problems at the national level by allocating more resources and managerial expertise to the food sector. In many developed countries the problem of hunger in the world has become a major public issue. Donor countries and international agencies have vastly increased the money and assistance going to food and agriculture in developing countries.

26. Although resources continue to be much less than what is needed, development assistance to the food sector has in fact doubled since 1974 and concessionary aid for food production could reach the target of \$6.5 billion by 1981. International financing institutions have, of course, played a crucial role in these increases, particularly the World Bank, which has tripled its lending to food and agriculture in the past five years. Increasingly also, regional development banks are channelling investments more and more to food and agricultural production.

27. As Mr. Al-Sudeary, President of IFAD, himself informed the Assembly last week [*10th meeting*], the billion-dollar IFAD, which was established with the help of the World Food Council in 1977, is well on its way towards making an impact on food production in 55 developing countries. If the Fund receives the replenishment it needs and richly deserves, its impact will grow to even more substantial proportions in the future.

28. A little over two months ago, a new Food Aid Convention, separate from the International Wheat Convention, came into effect raising the minimum level of guaranteed food aid to 7.6 million tons, almost twice the level guaranteed by the previous Convention. The World Food Council is justly proud of the political role it played in the conclusion of this Convention. At present actual food aid flows stand at some 9.2 million tons a year—only 800,000 tons short of the 1974 World Food Conference target of 10 million tons.

29. On the recommendation of the Council at its fourth session, held in Mexico City in 1978, the international emergency grain reserve has now been converted into a permanent reserve to be replenished yearly.

30. Especially encouraging, thanks to the work of the international research centres in the past 20 years, is the fact that mankind now possesses much of the technology to double or even, in some cases, to triple yields in tropical and subtropical areas, which is to say, the South, where hunger is most widespread. The Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research, another creation of the 1974 World Food Conference, has contributed quietly and superbly to the mobilization of increased resources for such research.

31. The new technology, the additional funds, the renewed and determined political commitment have enabled many developing countries in the world to increase dramatically their food production in the last decade. Third-world countries, such as China and India in Asia, Colombia and Brazil in Latin America, the Ivory Coast and Kenya in Africa, among others, have proved that self-sufficiency in basic staples can be attained, and quickly, by a combination of steps. These have brought us a little closer to our cherished vision of a world without hunger.

32. But the challenge of this vision is far from being met. We need to implement an integrated global food strategy if we are substantially to eliminate hunger by the year 2000.

33. Let me speak about this emerging integrated global food strategy. Steadily, based on the fundamentals established by the World Food Conference, the successive meetings of the World Food Council in Manila, Mexico, Ottawa and Arusha have evolved an integrated world food strategy with a growing consensus on most of its key elements. In particular, the Council has emphasized the need for structural changes in the world food economy if developing countries are to ensure their essential needs.

34. Allow me to summarize quickly the five main elements of our emerging strategy.

35. First, I shall deal with the national food-sector strategies. The widespread realization of the urgency of tackling the food problem is prompting the leaders of many developing countries to incorporate some form of an integrated food plan, system or strategy within their over-all development planning. This food-sector strategy approach launched by the Council last year is a planning and management technique which emphasizes the analysis of food-sector needs and prospects, the development of supporting policies and programmes,

and the mobilization of the domestic and international resources required. Since we launched that initiative last year at Ottawa, 32 countries have adopted the food strategy approach and 11 developed countries have offered to assist them. The World Bank, FAO, UNDP and regional banks are also deeply involved in the preparation and financing of those food strategies.

36. We believe that the food-sector strategy approach provides an effective means for developing countries to increase their food production and to mobilize additional assistance.

37. At Arusha, moreover, the World Food Council reaffirmed the simultaneous need for a more direct attack on hunger by encouraging the preparation and implementation of specific food entitlement programmes by some interested countries as part of the national food strategies. These food entitlement programmes, simply put, would ensure food for everyone, including and especially the poor in every country who cannot afford to buy sufficient food even if there were enough. The Council called upon developed and donor countries to support this effort as an essential part of their commitment to a world without hunger.

38. The requirement for increased assistance for food and agriculture during the 1980s will mean a doubling of present levels rising, by one estimate, to some \$12 billion annually—using 1975 dollars—by the year 1990. Assuming that the countries involved would meet half the capital costs and 80 per cent of the recurrent costs, that would still call for additional external assistance of some \$8.5 billion—in 1975 dollars.

39. The second element in the strategy is stepped-up support for agricultural research and technology. The progress that has been made in the last 20 years in the development of technology for higher food yields in the tropics and subtropics by the international research centres was made possible by funds raised by the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research. Last year alone that amounted to \$120 million. Lately, however, the Consultative Group has found it increasingly difficult to raise funds to expand such research in real terms. Moreover, much greater financial and technical assistance needs to be given to the improvement of national research systems. The World Food Council is alarmed at this development, since the new high-yielding varieties of food developed by these institutes and national research centres are essential if we are to increase food production.

40. The third element is a phased approach to world food security. Unless present trends in food insecurity can be reversed, the 1980s will be a decade prone to food crises. The rapid growth in developing country cereal imports, the geographical concentration of stocks and trade in food grains, the threat of competing uses for food, such as fuel alcohol, and the failure to develop adequate arrangements for world food security—all these taken together add up to a perilous world food situation.

41. As part of its efforts to meet this important need, the World Food Council has proposed a phased approach for progress in international food security. This means, in the first instance, expanded support at the national level for food-stock building, storage and infrastructure related to programmes for increasing national food self-sufficiency.

42. At the international level, the Council has played an important role in helping almost to double the guaranteed level of food aid, from the previous 4.2 million tons to 7.6 million tons in the new Food Aid Conven-

tion. The Food Aid Convention should be renewed next year, 1981, at the minimum target level of 10 million tons by attracting new donors and increasing present contributions.

43. Last year the Council jointly with FAO proposed to the IMF the establishment of a food-financing facility. This facility would assist developing countries with balance-of-payments problems in meeting their extraordinary food import needs. The IMF is now studying the feasibility of that proposal, and we ask all interested Governments to give urgent consideration to the outcome of the IMF study.

44. A principal concern of the Council has been the need for specific co-operative commitments for avoiding food crises, especially on the part of exporting nations. This would include an international food grain reserve and a proposal for a food-crisis contingency pledge under which Governments, particularly exporting Governments, would accept a code of conduct designed to avoid destabilizing the international food grain market in times of tight supply conditions.

45. A new international wheat agreement should constitute the core of world food security. There is general agreement that a system of international reserves must be established early as an essential element of such a new wheat agreement. It is important, however, that the size of these reserves be large enough to meet both market stability and food security needs. Lately, there are grounds for optimism in the latest discussions of the International Wheat Council. We believe that special impetus should be given by the global negotiations to these renewed efforts of importing and exporting countries to come to a compromise agreement acceptable to both sides.

46. Only by these food security measures I have outlined can we ensure that the efforts of developing countries to improve their food situation will not be undercut by production shortfalls and market instability.

47. The fourth is food trade. The long-term solution to the problems of hunger and malnutrition in developing countries is intimately linked with the ability of those countries to expand exports and earn enough foreign exchange not only to meet their food import needs, but also to develop their economy. There is therefore a great need to relax trade barriers and to avoid growing protectionist policies. There is also an urgent need to correct the growing imbalance in the distribution of world food production and in trade and stocks as a means of contributing to the collective self-reliance of developing countries.

48. Fifth and finally, we turn to mobilizing resources to abolish hunger. Some say that the costs of truly effective action to reverse the trend of growing food deficits and hunger are too high. We in the Council say that the costs of ineffective and delayed action will be prohibitively greater over time.

49. The Council has thus taken an active political role to mobilize additional resources for food. In particular, we played a leading role in raising funds for IFAD and in the doubling of aid to food and agriculture aid in real terms since we began our work.

50. This, of course, has only partially redressed the past neglect of investment in the food sector of most developing regions. In fact, current investment is still well below the levels required to meet present and future demands for basic foods. Worse, the failure of the international community to agree on policies related to food reserves which would introduce a greater measure of

stability in prices must be seen as a major setback to prospects for reducing hunger.

51. Let me conclude. The World Food Council in Arusha recommended that specific political impetus to better world food security should be given by the special session of the General Assembly in encouraging Governments to set up an IMF food-financing facility in order to help developing countries meet exceptional food imports owing to production shortfalls; to renew the Food Aid Convention at the already agreed target of 10 million tons; and reach agreement for the early constitution of an international food grain reserve.

52. These measures would provide a framework of international support essential to the stepped-up national campaigns of developing countries to resolve their own food production and consumption problems. In this regard international support is essential for a more adequate transfer of resources and technology for food; it should reach \$12 billion annually by the end of the decade and should include a stepped-up funding of research in support of national and international programmes.

53. We strongly recommend that these issues be placed on the agenda for global negotiations.

54. I say again that there can be no peace or development in a world that is hungry. The eradication of hunger with its accompanying human degradation and despair is a political imperative for building world co-operation and solidarity among all peoples and all nations. It should be the corner-stone of the international development strategy and a basis for the New International Economic Order.

55. The World Food Council hopes that this special session of the General Assembly will succeed in giving new impetus to the commitment to a world where no one's child need go hungry. In this task, we must forever keep before us the words of the Indian poet, Appadura, who said:

“Decide, mother,
Who goes without.
Is it Rama, the strongest?
Or Baca, the weakest,
Who may not need it much longer?
Or perhaps Sita,
Who may be expendable?
“Decide, mother,
Kill a part
Of yourself
As you resolve the dilemma”

56. I suggest to you, leaders of this world, that it is for us to resolve this dilemma so that no mother will ever again be faced with such a cruel choice.

57. Mr. TUBMAN (Liberia): Mr. President, for the fourth time in 12 months the United Republic of Tanzania, through you, presides over a new session of the General Assembly. This occurrence—unprecedented for any individual or country—bespeaking the troubled times through which the international community is passing, affords Africa the opportunity, through you, to contribute to the cause of peace by helping, in the words of the Charter, “to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples”. Your vast experience and proved diplomatic skill assure us that you will guide the work of this Assembly to productive results.

58. Liberia is happy at this time to welcome its sister African State, Zimbabwe, into the United Nations family. As one of the last nations of Africa to free itself from colonial rule, Zimbabwe, by its admission to the

United Nations during a special session of the General Assembly dealing with economic co-operation, signifies that, as the era for political emancipation draws to a close, the struggle for economic emancipation has begun. Just as the struggles of our people led to independence, so will struggles alone sustain freedom by giving it that material content without which independence is meaningless.

59. Already, the astute leadership being provided Zimbabwe by its Prime Minister, Mr. Mugabe, and his government has placed that nation on a course of pragmatism in tackling the problems facing it and the whole southern African region. Hard work, careful planning, wise and measured pronouncements have replaced slogans, tactics and rhetoric—much needed and much used during the long years of bitter fighting for liberation. Today, co-operation, compromise, realism and accommodation have become the hallmarks of free Zimbabwe. Thus, already this heroic African nation demonstrates qualities of statesmanship which, if transposed to the difficult negotiations facing us in this special session, will crown our endeavours with success.

60. The worsening of world economic conditions is taking place as the colonial period is drawing to a close. As one of the oldest independent countries of Africa and of the developing world, Liberia has always known that political independence by itself does not lead to economic independence nor to development; indeed, our experience suggests that, when the ties of political bondage and domination do not exist between a developing country and the developed metropolitan centres, economic aid and the necessary infusions of the means of development are not forthcoming. Instead, neglect and unalloyed exploitation without benefits are the order of the day.

61. In the case of my country, besides exploitation and neglect, we were portrayed and projected by colonialism to the other developing countries and even to ourselves as a people that did not make progress because it could not since it was incapable of ruling itself. However, those tactics never daunted us and, by perseverance and by our own unaided efforts, we have succeeded in maintaining our independence and building up a measure of prosperity, which has expanded steadily over the years and which now, due to structural changes taking place in our country, is destined to be expanded considerably for the benefit of all our people.

62. Today the same tactics as were used against Liberia are being employed against the whole developing world. More and more the numerous young nations that have attained independence over the last quarter century are, in spite of incredible exertions and sacrifices on their part, witnessing the unrelenting erosion of economic conditions in their countries with each passing year, so that today some of them are in a worse economic state than was the case at the time of independence. In the face of such a disheartening setback, we in the developing world, while working ever harder for our economic survival, must persevere and stand united. With unity and perseverance, no power on earth will stop our inexorable advance towards economic progress and social justice for all our nations and peoples.

63. During this period of global crisis on many fronts, when the masses in the developing countries are justly clamouring as a part of the human family for their fair entitlement of the world's goods, an ominous catastrophe will befall mankind if urgent remedial measures going to the roots of the world's present economic disorder are not applied soon.

64. Because I am speaking near the close of this debate, everything that needs to be said has already been said. We have been told by persons of great authority and qualifications that the world is already in, or heading towards, a grave economic crisis. Speaker after speaker has from this rostrum dwelt with urgency on such issues as adequate economic and technical assistance to developing countries, chronic imbalances in international payments, a substantial slow-down in world economic activity and growth accompanied by sharp deterioration in the terms of trade of developing countries, growing protectionism, high levels of unemployment and under-employment, the vital need for international monetary and fiscal reforms, high levels of inflation, the energy crisis, the crushing burden of external indebtedness and persistent mass poverty of developing countries, insecurity and insufficiency of food supplies, inadequate levels of transfer of resources to the developing world and so on.

65. Thus a bleak picture of the world's economic health has crystallized during the course of this debate. In the world economy of today, we have on our hands a patient riddled by disease from head to foot. Unlike the case with a human patient where, by amputation or surgery, a diseased limb or malignant tumour can be excised, no such operation is possible with the world economy. As pertains to that economy, if the maladies in the patient's toes or fingers are not cured, the patient's life is just as much in peril as would be the case if the maladies affecting the heart or any vital organ were not cured. In other words, the North cannot continue to live in security and prosperity while the South is gripped by poverty, spreading famine and utter destitution.

66. Since there is agreement on the illness of the world's economy and since all agree that urgent action is called for, procedural obstacles and secondary issues which have slowed the North-South economic dialogue thus far should not prevent us from finding the only missing ingredient, namely, the political will to do what must be done for the good of all.

67. Political will, just like the will of the proverbial horse, cannot be created by fiat: in much the same way as one cannot make a horse drink, having led it to the water, one cannot create political will simply by saying: "let there be political will".

68. The Brandt Commission's report,¹ which is especially remarkable due to the wide and varied backgrounds of those who prepared it, has been acclaimed because of its call for large transfers of development resources from the rich North to the poor South. These transfers are described as investments that would serve the best interests of the rich themselves. That is true enough, but at the present time in the rich countries, where increasingly large numbers of persons are unemployed and the hardest economic times since the great depression of the 1920s are being experienced, public opinion is reluctant to be moved by such arguments.

69. Besides that, people in many developed countries refuse to be impressed by arguments such as those made by the Brandt Commission because of the undeniable waste and corruption which often surround economic assistance in many developing countries. Goodwill, trust, faith and simple human concern seem to be lack-

ing. Therefore the real arguments for greater development assistance to the world's poor countries must, in order to prove compelling, rest on ethical and moral foundations, and we of the developing world must observe those same imperatives ourselves.

70. Within our countries we must ensure economic and social justice among all citizens and sections of the population; otherwise our claim for economic and social justice on the global level will continue to ring hollow and go unheeded. Today the Governments of many developing countries are being forced by the unrestrainable and just demands of the masses of their peoples to conduct the affairs of state consistently with the requirements of equity and morality.

71. We in Liberia at this very time are going through the most far-reaching social and political changes in our country's history. We are doing so at painful cost as part of a historical world-wide process which cannot be stopped. The masses throughout the world can no longer tolerate social and economic injustice from any quarter; thus they will continue to rise up to struggle and fight until the yokes of internal or external bondage have been shattered and oppression of all forms done away with. This upsurge of the masses, as the daily headlines of newspapers tell us, is happening in all countries regardless of ideological or political philosophy.

72. The fundamental objective of our new Government in Liberia is to construct a society based on social justice, equality of opportunity, freedom and human dignity. Our Government is committed to improving the well-being of the Liberian people as a whole by meeting the pressing needs of the masses through increasing the productive capacity of the economy to produce more goods as well as social services—the only way of ensuring a lasting basis for prosperity.

73. Beyond what we in Liberia are attempting to do within our own country, we have exerted efforts to strengthen ties, political as well as economic, with our neighbours. The strains in relations which occurred between our new Government and some of our neighbouring countries in the period immediately following the take-over of power by the military in Liberia last April have subsided as the situation in the country has been restored to calm. The Foreign Minister of Liberia was warmly received a fortnight ago by the Government of our friendly sister State Nigeria, and the Liberian Head of State has likewise been warmly received in neighbouring Sierra Leone, Guinea and the Ivory Coast. With all of these countries and with others, as well as with the Organization of African Unity, our relations are being fully restored to normalcy. Indeed we are pressing to build firm ties for greater economic co-operation in our region. Our commitment to the Economic Community of West African States is today valued more than ever before and the Mano River Union, which has linked Liberia and Sierra Leone in infrastructural and customs co-operation, is now being expanded to include Guinea. On the continental level, the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, and the Final Act, adopted at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, devoted to economic matters, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980, have the full support of Liberia.

74. But all of these efforts will not be enough unless they are supported by the right conditions for trade and economic expansion and co-operation in the international community.

¹North-South: A program for survival, report of the Independent Commission in International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

75. Such is the frame of mind, such are the overwhelming pressures, with which we the developing countries find ourselves contending as we have come to deliberate at this special session. But our countries, though poor and hard-pressed, have not come here to take out our frustrations in bitter denunciations.

76. The questions with which we are faced are the following. How best do we make our needs known? How do we obtain the capital, financing and technical know-how so necessary to enable us to move ahead and create a better life for our people? We could, as we have sometimes done in the past, issue demands—just demands—which, with our sizable numbers, we could vote through by overwhelming majorities. But most likely such demands would go unanswered or ignored by those in a position to help, since they may view our actions, even though based on deeply felt needs, as antagonistic and confrontational.

77. The desired political will of which I spoke earlier cannot emerge in such a situation. That is why in pressing for this session we have come to seek accommodation rather than confrontation, honest dialogue and conciliation rather than empty rhetoric or pressure tactics.

78. This special session must complete work on and adopt a new international development strategy, comprehensive and coherent and embracing the whole spectrum of development. Far too little progress was made in the Preparatory Committee; much more still needs to be done. We must make every effort at this session to launch the much-needed round of global and sustained negotiations, because such negotiations provide the only means by which the world community can deal with the various problems affecting the present international economic system.

79. The political will needed for tackling the problem of international economic development is not unaffected by the question of disarmament. It is often trumpeted that global disarmament would release vast resources which could be used for development purposes instead of on weapons of mass destruction. Statistics are often colourfully presented: we hear that the cost of one jet fighter will build "x" number of schools. The world community must continue to work for disarmament, which remains one of the great goals of the United Nations. Meanwhile, could not individual countries and regions—especially of the developing world—while striving for global disarmament, really make more efforts to divert expenditures from arms to food to feed the masses, from the power to destroy to the means with which to build? Statistics that the cost of one jet fighter could build "x" number of schools are interesting but the fact that that same jet fighter could destroy more than that number of schools, together with the school children, and much more besides is a sobering fact of which we can never remind ourselves too frequently.

80. The question of energy, and more specifically oil, cannot be removed from the centre of the concern of all Governments taking part in these negotiations, nor can it be dealt with in isolation. The issue of oil has the potential for shattering the unity of the developing countries in the economic dialogue or it could be the catalyst by which the New International Economic Order might be nursed from the realm of aspirations into reality. The members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) are all developing countries. That is why even as they confront the same problems of development faced by other developing countries, they have increased their international assistance to developing countries at a rate and to a level that

at the present time has proportionally surpassed the official development assistance of many industrial countries.

81. Therefore, anyone seeking to disrupt the unity of the Group of 77 in these negotiations by the use of the oil argument will not succeed. But when some developing non-oil-producing countries refer to the heavy burden under which their economies are groaning, because of high energy costs, OPEC countries should not view this as attacks on or criticisms of them. Many developing non-oil-producing countries like my own, which are producers of primary products, are happy to see that oil, precious and unreplenishable and for a long time undervalued, is fetching more equitable prices on world markets. But, for many of us, the products which we export and from whose earnings we derive our livelihood are still undervalued. That is a major reason why we find the burden which ever-rising prices for oil places upon us to be unbearable. In this connexion, while we appreciate what the OPEC countries have already done, the measures taken by Venezuela and Mexico to overcome the difficulties of non-oil-producing countries in the Caribbean and Central American region deserve to be emulated in other regions of the world where geopolitical realities and anti-colonialist solidarity would justify, indeed demand, a similar approach.

82. Liberia welcomes the lately recognized need to channel more funds into oil exploration activities in developing countries. We would wish to see these expenditures increased. We also look forward eagerly to the United Nations conference on new and renewable energy sources to be held at Nairobi in 1981.

83. The call made by the Brandt Commission—the Independent Commission on International Development Issues chaired by Mr. Willy Brandt—upon the developed countries to render greater development assistance to the developing countries comes at a time when most of the developed countries have not yet met the current development aid target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product to which they are committed. Besides the failure to meet this modest target, growing protectionism in the rich countries is making it difficult for some developing countries to expand their foreign trade. In these and other matters on the economic development agenda my country addresses an urgent appeal to all the developed countries—regardless of political ideology—to respond to the pressing needs of the developing world.

84. The deliberations of the United Nations have sometimes been disappointing and disheartening. The United Nations is not always able to influence developments. Often its influence is not felt for a long time. The protracted negotiations on the law of the sea, now finally moving probably to a successful conclusion next year after seven long years of painstaking negotiations, are a case in point. Some of the sessions over which you, Mr. President, have presided this year—for example, that which dealt with Afghanistan—the sixth emergency special session, held from 10 to 14 January 1980—and, more recently, that which dealt with Palestine—the seventh emergency special session, held in July 1980—have seen a huge majority stand being taken by the membership of our Organization in defence of Charter principles. But the voice of the United Nations has not been fully heeded. The voice of the United Nations can be ignored, but when it is heard it will establish the facts for the judgement of history.

85. In any case, we the countries of the developing world—especially those that are small and weak and stand to benefit most from the efficacy of the United

Nations—should be aware of the danger of the credibility of this world Organization being seriously impaired if it were forced repeatedly to respond immediately to problems with which international realities and the power of sovereign States, jealous to preserve privilege, do not allow it to cope. In a world of diversity that lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, nations have no way of solving international problems other than by finding through peaceful means areas in which all parties have common interests and common needs.

86. The search for such common interests and needs must never be given up. That is the real challenge of this special session of the Assembly. That is the spirit in which we must enter the new development decade. Only by a ceaseless search for and accommodation of the common interests and needs of all nations shall the New International Economic Order be established.

87. Mr. FIALLOS (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to express the gratification of the delegation of Nicaragua at your being charged with the sensitive task of presiding over this Assembly. Your capability, tact and experience guarantee the proper conduct of these negotiations.

88. Nor can I refrain from expressing our satisfaction at seeing another nation join this Organization of the peoples of the world, a nation for which Nicaragua has great affection, a nation with which we share similar ideals and aspirations, a nation whose struggle for liberation was not unlike that waged by our own people to gain its liberation. I am referring to the heroic people of Zimbabwe. We should like to convey to that fraternal people through its great leader, Robert Mugabe, all of our support and friendship.

89. We all realize that the world is going through a profound economic crisis, the most serious such crisis since that of the 1930s. It is further aggravated by the fact that the damage arising from the current crisis is much greater than that of previous crises. People are no longer unaware of the great injustices implicit in international economic relations in the contemporary world. Injustice and inflexibility lead to conflict and confrontation, which in the nuclear era may become catastrophic.

90. Moreover, it is obvious that this crisis is not a merely temporary phenomenon, but is, rather, structural. Nor is this a sectoral problem; it is, rather, a global one. We are in total disagreement with those who insist that the crisis is basically due to an increase in oil prices, for the world economy was fluctuating cyclically long before the 1970s, the decade in which the increase in the nominal price of oil occurred. This rise in prices is due not only to a problem of supply, but also to a problem of demand, because the irrational consumption of a non-renewable resource by the developed countries causes unbearable pressure on the oil-exporting countries.

Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

91. The international economic problem goes far beyond the energy problem and the adoption of merely temporary short-term measures. It can be traced back to a history of dependence and exploitation. It is the result of an economic structure inherited from a colonial and neo-colonial past.

92. Nicaragua is a country whose development has been and still is impeded by its unequal trade relations with the developed world and the disastrous inheritance of a murderous dynasty created and maintained by

imperialist interests. The inflation that occurs in world economic centres has been imported into our country through international trade, with a resultant deterioration in trade relations aggravated by the control over world markets exercised by transnational corporations. Our exports have been restricted as a result both of the increasing protectionism in developed countries and of the world recession originating in those self-same countries. To mention but one example, our meat exports are impeded by the well-known quota system that is used as a protectionist barrier which restricts our exports.

93. We therefore consider it fundamental that the agricultural and industrial products of the developing countries should be given greater access to the markets of the developed countries. An increase in exports from our countries, together with massive transfers of resources, would increase the purchasing power of the under-developed countries, thereby encouraging exports from developed countries.

94. Moreover, we must point out that it is absurd to demand the liberalization of the developing countries' markets to exports from industrialized countries. The serious balance-of-payments situation makes it very difficult for many countries to maintain their current levels of imports. It is impossible to increase them unless there is a massive transfer of resources to our countries and a substantial increase in our exports. Nor can liberalization be allowed to give the transnationals even more control over the world economy.

95. It is no secret that the anti-inflationary policies adopted by many developed countries have aggravated the world economic recession and we are therefore very sceptical about the ability of the developed countries to combat simultaneously the problems of inflation and recession, given the present context of international economic relations.

96. We are living in an increasingly interdependent world. It would be difficult, particularly in the case of market economies, to say that the effects of the internal economic policies of developed countries did not extend beyond their borders. That is why, within the context of the establishment of the new international economic order, the major developed countries bear the main responsibility, not only with regard to their external economic relations, but also with regard to the formulation and development of their own domestic and economic trade policies.

97. With reference to financial matters, it would be appropriate to recall that the massive recycling of funds that occurred during and after the 1974-1975 recession, primarily by way of private banks, did a great deal to soften the impact of the recession in those developed countries, while the developing countries were experiencing relatively medium-range levels of import capacity. In the present circumstances, when the external debt of many developing countries are reaching extremely dangerous levels, international private banks are most reluctant to play an active part in ensuring the massive recycling of resources. For that reason, Governments and international institutions must play a crucial role in solving this problem of the external debt of developing countries. There must be a massive transfer of resources on most lenient terms in order to promote development.

98. We should like also to stress the necessity for South-South co-operation and projects of regional integration. We should like to refer in particular to the agreement on energy co-operation between the Governments of Mexico and Venezuela signed at San José, Costa Rica, on 3 August 1980, in favour of Central

American and Caribbean countries. That agreement is a landmark in South-South co-operation.

99. We must also control the negative impact of transnational corporations in many countries and it would be advisable to speed up the drafting of the code of conduct for these corporations.

100. It is likewise necessary to encourage the establishment of a new international monetary system. The creation of international liquidity should not be the privilege of any given country or group of countries. A system should be devised to ensure stability in exchange rates, equilibrium in the balance of payments and favourable conditions for international trade. It is absolutely necessary that the developing countries participate in the decision-making process in the specialized agencies.

101. We consider that resolution 34/138 is clear: global negotiations should take an integrated and coherent approach to the problems of establishing the basis for a New International Economic Order. To adopt a partial approach or to attempt to limit the agenda to certain subjects, however important, would be to go against the spirit and the letter of resolution 34/138. The adoption of short-term measures, although everyone agrees on their importance, would also run counter to the establishment of a New International Economic Order, which, by its very nature, is a long-term project.

102. Nicaragua reaffirms its support for the objective of the Lima Declaration,² adopted by the Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, that by the year 2000 the target of 25 per cent of world industrial production be achieved by the developing countries. However, if that objective is not to be a dream, substantial external financial and technological co-operation is necessary, as is the sale of our production in the markets of the developed countries. We also support the idea of the establishment of a common fund for development.

103. I should like to refer to certain specific problems we are now facing in Nicaragua which are one example of the world-wide problems before us here, but with certain conjunctural features that are peculiar to our country.

104. In order to finance our development process we require sizeable external resources to supplement our domestic savings. The destruction wrought by the tyranny in just the last two years, together with the irreparable loss of more than 2 per cent of our population, meant that vast quantities of material resources were wasted and we inherited a tremendous external debt of more than \$1.6 million. Servicing that debt absorbs an ever-greater proportion of our export earnings and exerts heavy pressure on our balance of payments. In the particular case of Nicaragua, the recycling of funds by way of the private banks, which took place during the 1974-1975 crisis, was especially helpful to Somoza's tyrannical régime. Our debt increased rapidly from 1973 to 1979 and the Revolutionary Government must now overcome serious obstacles if economic and social development is to be achieved. We should like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to thank all those countries for their valuable co-operation that have helped us in our process of reconstruction and for the willingness they have shown to provide us with unconditional assistance.

105. Our countries are sovereign and, in the exercise of that sovereignty, we can freely determine the proce-

cedure to be followed in the global negotiations. The apparent dichotomy between a centralized and decentralized procedure is only an illusion. We all know that some developed countries are seeking to exercise their decision-making power in some of the specialized agencies. This is not basically a question of different positions with respect to procedure but a question of the exercise of power.

106. We do not wish to repeat here on a larger scale the calamitous failure of the third substantive session of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. We urgently need to make progress in the global negotiations. The developing countries cannot afford the luxury of listening constantly to sterile rhetorical exercises. The economic and social situation of our peoples requires concrete results. That is why it is absolutely necessary to give the greatest possible legal clout to the results of the global negotiations. We also believe that the greatest attention should be given to the emergency programme suggested by the Secretary-General.

107. What is at stake here is of tremendous importance: it is nothing less than world peace, the right of thousands of millions of people to consider themselves human beings, the possibility that life will triumph over death and despair. We cannot and must not permit evil economic interests, translated into bullying and inflexibility, to condemn mankind to a future of deprivation and suffering.

108. Mr. BOLE (Fiji): The General Assembly is indeed fortunate to have Ambassador Salim presiding over this eleventh special session, which has before it vital economic issues of global concern. During the multiple sessions of the General Assembly we have had so far this year, he has guided the work of the Assembly with exemplary brilliance and skill that reflect his rich experience.

109. Ten years ago, Fiji became a Member of this body. Today it is my privilege and honour, on behalf of the Government and people of Fiji, happily to join in welcoming Zimbabwe as the United Nations' one hundred and fifty-third Member State and to offer to it our very warm and sincere congratulations. For the United Nations it is undoubtedly a moment of great pride and achievement to witness the admission of the new Member State of Zimbabwe. It is particularly gratifying to witness Zimbabwe taking its rightful place in the family of nations after years of struggle.

110. Although Zimbabwe is situated many thousands of miles away from Fiji, we have a lot in common and a lot that we can share between our two countries. As a small developing nation in the South Pacific, Fiji is firmly committed to the Charter of the United Nations in making its contribution for the cause of international peace and security. It is because of this firm commitment that we continue to serve in the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations in southern Lebanon. To this end also my country was honoured to participate in the Commonwealth cease-fire monitoring force in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, and took humble pride in having done so. Having had the experience of achieving independence only a decade ago, Fiji was proud to witness Zimbabwe attain independence in April of this year.

111. My delegation was pleased last week to welcome to New York, and especially to the United Nations, Mr. Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. We have no doubt that Zimbabwe will not only play an important role in the United Nations and contribute significantly to its work, but will also continue to play a

²See A/10112, chap. IV.

valuable role on the African continent as well as in the Commonwealth.

112. We look forward to close and fruitful cooperation in working with the delegation of Zimbabwe in the efforts of this Organization to maintain and strengthen world peace and security and to establish a New International Economic Order that is more just and equitable.

113. The year 1980 has undoubtedly been characterized by exceptional activity in the United Nations. During the course of this year it has been necessary to convene three special sessions of the General Assembly to deal with specific problems affecting the world today. This, the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, is again motivated by a high sense of urgency at a time when the developing nations are going through a difficult period in the annals of world economic history. A lot of water has passed underneath the bridge of time since the sixth special session, at which the Declaration and the Programme of Action for the Establishment of the New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] were adopted. Progress in the restructuring of the world economic system has to date been painfully slow. While nations have tirelessly, but unsuccessfully, been at work in their efforts to establish a just balance in the mutual interest and for the benefit of both the developed and the developing countries and to find solutions aimed at restructuring the existing economic system in order to permit the equitable sharing of the world's economic resources, the economic plight of many developing countries has now assumed critical dimensions. This situation is increasingly likely to cause political instability in many parts of the world. The world economy's development in recent years has resulted in reduced economic growth coupled with multifarious economic hardships, especially for developing countries. The problems of rampant inflation, protectionism, the high cost of energy and so forth have been highlighted very eloquently by other speakers.

114. The Brandt Commission's report¹ has so far been shunted aside. It is, in my delegation's opinion, a valuable and useful document which outlines a substantive plan of action for reviving the world economy. The report acknowledges the plight facing the developing countries and paints a gloomy picture of a major catastrophe which will face the entire world unless development proceeds at a much more appropriate pace and in a much more appropriate manner. The report speaks of the global poverty and massive starvation that now exist. The figures of the World Bank speak of 780 million people who live in conditions of utter poverty, and the prospect is that this figure will increase under the combined effects of continually rising population, increasing economic stagnation and inflation and the increasing use of economic resources for military purposes. This situation has threatened employment opportunities and economic stability. Developed countries are inclined to erect trade barriers to protect their own internal situations. The Brandt Commission's report argues that the present international system is not meeting the enormous challenges facing us.

115. It is clear from the Commission's report that there is an urgent need to transfer massive resources, financial and human, from the developed to the under-developed countries in order to eradicate some of the economic ills facing the world today, as well as the need for an international energy strategy and of reforms in global food production and the monetary system. My delegation urges the leaders who hold political and economic power throughout the world today to address them-

selves to the tasks that have to be quickly undertaken to avert the world-wide disasters which the Brandt Commission foresees.

116. In *World Development Report, 1980*, the World Bank speaks of the sombre prospects for the developing countries in the 1980s. The sharp recession in the developed countries has resulted in the growth of protectionist measures. Inflation, escalating energy prices over the last two years and the resulting severe balance-of-payments deficits have all contributed to a bleak and gloomy international economic climate.

117. The Secretary-General informs us in his report [A/S-11/5 and Corr.1 and Add.1] of the dismal outlook for this year and the next, especially for low-income countries. The situation calls for urgent additional emergency assistance.

118. Negotiations on the specific measures to be carried out in accordance with the agreed objectives of the New International Economic Order have so far met with frustration and with little success, although a consensus has emerged on the basic objectives and guiding principles of the New International Economic Order. The North-South dialogue has been deadlocked on most issues. The recommendations of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly have proved to be an exercise in noble rhetoric with little, if any, achievements.

119. The outcome of the fifth session of UNCTAD held at Manila in 1979, has been only limited. The Committee of the Whole has not fulfilled its expectations.

120. The need to improve the international economic climate is even more compelling now than ever before; for not to do so, would spell economic disaster for all.

121. Fiji is a small voice in international affairs, but we have always been and we shall always be ready to speak up for what we believe to be right. My delegation is encouraged by the goodwill for Fiji and the South Pacific region as a whole which Member States have for us.

122. For some time now, the special disadvantages of small Member States, and particularly the island developing countries like Fiji, have been ignored. Our small size, isolation and scarce resources severely limit our capacity to achieve our development objectives or to pursue our national interests in a wider international context. We have repeatedly urged special measures to facilitate the resolution of our economic problems. The developed countries, in our opinion, can do a great deal to help the countries of the third world, and especially island developing nations, in the economic field.

123. Fiji, like many other developing countries, depends mainly on the export of two main commodities. Most of our export earnings are obtained from our exports of sugar and copra, and the request and assistance to reduce the instability of the commodity markets has always been uppermost in our minds. We urge the developed countries to open their markets to the exports of some of our island developing countries. Fiji prefers trade as the best form of aid, for in this way it helps us to pave our own way. The best form of assistance which countries could give us is to provide us with assured markets for our exports. Exports to some island developing countries have traditionally exceeded imports by wide margins. It surely must be embarrassing to many countries that trade with us to note the very favourable balance of trade which they enjoy with Fiji. The present imbalanced trade is bound to deteriorate unless avenues are sought to bridge this widening gap. This gap has to be narrowed through some sort of reciprocity. The

benefits to the islands under the generalized scheme of preferences of UNCTAD are minimal in the face of potential competition by established manufacturers.

124. Since the South Pacific region is comprised of numerous small islands interspersed over thousands of square miles of ocean resulting in small markets and limited resources, regional economic co-operation is of growing importance to us. This we are endeavouring to do within our South Pacific Forum meetings. We are encouraged to note some genuine efforts in the direction of regional trade among the South Pacific countries. However, much more is required to correct the imbalance in trade, which I spoke of earlier, in order for us to receive the slice of the regional "trade pie" in a just and equitable fashion. We shall continue to promote economic and technical co-operation among developing countries and especially within our South Pacific region. This co-operation and collective self-reliance among ourselves is essential for our future well-being.

125. Natural disasters are a part and parcel of the area of the world in which we in the South Pacific live. They are indeed a formidable obstacle to the development of many countries.

126. Some island developing countries, in addition to being vulnerable and having fragile island economies, are often exposed to further hardships for they fall victims to natural disasters such as cyclones, floods and earthquakes. My country, has been a victim of many such natural disasters in the past and particularly so of late. Our records show that since 1875 we have faced 87 cyclones, and 12 severe cyclones since 1972, resulting in the untimely death of many of our people and the tragic disruption of the normal lives of so many thousands, bringing untold physical and human suffering. The scale of devastation and damage caused by such natural disasters has, in fact, had a negative impact on our national development programmes. The need to increase multilateral assistance to these island developing countries is therefore even greater and quite realistic, especially in the case of the island developing countries in the Pacific which suffer regularly from natural disasters, the effects of which invariably outweigh the international assistance that they receive. Having said this, I should like to put on record my Government's sincere gratitude and thanks to the many countries and agencies that have contributed so generously in cash and in kind and thus have helped alleviate our hardships and to start the long and arduous process of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

127. I do not wish to reiterate what has been so eloquently said previously on the effects of recent developments in the field of energy on the growth prospects of developing countries. Suffice only to add that the rocketing oil prices which have escalated by over 1300 per cent in the past 10 years and the inflexibility of inflation rates have brought new problems for small island developing countries like ours. The escalation of oil prices has had a very significant impact on our balance of payments and on the over-all implementation of our national development plans. Much of our imported fuel is used for our transportation and the generation of electricity. The cost of our imported fuel increased by more than 40 per cent last year as a result of higher international prices. The very substantial amount of funds used to pay for our imports has resulted in reduced growth in all sectors of our economy.

128. The urgent need for energy conservation and the search for alternative and renewable energy sources are important issues relating to the energy crisis today.

129. We welcome the study undertaken on alternative new and renewable sources of energy. We call upon the international community to intensify its efforts to develop energy sources, including new and renewable sources, and to provide adequate financial and other assistance for such programmes. Genuine efforts should be made to conserve fuel and to exploit indigenous energy resources in order to reduce dependence upon costly and increasingly uncertain oil supplies.

130. Member States of the South Pacific region have taken constructive and positive steps to draw up a sound regional energy programme, to which it is hoped prospective aid donors and other funding agencies will favourably respond.

131. My country has also embarked on the exercise of conservation and finding alternative energy sources. Currently, we are constructing a hydroelectricity scheme valued at 80 million Fiji dollars which will provide two thirds of our national electricity demand by 1982; we are making effective use of bagasse in our sugar mills and have begun preliminary assessments of geothermal and wave energy potential. We are conducting small scale experiments in wind-powered electricity generation, solar water-heating, solar-drying, charcoal production, improved wood stove design and mini-hydroelectricity development. Being a major sugar-producing country, we also plan to assess sugar-based ethanol as a partial replacement for petrol.

132. However, these activities cannot be said to have had a significant impact on our total fuel imports. The outlook, as yet, is far from optimistic.

133. The study of alternative new and renewable sources of energy is an area which requires international co-operation. We wish to emphasize the necessity of expeditious and effective action resulting from these analyses. It is important that the solutions arrived at should take account of the widely available local resources and that the technology should be of a small scale to be adopted for use within small developing countries.

134. Fiji welcomes the forthcoming 1981 United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy. We hope that the Conference will culminate in greater global co-operation in the development of new forms of energy for the benefit of all countries, and in particular for those countries not possessing conventional energy sources.

135. It is our sincere hope that the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade will prove to be more fruitful than the two that have preceded it. We are optimistic that this body will fully execute the task before it in arriving at a consensus on the bracketed paragraphs in the document before us. We can again only reiterate that the high ideals and policy objectives contained in the strategy relating especially to developing island countries will be translated into positive and meaningful action by the international community to help alleviate their urgent and pressing problems. Fiji is about to launch its eighth development plan. To implement successfully the ambitious programme for our people, we will need to receive technical and financial resources from the international community on terms and conditions suitable to our need for development.

136. We wish to express our deep concern at the declining trend in regard to official development assistance. We therefore call upon the rich countries to subscribe fully to and honour the internationally agreed target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product for

development aid. The availability of assured assistance would help in the implementation of the development plans of developing countries.

137. The ambitious task of finalizing and adopting the international development strategy for the 1980s and launching the global round of negotiations requires genuine political will. It will require a change of attitude from many of us to bring about the establishment of the New International Economic Order which is just and fair. We have to reconcile our differences of approach and we have to harmonize our different interests in order to build a more secure basis for global peace and prosperity. I hope that it will not be taken as a case of "small boys should be seen and not heard" when we say that more than ever before we all have to realize that all the nations and peoples are very closely knit together and that we would be unwise to imagine that each of us can live apart. The reality of our interdependence has to be accepted. We are on the march to the one world of tomorrow where we all have to work and co-operate with each other in our common endeavours to resolve the challenging problems facing us.

138. We are hopeful and optimistic that from this eleventh special session positive results will emanate, especially in adopting a global development strategy for the 1980s and an agreed agenda, framework and procedures for the global round that will lead to the creation of the much needed New International Economic Order.

139. Mr. BOUBACAR (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): I take great pleasure in extending to Mr. Salim our warmest congratulations for the skill, the competence and the dedication with which he is conducting our work.

140. More than a mere token of courtesy, this is a well-deserved tribute that I should like to pay to his lofty sense of responsibility; and I should like to hail, through him, his country, the sister United Republic of Tanzania, with which Guinea-Bissau has had excellent relations of co-operation and fraternal friendship. Our thanks and congratulations go also to the other officers of the Assembly, who have supported him in carrying out his important duties.

141. The establishment of a new international economic order is a response to the need for justice and equity for all the peoples of the world. The international community cannot achieve its noble objective without first re-establishing equality for all and the right of each people to decide its own destiny.

142. That is why we feel that the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe at the very opening of this special session is a momentous event in the history of the United Nations.

143. We all know that the admission of this State is, above all, the culmination of the heroic struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, encouraged and supported by all the independent countries of Africa and the majority of the international community. It is the culmination of a peace process begun with the very first salvo fired by the freedom fighters, a process which was to lead—thanks to the courage, enlightenment and sense of responsibility of the leaders of the Patriotic Front—to the independence of Zimbabwe.

144. My country, Guinea-Bissau, hails that independence with joy, because it also marks a decisive step in the liberation of Namibia and of the martyred people of South Africa, who have been the victim of the inhuman policy of *apartheid*. I extend our warm congratulations to the delegation of Zimbabwe, with which we intend to consolidate and further develop our fraternal co-

operation born, several years ago, of the harsh trials of the struggle for liberation.

145. Allow me to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, my country's gratitude for his efforts, his dynamism and his wisdom, which have led to the consolidation of the international Organization in a decisive stage of its development and enabled it to make its great weight felt in international relations.

146. Once again we are gathered together to discuss the dual theme of the third development decade and international economic co-operation. This eleventh special session, we must say, is called upon to take note of the dual failure of the first two Decades and of the North-South dialogue, which began after the 1974 and 1975 sessions and had proclaimed the urgent need to establish a new international economic order. At this session, we hope, we will attempt to find ways to extricate ourselves from a situation which today is a total impasse. This is what we are hoping for because what is at stake is not only development, but the very survival of many countries which are teetering on the brink of total bankruptcy and threatened with famine.

147. Quite fortunately, and in spite of all the fears, prejudices and selfishness, there is everywhere a heightened awareness of the fact that the maintenance of social peace and international peace will depend in future on the establishment of a more equitable international order based on solidarity for all men.

148. However advanced they may be, science and technology are basically incapable of solving the heart-rending problems of our time if they are not buttressed by a strong political will based on the overriding requirements of justice and respect for human dignity.

149. The lack of that political will in most industrialized countries, and especially in those on which the establishment of a new international economic order largely depends, is becoming increasingly obvious and constitutes a major obstacle. Furthermore, at international conferences several Western Governments openly defend the activities of transnational corporations, which, as they see it, can exploit the world as they see fit.

150. It is true that certain developing countries also practise a policy of welcoming these corporations indiscriminately, thereby mortgaging their independence. This, unfortunately, is part of the many contradictions in the third world which enable the industrial Powers to exploit their differences. The development of the situation will depend then to a great extent on the ability of the members of the Group of 77 to stick together.

151. The draft for the new international development strategy drawn up by the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy has been studied in depth by my delegation.

152. The adoption of this new strategy is an important part of the task before our Assembly because what we have to do is to appraise the progress achieved in the establishment of a New International Economic Order and, on the basis of that appraisal, to take the necessary steps to foster the progress of the developing countries and international economic co-operation. These are two closely interrelated aspects of the same problem, since the General Assembly has already decided that the new international development strategy should be formulated within the framework of a new international economic order and centred on the achievement of the objectives of the latter.

153. Conversely, one of the major goals of the global negotiations that are envisaged is to help to implement

the new development strategy. Hence, it is up to the General Assembly to determine the nature and content of the new strategy.

154. Thus far, we can only take note of the ineffectiveness of the strategy adopted for the 1970s and hope that the new strategy will not have the weaknesses of the previous one and will take account of the constraints on the developing process.

155. Nevertheless, let me recall that in the document submitted by the Group of 77 with this end in view [*A/S-11/1 (Part IV) and Corr. I*], especial emphasis is laid on the need for institutional reforms of three kinds, to wit: modification of the rules and principles governing international trade with a view to giving the developing countries a comparative advantage; changing the international monetary and financial system so as to ensure that the volume and distribution of international public and private financial resources will be fully in keeping with the needs of developing countries; intensification of economic co-operation among developing countries, based on the principle of collective self-reliance, so as to reduce the economic dependence and vulnerability of these countries vis-à-vis the outside world, to strengthen their negotiating power and to increase their potential independent growth and development.

156. On each of these points, the Group of 77 has submitted detailed proposals on the policies and measures to be included in the new strategy.

157. In order to achieve these objectives, the United Nations will have to have boldness and imagination. Will the world Organization be able to play a decisive role in the face of the multifaceted problems arising between the rich and the poor countries?

158. At its fifth session, held at Manila in 1979, UNCTAD shed a great deal of light on the difficulties in the way of coming to a fruitful agreement between the countries of the North and the South. The difficulties in narrowing the gap between the points of view of the two groups is illustrated by the basically different ways in which they contemplate the establishment of a new international economic order.

159. The countries of the South have rightly remained inflexible as regards the need to set up a new institutional system which would culminate in a change in the present world economic structures, especially in the trade, monetary and financial spheres.

160. The countries of the North, on the other hand, have stuck to their proposals to the effect that the new economic order should be based on the existing bodies; these proposals imply a refusal to create a new system of economic institutions.

161. Since then, the structural imbalance has become worse and economic relations have become further strained.

162. When power politics came into play a glaring light was cast on the fundamental conflict between the traditional interests of the industrialized countries and the principle of any sort of plan for restructuring the world economic order.

163. As usual, the developed countries prefer to seek a cure for their present difficulties in a temporary recovery of their balance-of-payments equilibrium rather than in a reform of the international economic order. Hence the adoption of protectionist measures and the deterioration of the terms of trade of the developing countries to the detriment of transfers of capital and technology, transfers which alone can put an end to the distortion of world economic relations and foster the

establishment of just and equitable conditions that will permit the social and economic progress of the entire international community. In the face of this situation, the developing countries have no alternative but to take the offensive. The Director-General of UNIDO certainly warned the developed countries to expect a large-scale strategy of autonomy and self-development if they did not respond to the appeal for co-operation which has been made to them.

164. It must be recognized that the developed countries, as well as some countries in the third world itself which have accumulated substantial financial surpluses, are not yet prepared to face their obligations with regard to the creation of a world order of peace and progress.

165. Now the choice of an authentic mode of development would obviously have an impact on the operation and management of the developing countries' economies and also on their economic relations with other countries.

166. The developing countries have long hesitated to throw down the gauntlet to the developed countries in this way. They are tired of persuasion and their patience is exhausted. The demand for collective self-reliance, deemed the ultimate guarantee for the establishment of the new order, is becoming more and more pressing. The principles of collective self-reliance must necessarily be defined.

167. The problems involved are complex, and we must realize that, if they are to be resolved, changes will have to be made in the social and economic structures of every country and in the economic relations among the third-world countries. The adjustments will not be easy and for the time being will have painful consequences for the world economy as a whole. We leave the entire responsibility for this to the developed countries, but this will be the price they will have to pay for pushing the developing countries into a corner.

168. In human terms, what value is there in all the programmes for development and prosperity if they do not benefit everyone and are not reflected in a general improvement in the human condition?

169. Without abandoning our pride and our national identity, we must become used to thinking in terms of a world community in the enlightened interest of all of mankind.

170. Man should no longer be a slave to money in the service of a financial oligarchy; rather, money must become a tool at the service of man, under the sign of truth, even when this truth is hard to express and even harder to listen to.

171. Since our aim is to establish a new international order based on justice and equity, can we gloss over the odd tone of international high finance in certain specialized agencies of the United Nations? What sense of responsibility can the world Organization have when it has allowed some of its organizations to include in their assistance structures representatives and experts from the transnational corporations who impose the rules and aims of their principals?

172. The institution most seriously affected is the FAO. Its important position, both because of the strategic role it plays in the United Nations and because of the volume of the funds it administers—nearly two thirds of world assistance—has not been achieved without the interference of transnational corporations whose activities conflict with the central goal of the world Organization.

173. Indeed, the institution which really acts as paymaster for FAO is IBRD, which finances assistance

projects and major operations in which the interests of Western capitalism are preponderant. It is unimaginable that the FAO should be under the thumb of IBRD, which officially created a control and planning cell within its organization, which is supposed to be a world organization. This is the Investment Centre, through which the World Bank can organize assistance programmes and direct them as it sees fit.

174. The Investment Centre, not content with rubber-stamping the Bank's policies, takes advantage of its status so far as to reserve the monopoly of the operations for a limited number of transnational corporations under what is called the Programme of Industrial Co-operation.

175. Thus, to give only the most striking example, the United Nations, through FAO, is contaminated by the agro-industrial strategy of the transnational corporations, which, as pressure groups, interfere openly in the decisions of the world Organization.

176. All this helps us to understand that in reality it is the decisions of "agro-business" that prevail over all other considerations with regard to the development of the primary sector in aid programmes for assisted countries. And while we are on the subject, we must mention in passing the social category which is the most seriously threatened by the agro-food transnational corporations: the case of the destruction of the rural sector in the third world.

177. The guilty role played by the multinational agro-businesses—with the conscious or unconscious participation of a good number of third-world Governments—will inevitably lead to the complete destruction of the rural world if we do not put a stop to it.

178. The invasion of our rural world by technicians and monopoly products of the international agro-business network in 1960 was a decisive stage. We are paying too high a price for it today not to bear it in mind. Indeed, agro-food multinational corporations are playing an ever more dominant role in the agricultural sphere of the African countries. Their development marks an advanced stage in the absorption of the land into the industrial process. Agriculture, fishing, livestock and forestry are the vital sectors in which these firms can make substantial profits without running into such obstacles as competition or the saturation of national or international markets. This is possible because they dominate these markets at all stages through monopoly purchasing, and they dominate marketing by controlling credit and by price fixing.

179. Moreover, unlike the colonial enterprises of the past, the groups of agro-business are not interested in ownership but in the control of activities, and they are doing this without worrying about the rural sector, whose complaints can be addressed only through the relevant government organizations.

180. An analysis of the machinery of the policy of agro-foodstuffs capital as it affects the structure of African nations demonstrates the grave imbalances which exist in this still fragile world.

181. Traditional crops are often replaced by industrial plantations and luxury foodstuffs, forming a set of products reserved for export, in order to finance the importation of products which are not always necessary. The consequence is that the deterioration of the terms of trade between developing and rich countries is being aggravated by the constant deterioration of the situation in the countryside.

182. Furthermore, the powerful agro-foodstuff organizations are profiting from the agricultural policy of

development, which is recognized as a world-wide need, in order to ensure their penetration into the developing countries, and especially into the countries of Africa, where they are in the process of setting up industrialization of the rural sector. This industrialization has two aspects: increasing the exports of African countries, and increasing the influence of capital in the rural sector. This clearly means an extension of capitalism in the world and its penetration into the so-called traditional sectors, so as to involve them in the process of world-wide standardization and marketing.

183. A New International Economic Order is possible only if the countries of the third world, which possess 75 per cent of the raw materials used by the industrialized countries, decide to unite henceforth so that they shape events and are not simply the tools of a deceitful paternalism which is no longer acceptable.

184. What is this New International Economic Order? That question has not yet been considered with the desired depth and theoretical intensity. It is nevertheless necessary to define precisely its prospects and limitations. The first question which arises is whether this is not a purely reformist approach, because there are, in fact, several arguments to show that the programme for the New International Economic Order is a typically reformist programme.

185. Among those arguments we could mention first the way in which discussions between Governments take place, depending on the good political will of the Powers as the only guarantee for the success of this programme. Then the most striking factor enters the picture: the total lack of references to internal structural changes—the political and socio-economic factors which are absolutely necessary in the majority of the underdeveloped countries.

186. We could refer to many arcane points or at least controversial ones relating to this New International Economic Order: international monetary reform; the code of conduct of transnational enterprises which could create the absurd illusion that the system is governed by rules. We should be careful not to adopt childish attitudes in such a complex matter because we must, above all, consider the most important aspects which should underlie the New International Economic Order.

187. Actually, the political part of the United Nations programme is absolutely irreproachable—it condemns colonialism and racism and defends the right of peoples to self-determination and the maintenance of peace. In its economic part, this programme contains just demands such as, for example, national sovereignty over national wealth and the establishment of fair prices for raw materials. But let us not be under any illusions. Without far-reaching changes in the internal structures of our countries, of the third-world countries in particular, there cannot be any genuine development and it will be impossible to set up an international economic order which would be truly viable and a fulfilment of our hopes.

188. The developing countries feel that, with respect to the new development strategy, it is necessary to have enough major guidelines in that strategy to enable the various bodies of the United Nations system to begin effectively and on a solid basis to apply in practice the necessary decisions at the technical level. That is why the quantitative approach to development of the present strategy should be accompanied by an approach which highlights the qualitative and institutional aspects, in order to carry out the necessary structural changes at the international level.

189. It is also high time for the developed countries to realize the significance of the alternative proposed by the New International Economic Order and to commit themselves truly along with the other members of the international community to the establishment of these new relationships so as to ensure a better life for future generations.

190. The Group of 77, at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly held, respectively, in 1974 and 1975, at the fourth session of UNCTAD, held at Nairobi from 5 to 31 May 1976, as well as at other conferences which would be too numerous to mention here, submitted a complete plan for the New International Economic Order that we should like to establish for a world of justice. What is proposed to us, on the other hand, is known to all. We should now learn a lesson from the past and adopt a new strategy for the new period to come.

191. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau believes that the strategy of the developing countries should adhere to the following lines: we should continue negotiations with our partners in the industrialized countries as a united front in order to build a new international order; we should build, without our reluctant partners of the international community, a new international order at the regional, continental and tricontinental level and among all developing countries in accordance with the principle of limited collective self-reliance.

192. The conditions are present for the success of our strategy, because there are, on the one hand, certain complementarities: some countries have natural resources; others have people, technical expertise which is satisfactory if not very advanced, and others have capital; on the other hand, there is the political will to change the face of the world.

193. Furthermore, we have created or are in the process of creating certain institutions which will provide us with effective support in continuing our endeavours: producer associations of the Group of 77 with a stabilization fund which will increase our negotiating power, the development fund of the Group of 77, the information and research centre, the information centre on transnational corporations, and the centre for promoting scientific and technological co-operation—to cite only a few.

194. The last trump card that we have in our favour is the adoption and effective implementation of an Action Plan for Global Priorities on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries³ which encompasses most of the points that I have just mentioned and would highlight our political will to pursue our objectives to the end.

195. It has now become almost a commonplace for us to recall that some resources are exhaustible, in particular oil, and that there is a need for transition to the use of other energy sources. We should bear in mind the fact that, above all, the developing countries are the ones which will be most affected in this regard or faced with the difficulties inherent in the exploitation of alternative sources, both from the point of view of cost and from that of obstacles involved in the transfer of technology. This fact induces us to acknowledge without difficulty the need for the oil-producing countries to ensure the future of their peoples. Of course, the increase in the price of oil has a major effect on the eco-

nomie health of third-world countries. But to attribute the reason for their poverty to this phenomenon would be a great step that we cannot take except in bad faith. What we must seek are the causes for this increase, rather than complain about the effects of a situation which the industrialized countries themselves have created. We must be realistic and, above all, as the representative of Kuwait said the other day, not expect miracles. Here again, we must attack the causes and not just the symptoms in order to rectify energy problems.

196. Before concluding, may we deal with a subject which we feel is very important and whose urgency is becoming increasingly evident? I have in mind the status of the so-called "fourth-world" countries.

197. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which is among the least developed countries, is experiencing the most enormous difficulties as regards its economic and social development, and the same situation prevails in other countries in the same economic zone. Therefore we are concerned, and should like to bring to the Assembly's attention the fact that we are facing the fiercest opposition from some Western countries regarding the inclusion of certain countries in the list of least developed countries. We therefore urgently appeal to the planning committee and the Economic and Social Council to consider changing the criteria as a matter of the greatest urgency. Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind some of the key points made at the Addis Ababa conference held on 22 March 1980, organized by ECA under the auspices of the United Nations in co-operation with UNCTAD, regarding the prospects and problems of the least developed countries.

198. The strategies adopted are designed, among other things, to enable the least developed countries to implement programmes for raising the standard of living and improving the well-being of their populations. The report also emphasizes the need to redouble the efforts at the international and regional levels to provide assistance to the least developed countries. Furthermore, specific opinions were given on international co-operation and assistance, as well as on the role that ECA should play in the least developed African countries within the framework of the strategy for the development of Africa for the 1980s.

199. It is with this in view that we have hopes for the results of the forthcoming United Nations conference on the least developed countries. From the beginning of our session, the whole world has been listening and expects concrete results capable of satisfying the hunger of millions of people and alleviating their sufferings.

200. This means that we have a historic responsibility, and I express the wish here that, through our decisions, we will be able to fulfil the aspirations and hopes of our peoples in co-operation and friendship.

201. Mr. PADILLA TONOS (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government of the Dominican Republic, we wish to express to Mr. Salim our profound satisfaction because it is he, with his qualifications and experience, who has been given the historic opportunity and responsibility of guiding this important special session of the General Assembly.

202. Likewise, we most warmly welcome Zimbabwe on its admission as a State Member of this Organization.

203. We also wish to express our pleasure at the acceptance as an observer of a representative of the Latin American Economic System at this session of the General Assembly.

³See *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, sect. II.

204. More than 100 representatives have spoken before us in the general debate at this special session representing an equal number of countries, developed and developing, Members of this world Organization.

205. We have listened attentively to each of them. We have quietly pondered every word and every sentence and we have tried to deduce from them how the world feels about the very important problems that we have come to consider at this Assembly. From all those statements, both by the representatives of the industrialized countries and by those of the developing countries, as well as from our own knowledge, experience and convictions we have been able to arrive at the following conclusions, which can be summarized briefly as follows.

206. The world economy is experiencing one of its greatest and worst periods of crisis and uncertainty; that situation mainly and fundamentally affects the developing countries.

207. The international community must change and guide its destiny with a sense of responsibility, urgency and decisiveness, for otherwise the crisis will become more serious and give rise to tensions of various kinds which may endanger the very life of mankind.

208. The old international economic order is not suitable or viable or capable of meeting the aspirations of the developing countries or of introducing the adjustments needed in the developed countries with a view to attempting to reconcile the interests of both sides and thus accelerate the development process.

209. Accordingly, the establishment of a new international economic order, based on the fundamental principles of equity, sovereign equality, interdependence and common interests and co-operation among all States, is necessary.

210. The developed countries are in a better position and have greater opportunities to propose initiatives designed to promote the positive and necessary changes in international economic relations.

211. The developing countries have the right and the responsibility of selecting their objectives and means of development, carrying out economic and social reforms, fully using their resources and ensuring that their people enjoy their fair share of the benefits of social and economic development.

212. It is up to the General Assembly at this special session to make every effort to establish this new international economic order by adopting measures and creating suitable structures, instruments and frameworks for these purposes, such as the adoption and proclamation of the new international development strategy and the holding of global negotiations for international economic co-operation.

213. What is needed now is to find out whether we are prepared to reach agreement rapidly and decisively and to find ways and means to confront and resolve the problems in a just and effective manner or whether, on the contrary, we are to continue to take as our model the difficult economic world situation of the past decade, of which chronic inflation, the unprecedented rise in the prices of energy and the continued aggravation of the most crucial problems of the developing countries were the main features. If we choose the latter alternative that will show that the international community lacks the vision and decisiveness needed to stop in time and change the course of the turbulence and unrest which are dangerously threatening it.

214. Unfortunately, the decade which has just gone by has left the world, at least the poor countries' world,

full of disenchantment and frustration. During that decade, no substantial or adequate progress towards eliminating poverty was achieved and the world economy was maintained and developed along the old lines, which do not allow for effective measures against hunger, unemployment, disease, illiteracy, housing shortages and all the scourges which keep millions of human beings living a life devoid of dignity, without even being aware of the advances of modern civilization.

215. Yet, we cannot deny that during that decade some efforts were made to consider and study the fundamental needs of our planet and to define and take the necessary steps to ensure the survival of the human race.

216. It will be enough for me to mention among those efforts some of the principal world meetings, among them the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in 1972; the World Food Conference, held in Rome in 1974; the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, held in New York in 1974 and 1975; the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, held at Copenhagen in 1976; the Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress and the International Division of Labour, held at Geneva in 1976; the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT), held at Vancouver in 1976; the Second General Conference of UNIDO, held at Lima in 1976; the fourth and fifth sessions of UNCTAD in 1976 and 1979; the United Nations Water Conference, held at Mar del Plata in 1977; the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Buenos Aires in 1978; the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, held in Rome in 1979, and the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna in 1979.

217. Yet, despite all these meetings and efforts, the fact remains, as we said earlier, that very little progress was made in the struggle against poverty during the last decade.

218. Indeed, to be convinced of this it would be enough to take a look at an interesting report submitted by UNDP on its activities in 1979⁴ to realize the critical and dangerous situation of mankind in the most elemental sectors for its survival, such as food, water, rural development, the utilization of natural resources, social services and industrialization.

219. Indeed, according to this report, food—the “fuel for development”—the growing of which provides the greatest source of employment in all the developing countries, the sale of which provides profits for maintaining industrialization and broadening social services, the consumption of which is essential for human health and productivity, is no longer in completely renewable supply because, while the total production of food increased significantly in the decade of the 1970s, the *per capita* production of crucial foodstuffs peaked and began to decline. The decline in *per capita* fish catches has reached an alarming 16 per cent, in cereals production 8 per cent, and in meat sales over 7 per cent.

220. Although water covers more than two thirds of the world's surface, more than half of the population of the world is deprived of access to safe and drinkable water for consumption and 25,000 persons die every day for lack of water. What is more, in the next 20 years it

⁴Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1979, Supplement No. 10 (E/1979/40 and Corr.1).

will be necessary to increase the amount of irrigated land by 50 per cent, for which more than a million gallons per acre will have to be taken from the world's supply.

221. With respect to rural development, more than 650 million people in rural areas in low-income countries have no land, and there is an alarming possibility that by the end of this century, that figure may exceed 1.1 billion. Besides, and in spite of mass migrations to urban centres, 85 per cent of persons with incomes of \$50 a year or less live in rural areas.

222. As to natural resources, the developing countries can at present use only 20 per cent of their natural resources productively, while the remainder, in the form of agricultural land, rivers, minerals, fuel reserves, are unused, neither cultivated nor explored nor developed. That is, they are not used because of the lack of capital and technology which could place them at the service of the many people who are hungry and desperate.

223. With regard to social services, in many regions of the developing world, a child born at this very moment has only one chance in two of surviving until adulthood, one in four of completing primary school and perhaps one in three of living in a decent home, if he manages to survive. And if that child is female, the probabilities against her are even worse.

224. As regards industrialization, the developing countries, comprising 72 per cent of the world's population, account for barely 7 per cent of world industrial production. And that is only one aspect of the problem, which also includes a great shortage of industries and skilled manpower, not to mention the fact that 95 per cent of all technological research is limited to only 25 nations of the North, that the tariffs imposed by the industrialized countries on the exports of the manufactures of the developing countries are, on the average, six times higher than those for raw materials and that the developing countries must urgently find employment for 350 million unemployed or underemployed persons, while they are trying to establish efficient and competitive industries requiring mechanized mass and employment-generating production.

225. I have so far mentioned information, excerpts and figures taken from the interesting but no less moving report of UNDP.

226. If we add to that picture the vast range of problems currently confronting all the developing countries, such as world inflation, the rise in the price of oil, the deficits in their balances of payments, the protectionist measures against their exports, the fluctuations in the prices of their main export products on the world market, the high cost of technology and of financial resources, we are but painting in a realistic and sincere manner the present pathetic situation of the developing world, the world as it is today at the very time we are meeting here at this special session of the General Assembly, which, it is assumed, is the depository—or should be the depository—of the conscience of mankind.

227. Is that the world in which we have to live? And for how long? Already there are millions of human beings who, rather than struggling to live, are really engaged in a struggle for survival.

228. Are we men who are not able to reach agreement, in a spirit of co-operation and mutual interest, to seek and find solutions to those acute problems affecting millions of men, women and children?

229. Shall we allow this opportunity of a special session of the General Assembly to pass—one which has among its terms of reference the launching of global

negotiations and the formulation of a new international development strategy aimed at establishing the new international economic order—without attaining our main objectives?

230. We believe that the Almighty has created the world, not for it to be divided, but to be shared.

231. Hence we believe that, just as our peoples rightly demand of their Governments greater social justice and a better distribution of wealth, the poorer countries also have the right to claim a just international economic order and, to that end, the mandatory co-operation of the developed countries.

232. Speaking of co-operation, what we expect from the developed countries is not that they organize a colossal charity for the developing countries but that they establish a new order for the benefit of all, without benefactors or beneficiaries and based on equity and justice.

233. We are aware—and we proclaim it here—that we ourselves are responsible for struggling for and achieving our well-being and our development, but we are also aware that this will not be possible without effective international co-operation.

234. What will it avail us if extraordinary efforts are made in our countries to achieve socio-economic development and a dignified life for our peoples, if we collide with a pre-established international system—if it can be called a system—which thwarts our efforts?

235. I should like now to refer briefly to the important aspect of the mobilization of internal resources within the restructuring of international economic relations in respect of my own country.

236. Both in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] reference is made to the need for developing countries to devote all their resources to the cause of development and to proclaim the right and the responsibility of each State to select its own objectives and means of development, to mobilize and fully use its resources, to carry out progressive economic and social reforms and to ensure the full participation of its people in the process and in the benefits of development.

237. It is in that spirit that the Constitutional Government of the Dominican Republic, presided over since 16 August 1978 by President Antonio Guzmán, is using every resource available to the country for the economic and social development of the vast majority of the population, ensuring that they are involved in the production process and facilitating their access to the benefits of progress. It is also guaranteeing and promoting the private sector, since it contributes to the country's social development and strengthens the economic policy of the Government. That guarantee covers both national and foreign enterprises and investments. A programme of austerity and tax reform has been initiated. Similarly, since our country is predominantly agricultural, we are concentrating on that sector not only to guarantee an adequate supply of food for the population, which will lead to lowering the cost of living, but also to alleviate unemployment and achieve substantial volumes of exports as a means of improving the balance of payments.

238. Bearing especially in mind the fact that the Dominican Republic has had to cope with the increases in the price of the oil it imports, it is also working to improve the supply of energy by putting into operation several dams that are practically completed in order to guaran-

tee the best possible use of electric power, while we are looking into the possibility of obtaining alternative sources of energy and drawing up and implementing an energy conservation plan.

239. Finally, the Government of the Dominican Republic has formulated policies and set priorities and is making great efforts in the vital sectors of the economy.

240. The Government has affirmed that the country needs and wishes to have foreign investments to expand our national economy, and it has an incentive programme for those investments which are designed, in particular, to participate in our development taking into account our priorities and conforming with our national laws.

241. All that is part of the economic policy of the Government of the Dominican Republic, which is determined to solve problems that it has inherited from the past and pave the way for a better life for all Dominicans in an atmosphere of peace and full guarantees within a democratic régime rooted in law and freedom.

242. Hence the Dominican Republic, at the cost of great sacrifices, is now enjoying great political stability and its Government is locked in the major struggle to attain full development through the solution of the immediate economic problems and to establish the bases for long-term development. The coming years will require great efforts from us that will be very important for our economy and the achievement of a better future.

243. But will our efforts alone be sufficient? We can categorically affirm that they will not be. Like all the other developing countries, we need international co-operation. International support for our internal measures is required if we are to achieve an acceptable situation and a reduction in the number of the world's poor under a stable and adequate economic system benefiting all.

244. The political decisions adopted by our Governments must be supplemented by support from the international community both directly by the creation of the proper international atmosphere.

245. We are thereby recognizing once again our primary responsibility for our own development, but we are also calling for urgent, necessary and effective international co-operation. We see this co-operation not only as an international moral duty on the part of countries in a position to offer and provide assistance but also as the rationale for mankind's survival, for, otherwise, the political and social upheavals that will convulse the world will not distinguish between the boundaries of the rich countries and those of the poor.

246. We therefore need to work together and by common agreement in order jointly to solve the problems affecting the world economic order and our own national problems. The interdependence of States today means that major economic problems, such as energy, inflation, poverty, hunger, unemployment and pollution, are assuming international proportions and losing their local characteristics. In other words, no country can by itself solve those problems domestically without facing up to their international dimensions.

Mr. Tarua (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

247. Similarly, this interdependence of States means that if problems in the developing countries are not solved and the result is major political, economic and social upheavals—I have already referred to this—there will be repercussions on the developed countries,

and international peace and security may even be endangered.

248. For those reasons, the Dominican Government emphatically supports the international initiatives for global negotiations and the adoption of a new international development strategy, as instruments and means for the establishment of a new international economic order. To that end, the excellent institutional machinery of the United Nations should be used at the highest level and in a centralized way.

249. The Dominican Government considers that the global negotiations can be a very important means of solving international problems, particularly those specific to the developing countries—problems which must of necessity be tackled.

250. The Dominican Government also regards the international development strategy as a structure to guide and accelerate economic and social progress in the developing countries and to establish bases for such progress in the new decade, even though the task may be a very difficult one because of the urgency and complexity of the many serious and important problems to be faced.

251. Global negotiations and the strategy must bring into being a new international economic order which will function adequately and in which the developing countries will play a full part.

252. In resolution 34/138, the General Assembly decided to launch global negotiations during this special session. The challenge facing those negotiations is to put an end to uncertainty. It is a formidable challenge, but it is worth making the effort involved, since we must not merely find solutions, but must find solutions based on realistic international co-operation that will benefit everyone.

253. Development in the coming decade will depend on the transfer of resources to the developing countries and on the measures they take to solve the problem of development. To be an effective instrument, the strategy must meet those two requirements.

254. In the global negotiations and in the drafting of a new international development strategy, we must bear in mind that one of the fundamental problems we have to face is that we must begin the decade in a new and different situation in regard to the availability of natural, non-renewable resources. We cannot plan for the decade of the 1980s on the premise that we shall always have an unlimited supply of such resources, in favourable conditions. On the contrary, we must face the challenge on the basis of present facts, with a view to accelerating the process of development in the 1980s.

255. We must also bear in mind that there are at present urgent problems requiring immediate action and long-term problems with broader dimensions.

256. Thus, for example, we have to find a solution to the payments problem, which is extremely urgent—without, however, losing sight of fundamental and long-term questions. We must make profound changes in the international commercial system; we must urgently restructure the monetary system; we must accelerate co-operation among developing countries.

257. On the latter aspect, we are pleased to mention the agreement recently concluded between Venezuela and Mexico on energy co-operation with the countries of Central America and the Caribbean.

258. We hope that that initiative by those sister countries will be followed by other international measures

that will help to overcome the difficult economic situation confronting the developing countries.

259. Finally, at this time when we are at the threshold of the decade of the 1980s and are meeting here to prepare new guidelines and approaches to deal with and solve the vital development problems, we cannot disregard the exceptionally difficult situation in which our efforts have to be made. At the beginning of the decade, the international community is confronted by new crises that are of fundamental importance to the process of development.

260. I wish to refer now to a matter that is of importance to the Dominican Republic and the other countries in the Caribbean—that is, the phenomenon of natural disasters. As all the representatives here are aware, our area is subject to destructive hurricanes, tornadoes and cyclones. Last year, hurricane “David” struck our region with such force that there was a tremendous loss in human life, as well as in crops and in our natural resources. Governments and peoples of friendly countries and international organizations responded very quickly to our plight: a spontaneous and generous example of international co-operation.

261. This year—indeed only a few days ago—another hurricane—“Allen”—caused substantial damage in our country.

262. In that respect, the Dominican Government submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session a proposal for the establishment of a permanent special fund to give assistance to the islands of the Caribbean area whose precarious economies are further jeopardized by the devastating hurricanes which systematically and inexorably, every year, strike that region of the American continent. I would take this opportunity to express again, on behalf of the delegation of the Dominican Republic, the gratitude of the people and Government of the Dominican Republic for the assistance that has been rendered in a spirit of solidarity by the international community, and to repeat the proposal to which I have just referred. I would call the Assembly's attention to resolution 34/55, entitled: “Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Coordinator”, in which the Assembly requested the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy to take into account, in its deliberations, matters concerning disaster relief, preparedness and prevention.

263. Before concluding, I should like once again to express the Dominican Government's support for the proclamation and adoption of a new international development strategy, and the holding of global negotiations with a view to the establishment of a new international economic order. We are convinced that the more just international relations which we desire and are promoting have the final objective of achieving social and economic development with dignity, with human beings all over the world as the ultimate beneficiary.

264. In the Dominican Republic we do not expect the Dominicans to imitate the standard of living of people in the industrialized countries, but our aspirations and our efforts, as well as what we justly claim from the international community, are directed towards ensuring that Dominicans may live a life worthy of human beings, with good health, food, work, education and housing, within a system of freedom, justice and law.

265. Let us unite our endeavours, without excessive expectations but also without excessive pessimism; let us work in a spirit of international co-operation to build a

better world, so that we shall not have to bear the enormous responsibility of leaving to future generations the tragic inheritance of a world destroyed, in which the rich and the poor will bear consequences for the very survival of mankind.

266. Mr. SALLAH (Gambia): Permit me first of all to offer my warm personal congratulations to Mr. Salim on his unanimous election as President of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. I have no doubt whatsoever that, with his wisdom and wealth of experience, he will not only uphold the traditions of his distinguished predecessors in this high office but also guide this Assembly to even more significant achievements at this historic and important session. His election is not only a reflexion of his personal qualities but also a tribute to his country and to the great continent of Africa.

267. On behalf of my delegation I should also like to associate myself with other speakers in extending a most hearty welcome to the Republic of Zimbabwe as the one hundred and fifty-third Member of the United Nations. That Zimbabwe has joined us as an independent sovereign State is undoubtedly testimony to the discipline of the valiant and courageous people of Zimbabwe. Their freedom also epitomizes the resolute determination of the progressive forces of the international community to continue the struggle until the oppressed peoples still under the yoke of colonialism, oppression and the cruelty of *apartheid* are liberated. The struggle for freedom and equality in South Africa and Namibia will continue and even intensify because of the strength and inspiration gained from the example set by Zimbabwe.

268. During the short period since the independence of Zimbabwe, its Prime Minister, Mr. Mugabe, has proved himself singularly well adapted to the demands of the changing times, and his leadership, qualities and discretion have won him the respect even of his adversaries. My delegation therefore trusts that the international community will respond quickly and positively to his appeal for the financial and technical support Zimbabwe so desperately needs for national reconstruction.

269. This session is of critical importance because of its consideration of two key issues: the adoption of the international development strategy for the 1980s and the launching of the global negotiations for international economic co-operation and development.

270. It would be foolhardy to minimize the difficulties of the task that lies before us. As we are all aware, we are faced with a situation of near-stalemate in the negotiations between the developing and the developed countries. The deadlock threatens not only the outcome of the current negotiations but the new international order itself, for the global negotiations and the new international development strategy are vital elements in the establishment of that order.

271. For those reasons we must bear clearly in mind the broader implications of the negotiations. As the Second United Nations Development Decade draws to a close, a re-evaluation of its premises is essential.

272. It now appears that the underlying assumptions and objectives of the Second Development Decade were ignored by the international community or misdirected. Economic expansion on a global scale was envisaged, but, on the contrary, uneven economic growth has been the prevailing pattern in both developing and developed countries. The development of agriculture and livestock, which constitute the backbone of the economies of the developing countries, is declining rapidly, especially in the low-income countries. Even if world food

production were enough to satisfy minimum requirements in the near future, problems such as transportation and distribution would present problems. The food production picture for Africa is especially disturbing. Food production there has shown a decline of 1.4 per cent annually since 1970, and continuing high population growth rates and rapid urbanization have also contributed to declines in the rate of growth of land area cultivated.

273. The international economic scene has largely been characterized by world economic recession, spiralling inflation and recent developments in the oil market.

274. The industrial countries have not provided the boost necessary for economic growth and expansion in international trade, and as a natural consequence the "wealth" gap between the developed and the developing countries continues to widen, condemning the greater part of the world's population to chronic poverty and stagnation. The economic structure between the developing and the developed countries has therefore remained unchanged.

275. It is abundantly clear that the world, and especially the developing world, cannot afford an exercise in waste motion. The problems are too many and massive. They should therefore receive immediate attention.

276. As I have mentioned, the food crisis threatens large populations in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. In the face of the vulnerability of most developing countries to food shortages, every effort should be made to ensure that appropriate measures are taken at this special session and in the negotiations to follow to give practical expression to the various resolutions of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and FAO designed to ensure increased food production and food self-sufficiency in developing countries. The persistent weakness of the agricultural sector in the developing countries is exemplified by the frequent requests for increased quantities of food aid.

277. The situation is further exacerbated by the need to import substantial quantities of food to meet the minimum requirements of those countries. Consequently, limited foreign exchange earnings desperately needed for national development projects are directed to the importation of food.

278. It is unfortunate that despite the efforts of the developing countries to accelerate the growth of this very important sector, and notwithstanding the growing awareness of the international community of the grave food situation in the developing countries, very little is being done to increase the flow of resources, technology and other inputs to arrest this fast deteriorating situation.

279. It is absolutely vital that immediate remedial measures be taken if wide-scale worldwide famine is to be averted. In this regard, full support should be given to the five-point plan of action on world food security. My delegation would also welcome the positive conclusion of a new food aid convention.

280. We also hope that the minimum target of 10 million tons of food aid per year set by the World Food Conference, held in Rome from 5 to 16 November 1974, will be achieved as an interim measure. Only a "green revolution" in the developing countries could take us from an era of scarcity to one of plenty and security. Only agricultural development will give us the impetus needed for industrialization. It is for this reason that the Gambia fully supports the Programme of Action of

the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development,⁵ which we believe constitutes a comprehensive and all-embracing strategy for food production and rural development in the developing countries. In the global negotiations the Programme should be accorded the prominence, priority and quality of support it deserves.

281. Since the Gambia is a member of the Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel, it is impossible for one to discuss food security and agricultural development without expressing one's serious concern over the devastating effects of the persistent drought in the Sudano-Sahelian and other areas of Africa. As President Jawara once said,

"For most of our populations in these areas, it is no longer a question of improving the quality of life; it is simply a question of survival. The battle against drought requires a great deal of urgency, goodwill and determination on the part of everyone."

282. In our effort to arrest the rapid spread of deforestation and desertification, and in recognition of the serious negative effects that the continued indiscriminate felling of trees for domestic energy could have for the future generation of Gambians, we have introduced legislation that would ban the felling of trees for charcoal purposes. It is, however, gratifying to note that in the face of this difficult decision the United Nations Sahel Office is undertaking with the World Bank a joint study on the problems of domestic energy in the Gambia which could serve as a model for other developing countries.

283. It is regrettable that many of the developing countries cannot accumulate sufficient foreign exchange earnings, because of their inability to stabilize the prices of their export commodities, which are often their only source of such earnings. The developing countries, unable to maintain stocks of their commodities while prices are declining, are forced to sell at unremunerative prices. Their lack of market staying-power weakens their economies and makes them even more susceptible to the fluctuations and the instability of commodity export dependency. It is for that reason that the developing countries have always maintained that the establishment of a Common Fund to serve as a key instrument for the attainment of the agreed objectives of the Integrated Programme for Commodities⁶ would constitute a basic element in the establishment of a new economic order.

284. It is therefore reassuring to note that not only has the Common Fund been established but the signing of the Final Act at the conclusion of the UNCTAD negotiating conference in Geneva at the end of June this year has set the seal on protracted and often difficult negotiations. It is disappointing, however, that the original target of \$13,300 billion was not achieved. The agreed level for the Common Fund is very low and falls far short of the expectations of the developing countries. My delegation would wish to reiterate the conviction of

⁵Report of the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, Rome, 12-20 July 1979 (WCARRD/REP); transmitted to the members of the General Assembly by a note of the Secretary-General (A/34/485).

⁶See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one, sect. A, resolution 93 (IV).

the Group of 77 that for the "second window" of the Fund to achieve any measure of success, it should be financed through direct contribution.

285. While trying to free themselves from dependency by means of pricing mechanisms or shifts to light industry, developing countries meanwhile face protectionist difficulties and barriers to their products in the industrialized world.

286. Trade liberalization and access to the markets of developed countries should of necessity be the cornerstone of a new international order. It is through the urgent introduction of more equitable terms of trade, which would guarantee commensurate export returns for developing countries, that we can begin to close the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world. There is therefore a compelling need in the face of imported spiralling inflation in the developing countries, to link the prices of imported goods from developed countries, if the progressive and self-sustaining economic growth of developing countries is to be achieved. Developed countries should not only dismantle existing protectionist measures against imports from developing countries but should also refrain from introducing new restrictions and other non-tariff barriers, which automatically place such exports at a serious disadvantage right from the start. It is also of paramount importance to developing countries that, in the face of the dangers posed by escalating protectionism, a concerted effort be made by the international community to ensure the expeditious implementation and scrupulous observance of the agreements concluded in the protracted multilateral trade negotiations and also the expansion of those agreements to meet more fully the aspirations of the developing countries.

287. Although the IMF second amendment, adopted in Jamaica in 1976, provides a useful framework for dealing with international monetary problems, it does not provide for greater access by developing countries to the resources of the Fund, which should play an increasingly active role in the adjustment process and the financing of deficits. The Fund should also broaden the scope of its Compensatory Financing Facility to compensate not only for a fall in export earnings but also for a rise in import prices and a fall in the terms of trade. The Fund's role in dealing with structural adjustments in the medium to long term and in providing the needed support for national development will, however, be extremely limited so long as existing Fund facilities continue to be reserved mainly for balance-of-payments assistance in the short term. The establishment of the Supplementary Financing Facility would undoubtedly provide some financing for the medium term but, equally important to developing countries is the urgent need for an early enlargement of the allocation of special drawing rights at the rate of \$8 billion a year and a link between special drawing rights and development.

288. A dramatic capital increase in World Bank resources from \$40 billion to \$80 billion will be necessary if the World Bank is to achieve the desired targets in its lending capacity in the important years ahead. In that regard, urgent action should be taken towards enhancing the gearing ratio of its capital from 1:1 to 2:1. The restructuring of the framework and policies of the Bank so as to ensure a greater level of participation of developing countries in its decision-making processes would make that important financial institution more responsive to the needs of developing countries. The prevailing serious imbalance between developed and developing countries in the control and management of the resources of the IBRD and IMF has persisted for far

too long and profound changes in the voting rights in those institutions are long overdue.

289. No discussions of the prevailing world economic crisis can be complete without some reference to fuel prices. The sharp increase in oil prices has obviously provoked serious and complex problems for our economies. In the case of Gambia, increases in the cost of fuel imports have wiped out the economic assistance we currently receive. The intention of the oil-producing countries to mitigate the effects of the present crisis on developing countries is commendable and we hope that their actions will be emulated by the industrialized countries. With regard to the exploitation and conservation of energy, my delegation welcomes the investment initiatives taken by the World Bank, the European Economic Community and UNDP as steps in the right direction. We also look forward to a constructive and action-oriented conclusion of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, to be held at Nairobi in August 1981.

290. The combination of a series of serious structural disadvantages, inadequacy of financial resources and other special problems has paralysed the economic growth of the least developed countries and rendered their peoples intolerably poor. The least developed countries constitute easily the poorest and weakest entity of the developing countries. Their gross national product *per capita* growth rate is comparatively the lowest among developing countries and a good number of them are mono-crop agricultural economies, with huge food deficits and mounting food import bills. Despite the fact that their plight is desperate and the situation seems to be going from bad to worse, and in spite of the fact that it is generally recognized that the very nature of their grave situation and complex problems calls for special assistance, the response of the international community has been slow and typically characterized by inaction and postponement. As a result, only minimal resources have trickled into their countries over the years.

291. A massive programme of both financial and technical assistance to the least developed countries is imperative, if they are to surmount their monumental structural problems and achieve the desired level of socio-economic and rural infrastructural development. In that connexion, it is disappointing to note that the official United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product for official development assistance has so far averaged only 0.35 per cent of gross national product. It is the view of my delegation that such assistance should be more clearly defined, particularly in relation to targets, needs, institutionalization and reliability. It is also our view that a greater proportion of the total development assistance to developing countries should go to the least developed countries. The increase in disbursement to the least developed countries to \$14.5 billion by 1990, in real terms and in the form of grants for the financing of nationally determined development priorities, is vital.

292. The proposed establishment of an international development fund, through which disbursements of official development assistance resources for the least developed countries will be channelled, should significantly contribute towards facilitating the successful implementation of the substantial new Programme of Action envisaged in UNCTAD resolution 122 (V), of 3 June 1979,⁷ and priority must also be given to the

⁷See *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), part one, sect. A.

implementation of the Immediate Action Programme (1979-1981) for the least developed countries, also called for in UNCTAD resolution 122 (V). We also support the early action programme proposed by the Secretary-General at the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council this year,⁸ on the clear understanding that the proposal would be subject to further elaboration for consideration and appropriate action by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth regular session.

293. Developing countries attempting to build their own technological base which would be capable of putting them on a different economic footing frequently find that they are in a very weak position when it comes to acquiring technology. Access to, and support in making choices in, the international technology market is a very important—and sometimes underestimated—need of the developing world.

294. It is gratifying to note that the Second United Nations Development Decade now coming to a close has witnessed the attainment of considerable progress in activities in the development of technical co-operation among developing countries. The significant contribution programmes and projects in this area are making to promoting regional co-operation among developing countries and in sustaining their efforts towards individual and collective self-reliance in consonance with the Buenos Aires Plan of Action⁹ for a New International Economic Order has undoubtedly earned the programme universal recognition and commendation.

295. Indeed, the well-defined strategy which the technical co-operation among developing countries programme has set itself and the efficiency and speed with which its programmes are executed are a source of profound satisfaction. However, there is a lot more to be done. Technical co-operation among developing countries should assist developing countries to identify their priority needs and capacities, help in ensuring the rational and optimal utilization of existing resources, promote the acquisition of needed technology for agricultural development and also help strengthen national development institutions. In accordance with the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa and the Final Act of Lagos [A/S-11/14, *annexes I and II*] the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance¹⁰ and the decisions taken at the high-level intergovernmental meeting on technical co-operation among developing countries in Geneva this year, every effort should be exerted by the international community to strengthen, expand and diversify activities in the sphere of technical co-operation among developing countries.

296. In recognition of the obvious advantages that technical co-operation among developing countries offers to developing countries, we in the Gambia have embarked on a number of joint programmes and projects with our neighbours, notably with the Republic of Senegal.

297. Given a more down-to-earth assessment of the Second United Nations Development Decade's assumptions, we may well ask ourselves how we can apply its

lessons to the challenges before us. I should like to suggest that the watchword be "determination". We all know that the aim of the global negotiations is "action-oriented" approaches to the international economic situation. In order for this to be achieved it is imperative that while never losing sight of our objectives, we be fully determined to succeed. And just as important, we must remember that unless these negotiations take place and continue to their completion in an atmosphere of goodwill and with a determined effort to succeed, which must include the ability and willingness to listen to the just demands of the developing countries, we shall reduce them to rhetorical exercises.

298. In outlining the needs and challenges of the new international development strategy, it is useful to emphasize the distinction between a strategy and a set of goals. The latter, which expresses what we must achieve, is clear: we must build a better world that is more stable, equitable and just and in which the living standards of its poorest populations are rapidly raised and sustained. We must redress the inequities in the relations between richer and poorer nations and we must create a world economy in which all countries have the opportunity to participate fully and equally.

299. The strategy, prescribing how we can achieve these goals, also possesses several self-evident characteristics. It must encourage both stability and dynamism in the world economy by stimulating accelerated economic growth in the poorer countries of the world. It must place special emphasis on ending food dependency in the developing world and on reducing negative production trends in Africa and elsewhere. It must reduce the vulnerability of the least developed countries to external economic pressures, whether by creating commodity stockpiling capabilities or by establishing compensatory financing schemes. It must improve the access of the products of the least developed countries to developed markets, thus allowing their capabilities for downstream processing and vertically integrated enterprises to become a part of their economic process. It must take an action-oriented approach to the implementation of existing national and regional programmes and projects aimed at solving crucial development problems. It must emphasize a greater flow of financial resources and development assistance to the least developed countries. Finally, it must encourage economic co-operation among developing countries, promoting the critically important objective of collective self-reliance.

300. Even these strategic needs represent only a rough outline of the new development strategy's requirements. Rather than a fuller description of them, however—a task for the negotiating process itself—a word on the atmosphere in which they are to be discussed is in order.

301. It is absolutely essential that the strategy, with all it implies for the New International Economic Order, be approached in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation. While this session's objectives are sacred, the means for achieving them is also important. Moreover, any step contemplated for implementation must be based on a commitment by the developing and developed nations alike. This requirement implies in turn a need for all participants to have a strong political will in presenting their own ideas and in responding to others.

302. Only if we have political will can we hope for success. Too many millions of people are suffering in too much poverty and despair for us to risk achieving anything less.

303. Mr. CORADIN (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to congratulate Mr. Salim on his

⁸See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Plenary Meetings, 24th meeting, paras. 24-29.*

⁹See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August-12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11 and corrigendum), chap. I.

¹⁰See *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), part one, sect. A.

election to the presidency of this Assembly, an honour which reflects not only on his country, the fraternal United Republic of Tanzania, but on all of Africa which is so closely linked with us in Haiti by blood and by race. His high qualities and great experience are guarantees of the success of this eleventh special session of the General Assembly, the third session over which he has presided in a year.

304. My delegation expresses its very great happiness at seeing in this hall the representatives of the young Republic of Zimbabwe. We send our most cordial greetings to its Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe, an eminent statesman and a proud soldier, whose presence in the United Nations is especially significant at a time when Zimbabwe takes its deserved place in the ranks of countries which have also struggled for their independence. This is an exceptionally important event: no people is entitled to freedom unless it wins it by fire and the sword and by generously shedding its blood. This is an essential truth which must be the basis of any action undertaken to free man from bondage. Our joy is great, and so is our pride. Respectful of our traditions, we stand in solidarity with all those who struggle for a world of justice and freedom. This is why we have given our militant support to all the battles waged by our brothers of Zimbabwe. The victory which they have just won over the forces of colonial oppression has added to the history of the emancipation of peoples one of its most exciting pages.

305. The third United Nations development decade begins in a climate of concern and of a serious general crisis caused by the recession in the free-market and planned economy countries, by the increase in the price of oil and by the consequent difficulties experienced by the countries of the third world.

306. The Decade which has just ended has unfortunately not fulfilled the hopes of those who planned it. The meagre results of 10 years of international co-operation show that the North-South dialogue has been too slow in achieving its objectives. Its renewal is one of the aims of this special session and we are happy to see the interest of this Assembly in one of the most serious problems ever faced by mankind, as demonstrated by the great number of political personalities present here.

307. This is the ideal opportunity for my delegation to congratulate in particular Mr. Ziaur Rahman, the President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, who has come here personally to be the spokesman for all the peoples who suffer from starvation, poverty and ignorance. My delegation subscribes to the views that he expressed in his statement last week [3rd meeting]. I should like to thank him for all the efforts that he has undertaken so that together we can build a better world, a world of justice and freedom.

308. In his introductory statement, the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, did not conceal his concern over the difficulty of the task before us when he mentioned "the growing chasm between declarations and intentions on the one hand, and the realities of hardship and suffering on the other". [1st meeting, para. 36.] The limited progress made in the last Development Decade has clearly shown us the path that we should follow. It is much more important to renew the North-South dialogue than to concern ourselves with the ideological tensions between East and West. We must renew this dialogue on a new basis and we must do so with new objectives.

309. The report which is now before the General Assembly and which was prepared by the Director-

General for Development and International Co-operation pursuant to General Assembly resolution 33/198,¹¹ appears to us to be realistic. The negotiations which have been undertaken to establish a new international economic order, however, have not led to the results we had hoped for. The reasons given reside in the difficulties encountered in mobilizing efforts to restructure and manage the world economy, to establish systematic co-operation in the field of energy, with regard to both its supply and its use, difficulties which were encountered in the search for a stable balance in the systems of international finance and trade that would be favourable to the transfer of resources with effective international co-operation that could meet the real needs of the developing countries.

310. The report concludes by recommending a further increase in international official assistance based on favourable terms for the developing countries. This report is an excellent working tool and we hope that it will really help in reviving the discussions between the developing countries and the industrialized countries so as to establish a more constructive dialogue.

311. In the same vein, it would be appropriate to recall the report of the independent Commission presided over by Mr. Willy Brandt. The programme of action which it proposes is a very valuable contribution to the study of the problems which are relevant to the work of this session. It will certainly increase the awareness of the voters in the North because it will explain to them why their countries are furnishing this assistance to the developing countries.

312. It is also important to note the extremely alarming report on development which has been distributed by the World Bank.¹² This report shows in a detailed manner with figures the problems which confront the least-developed countries. They must deal with the problem of 800 million victims of dire poverty—no miracle can eliminate dire poverty from the face of the world from one day to the next. Human development is at most one element of the solution. If on other fronts responsible persons do not apply the necessary measures and if the rest of the world does not give the proper assistance, progress will be deplorably slow.

313. The poorest countries are those which, according to the World Bank, are suffering the most because of increases in prices. In 1980 they show deficits of \$60 billion while the oil-exporting countries are registering surpluses of \$110 billion.

314. In this context, my delegation has taken note of the assistance given by the members of OPEC—\$263 million in January 1980. We hope that they will continue the recycling of their assets and intensify their assistance. Venezuela and Mexico have taken the decision to sell their petroleum at preferential prices to the poor countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. These are very happy initiatives which will increase co-operation among the developing countries. But that is simply a South-South dialogue.

315. The crux of the problem is the 400 million human beings who are on the brink of starvation, of death by hunger; the lack of health care for 12 million children; the deficit in the external payments of the developing countries—\$46 billion in 1979 and probably \$75 billion in 1980; the increase in their external debt—\$50 billion in 1970 and \$300 billion in 1979; the military expendi-

¹¹See A/34/596.

¹²World Development Report, 1980 (Washington, D.C., August 1980).

tures of the North—approximately \$450 billion in 1980, compared to the financial assistance to the South of \$20 billion, which is now being reduced. These figures show the gravity of the problem and reflect the concerns of the countries affected.

316. If this situation that we have just described does not really discourage us, it may be because we have confidence that this special session will produce tangible and immediate results. We hope that the work on the development strategy of the third decade and on global negotiations will really open up the North-South dialogue.

317. My delegation hopes that the world community will implement the Immediate Action Programme which was adopted at the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979. As we all know, this Programme would include the use of resources to accelerate the approval and implementation of assistance projects, urgent aid and action to mitigate the effects of natural catastrophes and immediate financial help for the preparation of new action programmes for the 1980s.

318. The international situation is quite somber now and it is therefore important for the General Assembly, guided by the noble desire to find a solution to the crisis by taking immediate and concrete action, to have precise information with respect to everything that is taking place in the third world.

319. I shall therefore take the liberty of saying a few words about my country, Haiti: 175 years of independence, 27,750 square kilometres, 5 million inhabitants, black, French-speaking, African culture and tradition; foreign investments—less than \$10 million in 1960; 500 factories working on subcontract; insufficient labour market; exports—coffee, sugar cane, cotton, cocoa, food, precious wood, fibres, essential oils, small industrial products, painting, sculpture, flours, cement, bauxite, professionals and seasonal workers.

320. Haiti is situated in the Caribbean on the path of hurricanes. It is periodically devastated by hurricanes. It is not alone in this situation. The Dominican Republic, Cuba, Jamaica, Saint Lucia have also at different times been struck by hurricanes.

321. Recently hurricane "Allen" destroyed the whole south of Haiti. The balance-sheet was 253 persons dead, 40,000 persons homeless, 80 per cent of the crops destroyed, damage in the amount of \$450 million; a standing deficit of \$60 million per year for three years until the replanted areas are able to produce and until the destroyed cities are rebuilt.

322. The head of the Haitian State, Mr. Jean-Claude Duvalier, proclaimed on 9 August 1980 a state of emergency in the following terms:

"The spectacle of desolation and ruin seen in the different regions of the country, over which the spectre of drought and famine is already hovering, require us to fulfil the patriotic duty of facing with courage all the consequences of cyclone Allen.

"Thus, in these times of national crisis, I proclaim a state of general emergency over all the territory of the Republic and call on all patriotic citizens and all Haitians to close their ranks and give help without delay to our afflicted brothers."

323. *Le Monde* of 30 August reported on its page 4 the statements made by Mr. Jean Claude Marty, a delegate of the Red Cross, as follows:

"... 1,200,000 people are threatened by famine because of the total destruction of crops in the south of the island ... unless immediate assistance is given

to the population of the south and the south-east of the island before the next harvest at the end of the year. . . . Moreover the destruction of the food crops has been further aggravated by the destruction of 50 per cent of export crops, in particular, coffee, and the restoration of plantations will take years."

324. That is the situation which now prevails in Haiti. The Government has taken adequate measures to help the victims. Friendly countries, international institutions and organized charities have given us generous assistance. However, it must be noted that in the case of Haiti and the other countries which have been hard hit by hurricanes, to an already difficult structural situation threatened by the world crisis has been added this emergency which is undoing our calculations, increasing our deficits, worsening the stagnation and accelerating regression. In the case of our country, the new deficit must be immediately met because there are over 1 million people who are on the brink of starvation, and whole towns to be rebuilt and the whole infrastructure of vast regions must be restored.

325. I have spoken at length on the very special situation confronting the countries that are situated in areas which are cyclically hit by hurricanes. The international community should assume responsibility to help these countries, not only to fill certain gaps but also to carry out reconstruction projects in devastated regions.

326. Taking into account the situation of the least developed countries and in particular those situated in the path of hurricanes, my delegation proposes that the following measures be adopted for the programme of action for the 1980s.

327. First, the Immediate Action Programme adopted at Manila by the fifth session of UNCTAD should be put into effect most urgently.

328. Secondly, the developed countries should double the amount of their economic assistance to the least developed countries.

329. Thirdly, the assistance thus supplied should be given without conditions, as grants.

330. Fourthly, the assistance from the developed countries should not be linked to political demands or any commitment by the Governments of the recipient countries to support them.

331. Fifthly, that paragraph D of the UNCTAD Immediate Action Programme under "emergency aid"¹³ should also include the new arrangements for assistance in reconstruction.

332. Sixthly, a special and permanent fund managed by the United Nations should be established by the donor countries to facilitate the emergency assistance to countries on the path of hurricanes.

333. Seventhly, OPEC should also create a special permanent fund for countries especially afflicted by national catastrophes.

334. Eighthly, the organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations should launch programmes immediately to salvage the surplus labour force of the countries hit by hurricanes so that they could be recycled in other activities.

335. Ninthly, the United Nations should be the catalyst for the establishment of a system which will help

¹³See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. S.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. A, resolution 122 (V).

seasonal labourers, who are the first to suffer from natural catastrophes, to live a dignified and decent life.

336. The implementation of those measures will contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order which would be more just and more equitable. For the peoples living in poverty and desolation, this session of the General Assembly represents a hope that the third decade will be more fruitful in human effort so that there should no longer be people on this earth who suffer from starvation, ignorance and the anguish of death.

337. Mr. KIBANDA (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I know our President's modesty and humility; they are well known. I hope that the Assembly will therefore bear with me while, at this very advanced stage in our work, I extend to him, on behalf of my delegation, our warmest congratulations for the spirited and confident manner in which he has so far presided over the various sessions of the General Assembly and which, in addition to the United Republic of Tanzania, his country, do honour to all of Africa. He has admirably displayed his eminent qualities as a skilled diplomat and his ability to perceive the major problems of the world which are so complex and arduous.

338. We are convinced that, under such auspices, the present special session devoted to development will, in its conclusions, lead to fortunate and happy results which will bear witness to the vitality of the United Nations and its will for peace and justice.

339. Furthermore, the universality of our Organization has been affirmed, once again, with the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe as the one hundred and fifty-third Member, which enlarges its membership and strengthens its action in fulfilling the noble ideals contained in the Charter.

340. Thus, it is a particular pleasure for me to welcome this new independent State within our great family and, on behalf of my delegation and country, proudly to wish it heartfelt and growing success, prosperity and longevity for its courageous and brave people.

341. We are convinced that the determined battle that the people of Zimbabwe have waged for their independence and their lofty sense of sacrifice will be a source of inspiration for their active and effective participation in the cause of freedom, justice and peace which are the paramount concerns of our Organization and the profound aspirations of the international community. Their resounding victory is an eloquent proof that the battle waged for freedom and justice will always triumph because it is a harbinger of hope.

342. The eleventh special session is being held at a decisive turning-point in mankind's history, at the dawn of the second millennium of our era, fraught with uncertainties and threats, decadence or demise which have characterized various periods of the world. This session is meeting in a particularly charged political atmosphere of confrontation and tension caused by increasing inequality, social injustice and struggles for hegemony. Its merit will no doubt be to relaunch the North-South dialogue, the relevance and importance of which increasingly seem to be dimming and eluding our global vision of the international situation.

343. It opens new perspectives and space for projections in our reflection and analysis to set new objectives and to find the means of attaining them, so as to bring justice, equality and, ultimately, world balance for mankind. This is an opportunity to draw up a balance-

sheet of the results obtained in implementing the recommendations of preceding decades, to evaluate the progress achieved, to determine and identify the reasons for the failures recorded and to prepare specific strategies for the years to come.

344. From the point of view of the sixth special session, which adopted resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) regarding the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and in accordance with resolution 32/174 of 19 December 1977 of the General Assembly, the eleventh special session is being held at a time when the world economic crisis has become extremely acute—inflation and deterioration in the terms of trade have reached a very high level; the burden of debt on the developing countries has become even heavier. All of this has contributed to the widening of a gap that is already wide and separates the developing from the industrialized countries.

345. The hopes placed by the third world in the Second United Nations Development Decade quickly became concern because the objectives set were not attained. This failure can be attributed largely to the negative attitude of certain industrialized countries in preserving their acquired privileges.

346. As proof of this there is the failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD held in 1979 at Manila, the unencouraging result of the Third General Conference of UNIDO, which met at New Delhi early in 1980, and the semi-failure of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Industrial Development, which was held at Vienna in August 1979.

347. To that must be added the total impasse in which most of the industrialized countries have placed the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy and the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 because of their lack of political will, in spite of the goodwill manifested by the Group of 77 to arrive at an agreement on the provisional text of a new development strategy and on the draft programme and agenda of global negotiations.

348. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly is of crucial importance for the international community and constitutes a new hope for the developing countries. It must constitute a new incentive for establishing a new, more just and equitable economic order.

349. What is more, it should also—bearing in mind the insignificant results obtained during the past decade—“take appropriate action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation, including [in particular] the adoption of the new international development strategy for the 1980s”, in the words of General Assembly resolution 32/174 of 19 December 1977.

350. Concerning the new strategy, the President declared in his opening statement before the General Assembly on 25 August 1980 that this new strategy:

“... is based on the recognition, now broadly shared, that the present international economic system is not efficient, that it does not distribute burdens and benefits evenly, nor does it foster the full use of the world's productive potential.

“The new strategy therefore cannot afford to omit, as did previous ones, specifications for concrete measures with respect to structural changes and the management of the world economy”. [*1st meeting, paras. 24 and 25.*]

351. My delegation fully shares your point of view. We believe that it is on the basis of structural reforms of the present system that the new strategy must fundamentally rest. The Central African Republic, my country, intends to contribute to our debate on this question.

352. As regards the international monetary system, the existing system established at the end of the Second World War was essentially conceived to meet the needs of the industrialized countries. We note that it has not met the aspirations of the developing countries, which daily are victims of the international monetary disarray. We must therefore urgently review the entire mechanism so as to adapt it better to the realities of our time. It remains understood that the developing countries must be associated with this reform and in all decision-taking in the monetary and financial field on the basis of equality with the industrialized countries.

353. As regards raw materials and commodities, they constitute the major exports of the developing countries and their main source of income. Regrettably, they are often subject to deterioration in the terms of trade despite the numerous decisions taken at the international level to revalorize them and stabilize their prices at remunerative levels. In fact, the efforts made in the past to resolve this problem have been notoriously insufficient.

354. In this respect, despite some difficulties which still persist, my delegation is pleased with the agreement reached on 19 March 1979 at Geneva in the Governing Board of UNCTAD regarding the establishment of the Common Fund to finance buffer stocks for commodities.¹⁴

355. We sincerely hope that the necessary measures will be taken so that the Fund may become operational as soon as possible as an essential instrument for attaining the objectives of the Integrated Programme for Commodities.

356. As regards the present world trade system, in the opinion of my delegation its fundamental reform is one of the priorities of the New International Economic Order. It should provide the countries of the third world with non-reciprocal facilities and promote unrestricted access for their products to the markets of the industrialized countries so as to meet the requirements of their development.

357. Likewise, without further delay there should be an improvement in the Generalized System of Preferences so as to increase the share of developing countries in world trade. To this end, donor countries should fully apply the agreement reached at the ninth session of the Special Committee on Preferences of the Governing Council of UNCTAD.¹⁵

358. The Central African Republic wholeheartedly supports the idea of holding a conference in 1990 to review the entire system.

359. The importance of industrialization as a means to accelerate development is no longer questioned. Insufficient industrialization in most of the developing countries and their meagre share of world production—7 per cent—constitute a major barrier which should be dealt with firmly.

360. If the 25 per cent target set in the Lima Declaration and the Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation,¹⁶ adopted at the Second General

Conference of UNIDO in March 1975, to be attained by the year 2000, large-scale efforts will have to be made to promote the exports and the industrialization of the developing countries by a substantial transfer of financial and technological resources for their benefit.

361. In this respect the developed countries should take the specific measures needed to give the developing countries the freest and broadest possible access to science and technology. Hence it is indispensable that the international code of conduct for the transfer of technology be finalized, adopted and effectively implemented.

362. Finally, the technologically advanced countries should implement the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development.¹⁷

363. With regard to the transfer of resources for development, we note that, despite the efforts made by the third-world countries, their own available means are not enough to cover their external financing needs.

364. Hence those countries find themselves compelled to appeal to foreign capital, which is often tied to costly and limiting conditions which divert international co-operation from its proper course and lead to a reverse flow of resources to the industrialized countries, thus defeating the intended purpose.

365. Accordingly, the following measures should be taken rapidly to remedy the present situation: mobilization of major financial resources from both the developed and the developing countries enjoying permanent surpluses; more flexibility in the procedures and terms with regard to the granting of aid; and an increase of reasonable proportions in the loans granted on favourable terms to the neediest countries.

366. Furthermore, the developed countries, particularly those that have not yet done so, should increase the volume of their official development aid so as to attain, and if possible surpass, the 0.7 per cent target of gross national product set by the United Nations.

367. The accumulated debt of the developing countries and, in particular, of the least developed is of vital importance; it is largely the result of the unequal relations existing in the present economic system. Serious attention should be given to this problem in the new international development strategy.

368. The Governments of the developed countries, except those that have already done so, must urgently take the necessary appropriate measures to transform debts into grants or at least to lessen the burden in accordance with resolution 165 (S-IX) of the Governing Council of UNCTAD. It is most desirable that agreements on future loans should expressly include "automatic" clauses with regard to debt relief, so as to protect the developing countries concerned against a sharp deterioration in the international monetary situation above and beyond their control.

369. Special and favourable criteria should be established and immediately applied by the IMF and other financial institutions with regard to the assistance to be granted to developing countries with a view to sustaining their balances of payments.

370. Before concluding, I should like to dwell briefly on the situation of the least developed countries, of which mine is one.

371. For years the international community has been expressing its concern regarding the particular disadvantages besetting those countries, in particular, those that are land-locked, such as the Central African Republic.

¹⁷Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

¹⁴See TD/IPC/CF/CONF/26.

¹⁵See *Official Records of the Trade and Development Board, Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 3 (TD/B/802)*, annex 1.

¹⁶See A/10112, chap. IV.

372. In this respect I should like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his clear and accurate report, contained in document A/S-11/5/Add.1, on "Immediate measures in favour of most seriously affected countries", as well as for his tireless efforts to that end.

373. The numerous resolutions adopted in various international forums have not provided the expected results. Accordingly, the international community should urgently take the necessary measures to adopt definitively and implement the new substantial Immediate Action Programme for the 1980s which UNCTAD decided to launch by its resolution 122 (V) of 3 June 1979¹³ for the least advanced countries.

374. With regard more particularly to the land-locked countries, specific assistance for the development of their infrastructure for the transport of goods in transit should be provided to assist them in overcoming their geographical handicap.

375. Bearing in mind the usual criteria and priorities for development, the international community should grant those countries, through specific action, substantial financial and technical assistance in conformity with resolution 123 (V) of the fifth session of UNCTAD.

376. Furthermore, the resources allocated to them by multilateral and bilateral financial institutions should be increased.

377. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to appeal urgently to all developed countries that have not yet done so to contribute generously to the United Nations Special Fund for land-locked developing countries, mentioned in part VII of UNCTAD resolution 123 (V) so as to implement the above-mentioned measures.

378. The Central African Republic is pleased, moreover, with the decision of the General Assembly to convene in 1981 the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, in accordance with resolution 34/203 of 19 December 1979. My country will take part in this great gathering, during which the international community is to assess the progress made in implementing the many measures adopted for the benefit of the least developed land-locked and island developing countries.

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

379. The fate of the third world during the next 10 years is being decided now, in this hall. May the statements made here from this rostrum, this lofty tribune of peace, echo not our divergencies or our polemics, but our conciliation, our agreements; may the sounds of our voices transmit to those outside this hall the assurance of a better life, of hope for mankind's survival.

380. Over and beyond the usual convenient clichés and diplomatic nuances, we must direct our attention, our thoughts and our studies to the essential element of our debates during this session—the element on which we must base our hopes: mankind in his complete fulfillment and with all his dignity. It is mankind that is the foundation of our Organization's action.

381. When we speak of the survival of the human species, when we speak of ensuring that mankind does not disappear from the earth, how can we avoid the apocalyptic vision of millions of human beings dying each day from hunger, malnutrition, disease? How can we not agree that if the world of human beings were more just, more sensitive, these millions of persons would have been spared such a life? How can we not think with anguish about all those powerless human beings who are waiting to die, when they should have been saved, rescued from death, if the world had shown more heartfelt solidarity by acting more promptly?

382. The only language that we can speak when we view this sad and sombre picture is the language of candour and truth, language which makes positions clear and fixes the responsibilities in the eyes of mankind and history; it is the language of hope, which must bring the assurance of social justice to the disinherited people in the developing countries, whose every thought, every moment of the day, is concerned with existence and survival. It should bear eloquent witness to our challenge to selfishness, injustice and inequality, which undermine human dignity. And it should express the irresistible desire for change to which the world legitimately aspires and which meets the needs of modern times.

383. Those, in our opinion, are the reasons for the special importance of the present discussions and the dialogue which will soon launch the global negotiations, which we all hope will be constructive and positive.

384. The PRESIDENT: As members are aware, this eleventh special session of the General Assembly was originally scheduled to adjourn tomorrow. However, members are equally aware of both the complexity and the importance of the task which has been entrusted to us. Our colleagues in the various Working Groups have been labouring hard and long in a major effort to arrive at an agreed outcome. I have just completed consultations with the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and the Chairmen of Working Groups I and II. They have advised me that negotiations are still under way to produce a final text. Based on that information and other consultations I have been conducting, it seems to me that the magnitude of the issues at stake justify our extending this session through Tuesday, 9 September.

385. In this connexion I would recall that, by decision 34/448 of 19 December 1979, the General Assembly:

"... decided that the dates for the special session of the Assembly on development should be from 25 August to 5 September 1980, with the possibility of extending the session for a few days if that should be necessary"

386. In view of that decision by the Assembly, I shall take it, if there are no objections, that the Assembly agrees to extend the eleventh special session through Tuesday, 9 September.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 7.55 p.m.