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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 decision S-11/22, taken by the General Assembly at its 1st plenary meeting, I now call on the President of the International Fund for Agricultural Development, Mr. Abdelmuhsin M. Al-Sudeary.

2. Mr. AL-SUDEARY (International Fund for Agricultural Development) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I welcome the opportunity to address this special session of the General Assembly dealing with development and international economic co-operation.

3. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) has followed closely the work of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy for the 1980s, and I should like to commend it for the report it has presented to this Assembly [A/S-11/2 (Part III)].

4. The inadequate rate of growth in agricultural production in the developing countries in relation to the target of the Second United Nations Development Decade of 4 per cent has been one of the great disappointments of the 1970s. The actual performance has been less than 3 per cent and the rate of agricultural growth in low-income developing countries, particularly in Africa, was even lower. As a result, despite some increases in average food consumption levels in some developing countries, the number of people suffering from hunger and malnutrition, which was estimated in 1974 to be 500 million, has not diminished. Indeed, with the continuing increase in the rate of population growth, we can expect that the number of hungry people will grow even larger. The dependence of developing countries on food imports has also grown alarmingly and may reach 80 million tons this year, compared to only 30 million tons in 1970.

5. Another disappointment has been the failure to build a dependable system of food security. Despite a unanimous commitment in 1974, only limited progress has been made so far in creating a system of food reserves or finalizing adequate international arrangements to meet food crises.

6. After a succession of good harvests, drought and adverse weather this year have already affected crops in many of the major grain-producing areas with inevitable increases in food prices and reduction in food reserves. Any further pressures on available grain supplies might well mean the beginning of another food crisis threatening millions of people with starvation.

7. There is now full agreement that hunger and malnutrition must be eliminated as soon as possible—certainly by the end of this century. To meet this objective, the Preparatory Committee's report calls for substantial progress in the decade towards achieving food self-sufficiency and food security in developing countries, which requires that agricultural production in developing countries as a whole should be expanded at an average annual rate of at least 4 per cent. The Committee has further recommended that there be larger flows of external financial resources to developing countries.

8. While these recommendations clearly deserve the fullest support, we must not delude ourselves into thinking that these laudable objectives will be achieved merely by incorporating them into the new development strategy for the 1980s. The realization of these and other important development objectives will require major changes in world production, consumption and trade and in the related mechanisms and policies, at both the national and the international levels. The strategy for the next decade should therefore include a number of concrete measures for well-defined and co-ordinated national and international action.

9. It is of particular significance, therefore, that this special session, apart from formulating the new international development strategy, is also expected to prepare the ground for the next round of global negotiations. It is my earnest hope that the next round of negotiations will be truly global in nature involving the active participation of all groups and will lead to substantial and concrete results.

10. Clearly the eradication of mass hunger and the achievement of adequate nutrition levels will need to be a priority item in the forthcoming round of global negotiations. We in IFAD hope to have the opportunity to offer some suggestions on the means for implementing the agreed objectives of the new international development strategy, particularly in the area of food production and rural development, in co-operation with other development institutions.

11. It is obvious that the problem of hunger and malnutrition cannot be resolved easily or within a brief period of time. However, tangible progress can be realized if both developed and developing countries give higher priority to programmes and projects for improving food production and rural development.

12. There are two simple but basic facts that must be grasped in seeking effective solutions to the food problem. The first is the fundamental fact that food production and distribution must be increased within

the developing countries themselves. Most developing countries simply cannot afford to pay for the food imports to meet their needs.

13. Secondly, it is essential to understand that the small farmers and agricultural workers who comprise the vast majority of the population in the developing world—and who constitute the group which is most afflicted by hunger and malnutrition—are suffering such deprivations primarily because of poverty. To deal effectively with the food problem, therefore, one must seek to deal with its root causes and assist the rural poor in the most direct manner possible by raising their productivity and income levels.

14. These basic perceptions, coupled with the recognition that increased resource flows were needed to support agricultural and rural development, provided the original rationale for the establishment of the International Fund for Agricultural Development in November 1977. IFAD was created specifically to mobilize additional external resources to help developing countries in increasing food production and reducing malnutrition and to focus such resources primarily on the needs and problems of small farmers.

15. The Fund has clearly demonstrated that it is an outstanding example of constructive North-South co-operation in addressing one of the major problems of development. It is also a good institutional example of the new international economic order, because its voting power is distributed equally among the developed countries, the countries of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and other developing countries. It gives me great satisfaction to be able to report that in less than three years of operations IFAD has already been able to demonstrate that it is an effective institution for helping developing countries to increase food production and to design projects for the benefit of small farmers. By the end of 1980, the Fund will have committed approximately \$900 million for agricultural projects and programmes in about 55 developing member States. The impact of IFAD should not be judged only by the number of loans it has provided but also by the catalytic effect it is having in mobilizing additional resources and in giving priority to small farmers who have not benefited fully from agricultural investment in the past.

16. I believe that the international community will draw a sense of satisfaction from the fact that IFAD is off to a good start and has been able to lay a solid foundation for the sustained effort that will be needed during the 1980s to increase food production and improve the standard of living of small farmers in the developing countries. I also consider it worthy of special mention that, while the developing countries play a prominent role in IFAD, its activities and decisions have been carried out with the full support and co-operation of the entire membership, which at present totals 131 States.

17. The Fund's ability to maintain the momentum of its operations and to play a role consistent with its future importance will depend on an adequate and timely replenishment of its resources. As representatives are no doubt aware, the Governing Council of IFAD set the replenishment process into motion in January of this year by inviting members to make additional contributions for the three-year period 1981-1983 at a sufficiently high level to provide for an increase in real terms in the level of its operations. Consultations on IFAD's replenishment were held in Rome at the end of June. Taking account of the discussions at those consultations, I proposed a minimum lending

programme of \$1.5 billion for the next three years, 1981-1983. My continuing consultations with member States concerning the replenishment have been encouraging and I am confident that, in accordance with the resolution of the Governing Council, the replenishment process will be concluded before the end of 1980. In this connexion, I appeal to all member Governments to take the necessary actions to complete the replenishment exercise before the end of this year so as to avoid any interruption in the Fund's operations.

18. I greatly appreciate the expressions of support for the activities of IFAD made here at this special session of the General Assembly by Member Governments and sister institutions of the United Nations system. Since its inception, IFAD has enjoyed the full co-operation of FAO, UNDP, the World Bank, ILO and the regional development banks. In the coming decade, IFAD intends to strengthen its efforts to increase food production and improve the income and well-being of the rural people in the developing countries. In recognition of the continued gravity of global development problems, including hunger and poverty, and the paramount need for substantially larger investment flows over and above the current levels, I am confident that the international community will initiate concrete action at this session to address those problems.

19. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): A little over six years ago the deliberations of the sixth special session devoted to international economic co-operation and development were held in a climate of perceived crisis and anticipated challenge. The response which was given on that occasion is embodied in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and a Programme of Action [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] designed to make a reality of that Order.

20. Today we meet in an atmosphere in which the crisis in international economic relations has deepened and its acknowledgement become universal. That crisis is affected by, and interacts with, the wider political environment. It is a factor in the global political equation. Fundamental changes, including the growth and influence of the movement of non-aligned countries, have sharpened contradictions in the international system inaugurated in the post-1945 era. One effect of those changes is that some international institutions and mechanisms for management fashioned for that earlier historical period are incapable of meeting today's needs and imperatives.

21. In the wake of the defeat of fascism in 1945, consciously-sponsored change set the basis for unprecedented growth and for a spectacular rise in the quality of life in a significant section of mankind, particularly in the developed North.

22. Every crisis generates challenge and opportunity. I venture to suggest that, in today's qualitatively altered political milieu, planned structural change in international economic relations is an indispensable condition for overall growth and development. Without such change the legitimate aspirations of the vast majority of mankind will remain an unfulfilled dream.

23. At this moment of crisis and of opportunity, my delegation considers it to our great credit that the same mature guidance that has taken us efficiently and successfully through the challenges of the thirty-fourth session and the seventh emergency special session is with us: the mature guidance of Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. Guyana

knows well how finely tuned you are, Comrade President, to the yearnings that are finding expression from this podium. I use this occasion to renew Guyana's confidence in you as you conduct the affairs of this most important session of the General Assembly.

24. Likewise, we salute the valiant people of Zimbabwe, who have now assumed their rightful place in the international community. We extend a cordial and fraternal welcome to the sister State of Zimbabwe. We are particularly pleased and encouraged to have in our ranks the representatives of a people who are themselves seasoned in struggle and who have waged a long and costly battle for their political independence. Zimbabwe now becomes part of the wider struggle, which is indeed that of the overwhelming majority of mankind: the struggle for economic security.

25. The problems which afflict the global economy are known to us all. Many, such as poverty, hunger, malnutrition, and unfair terms of trade, have been with us for some time, and have been aggravated. In recent times, new problems have emerged—those of food and fuel, of protectionism and of exported inflation, to name only some. Discrimination and domination, inequality and injustice are not new to the global society. Time has served to attune us to the pervasiveness of the problems and to their gravity. Time has also enabled us to appreciate acutely the limits of exclusively national efforts to prescribe solutions that are effective and enduring.

26. Our presence during this special session would, however, have no meaning if we were merely to identify the problems and describe them. The critical task is to find solutions that are not merely cosmetic and not merely palliative. I believe that there is a widely shared perception that new collective action within a global perspective is fundamental. As for so many other issues on the international agenda that are global in nature, global solutions are required. The solutions that are sought must be premised on the absolute imperative of structural change in the international system.

27. An overarching difficulty is that our current search for solutions takes place at a particular conjuncture of complex international forces. The general international situation is fraught with dissonance and tension, fostering instability and insecurity. More specifically on things economic we, as a collectivity, cannot fail to be disturbed by the current grave position of the developing countries as a whole, and in particular by the plight of the least developed and those most seriously affected among them. The trend towards the adoption of restrictive postures and protectionist measures by some developed market economies gives rise to profound concern, and the attitude of the centrally-planned developed States, which rest their participation in the search for global solutions on the principle of historical responsibility, compels close attention.

28. It has been posited that an effective discharge of responsibilities by all would have to be based, necessarily, on an appreciation of the interdependence of the global economy.

29. Part of the difficulty to which I earlier alluded may well stem from misconceptions of the nature and effect of what is today called interdependence, for in a real sense interdependence has been a historical feature of the international economic system in which relationships of exchange have been unequal and mutual equality non-existent. A genuine system of interdependence cannot manifest positions of dominance and unfair advantage. It must be premised on mutuality of benefit, implying the restructuring of international

economic relations to ensure equitable distribution of the benefits of international economic exchange.

30. The record of achievement since the special sessions of the mid-1970s, when the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order was adopted, has frankly not been good. A momentum, in many respects a staggering one, of specialized consultations has been maintained, for example in UNCTAD on multilateral trade, in UNIDO on science and technology, and more recently on the role of women in development. Each one of these consultations produced its own measure of frustration. Nor have our expectations of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade been fully realized. But we have persisted.

31. To the extent that we have progressed, we have done so marginally. Gains have been incremental, sometimes microscopically so. Nevertheless, there has been agreement on the Common Fund for Commodities and modalities for its operation, though we are still far away from the conclusion of the international commodity agreements which can make a Common Fund, even a limited one, effective.

32. Likewise, there has been limited movement in resolving the debt problem affecting developing countries. However, as representatives will recall, even when this movement was registered at the ninth special session of the Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD, held at Geneva from 5 to 10 September 1977 and from 23 to 27 January 1978, there was recognition that more needed to be done. Since then, the condition of many a developing country has worsened. Much remains to be accomplished in dealing with the debt problems of developing countries, including the important and urgent necessity for action in respect of the most seriously affected among them.

33. The developing countries have long identified co-operation among themselves as a mechanism for stimulating their own economic development and they have over the years, through practical schemes, sought bilaterally and multilaterally to advance such co-operation. The General Assembly agreed in 1973 on the full involvement of the United Nations system in supporting economic co-operation among developing countries [see *General Assembly resolution 3177 (XXVIII)*]. Pursuant to this agreement and the important role assigned to economic co-operation among developing countries in the New International Economic Order, various institutions, including UNCTAD, have given strong support to the efforts of the developing countries.

34. It is our perception that strengthened economic co-operation among developing countries will enhance the collective capabilities of those countries for more effective participation in global negotiations, and that such co-operation can become a powerful mechanism for inducing fundamental change in international economic relations. At another time and in another place, Guyana will submit proposals for quickening the pace of collective self-reliance among developing countries.

35. I should like at this point to acknowledge the instructive analytical report on developments on the above and other areas in the field of international economic co-operation since the sixth special session, submitted by the Secretary-General [A/S-11/5, *annex*].

36. Everyone who has spoken from this rostrum has in one way or another adverted to the deterioration of the economic situation of developing countries, especially the non-oil-producing ones. In their com-

muniqué [see *A/S-11/19, annex*] the Ministers of the countries of the Group of 77 who met in diligent preparation for this special session underlined the gravity of this situation. In this regard Guyana notes with great interest the proposals of the Secretary-General for an early action programme to meet the immediate and short-term needs of the developing countries. We feel that these proposals merit close and urgent attention, and we expect, as the Ministers of the Group of 77 have asserted, that appropriate action will be determined during the course of the thirty-fifth session.

37. Turning to the specific agenda issues before this special session, namely the adoption of the new international development strategy and the launching of the global round of negotiations, we expect that the gravity of the current situation will make pellucid the need to achieve urgent, just and comprehensive solutions. For us to do otherwise would be to court global catastrophe.

38. Some progress has been made towards agreement on the international development strategy. But there remain important areas requiring resolution. Once the ultimate objective is achieved, that is, the adoption of a new international development strategy geared to meet the needs of the 1980s, we can, I believe, through skilful and determined negotiations, reach accord. As was recently reaffirmed at the regional co-ordination meeting of the Latin American Economic System (SELA) prior to this session,

“The new strategy should be seen as an integral part of the efforts to be made to establish a new international economic order capable of creating effective structural and dynamic conditions for accelerating the economic and social development of developing countries.”

39. The measures proposed for enhancing social development, and in particular those on the role of women in development, are impressive. In full recognition of the need to utilize effectively all our human resources in the cause of the development of the developing countries, we for our part will continue to strengthen the involvement of women in the development process on an equitable basis, in keeping with the conclusions reached at the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, held at Copenhagen from 14 to 30 July 1980.

40. Earlier I alluded to the inevitability of global negotiations aimed at achieving the necessary structural changes in the international economy. The task of this eleventh special session is to launch those global negotiations.

41. The question of the procedures to govern the negotiations, which still remains to be settled, is of critical importance. We are in full agreement that the negotiations should be comprehensive in nature and subject to central direction and oversight by the General Assembly. There is clearly a role for the specialized agencies, but the relationship between these agencies and the central body in the global negotiations should be clearly and unambiguously specified.

42. While each item on the agenda for the global negotiations must be selected for its importance and relevance to the global economic system, the agenda itself must clearly reflect the interrelated nature of the problems which lie at the root of the present crisis. We can no longer engage in a ritual of patchwork and piecemeal adjustment, a kind of economic alchemy.

43. No one today can be unconcerned about energy and its crucial role in survival and in development. Even as we prepare for the forthcoming United Nations Con-

ference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, the circumstance of our present condition, that is, an over-dependence on fossil fuels, hovers as a spectre haunting us. Today many of us are caught as victims of the past recklessness of some in the consumption of that resource and the legitimate desire of others to ensure the rational exploitation and beneficial utilization of a depleting asset. The growing recognition of the need to conserve such energy is a welcome development for global co-operation. We in Guyana are part of that process. But equally there should be a correlative recognition that there are differential capacities to respond to the requirements of conservation and to find other compensatory mechanisms for adjustments without retarding the prospects for economic development. Energy, however, is only one of a range—though a most important one—of economic determinants.

44. In the area of trade, the question of an equitable return for the primary products of the developing countries should be a priority concern. Further, the resurgence of protectionist measures has a detrimental effect not only on the trade potential of developing countries but also on their industrialization prospects. Indeed, such protectionist measures contribute to the spread of inflationary trends.

45. As regards money and finance, stress has been placed during this session on the need for urgent remedial action to alleviate the situation of the developing countries and to compensate them for the unfair distribution of the burden of adjustment caused by the global transmission of inflation. We must also recognize the desirability for supplementary allocations of special drawing rights and insist on the link between special drawing rights and development finance. In particular, we support immediate relief action in the form of an expansion and a further improvement, both bilaterally and multilaterally, in the flows of official development assistance and non-concessional assistance from multilateral financial institutions.

46. The overall thrust of our deliberations here during this special session is to enhance the development of the developing countries, thereby promoting the cause of equity in global economic relations. All proposals on energy, trade, raw materials, and money and finance should be governed by these primary goals. But I wish to underscore the critical nature of the first, that is the development of the developing countries, to the well-being of the entire global economy. It has been stressed time and again from this rostrum and elsewhere that the development of the developing countries is pivotal to the economic recovery of the developed countries. It is the fulcrum of global economic activity. Thus the adoption of correct measures for fostering global economic health is in the interest of all of us. It will result in mutual benefit. In this connexion we all have duties and responsibilities, for we are all linked in global economic activity. No one of us can stand aside and hope to insulate our national economy from the prevailing trends and developments.

47. It is my hope that the stark realization of this aspect of the nature of interdependence is universally shared. If it is, the question we face is this: will there be the necessary convergence of political decision and action to reach agreement at this session on outstanding issues, and the will and determination to conclude successfully the new global round of negotiations and implement a new, meaningful international development strategy?

48. Two reports by groups of distinguished experts both came to very similar conclusions. I am referring

here to *North-South: A program for survival*,¹ the report of the Brandt Commission; and *The World Economic Crisis: A Commonwealth Perspective*,² commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretary-General. In both cases, the message was clear: the international economic system is desperately in need of change and the basic problem is—and I quote from the Commonwealth report:

“... whether the structural changes and adjustments necessary to solve the current economic crisis and the problems of development will be accompanied by economic confusion and chaos... or whether they can be achieved in harmony on the basis of a global consensus for the mutual benefit of all nations.” [A/S-11/13, *annex*, para. 43.]

49. Will we be equal to the task? Will we seize the opportunity at this moment of crisis?

50. Mr. ABDEL-RAHMAN (Egypt): On behalf of the delegation of Egypt, and on my own behalf, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of this important session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your vast experience and skill will contribute to the successful outcome of our deliberations.

51. It is an honour for the delegation of Egypt to welcome in our midst the delegation of our African sister nation, the Republic of Zimbabwe, after the protracted, heroic struggle that its brave people led against injustice, oppression and tyranny. The triumph of Zimbabwe ought to be a lesson to the forces of racism, despotism and colonialism in South Africa, Namibia and elsewhere. Those forces must realize that the policy of occupation, racism and oppression is doomed to failure. The delegation of Egypt hails the struggle of the Patriotic Front—a genuine, real liberation movement—and its success in gaining the liberation and independence of Zimbabwe. It is our responsibility now to stand at the side of the Government and people of Zimbabwe to meet the challenges they are facing in the reconstruction and development of their country.

52. Africa is no doubt the least developed of all continents. It has 20 of the 31 least developed countries. The economic and social development of our continent is severely constrained by many obstacles, including the slow and inadequate external assistance. Despite this grim state of affairs, which could lead to despair, the African States have not hesitated to meet the challenge to discharge their national and collective responsibilities to foster their development and, thanks to their diligent and skilful endeavours, took a significant step forward in that direction at their summit conferences in Monrovia in July 1979 and Lagos in April 1980. At Monrovia two important documents were adopted to stimulate the development of Africa—namely, the Monrovia Declaration of Commitment on Guidelines and Measures for National and Collective Self-Reliance in Social and Economic Development for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa.

53. Following up those commitments and decisions, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity met at Lagos in

April 1980 and adopted the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa and the Final Act of Lagos, providing for the establishment of an African economic community and an African common market by the year 2000.

54. We are confident that the sustained implementation of these important resolutions, with the assistance of the Organization of African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa, will contribute to the development of Africa and the enhancement of its social and economic life.

55. Egypt, in close relation with its African brothers and other developing countries, and faithful to the principles of non-alignment, which it strongly upholds, feels that this Assembly should give due consideration to the least developed and the seriously affected countries. The report of the Secretary-General [A/S-11/5, *annex*] describes their alarming plight and their economic stagnation over the past years. Different programmes and proposals for urgent action on this subject should be systematically examined and later amplified in order to assist those countries with very fragile economies and serious social conditions to overcome their urgent problems and lay the foundation for continuous and accelerated development.

56. My delegation appreciates the initiative of the Secretary-General in proposing an early-action programme and we hope that this session will give it due consideration, leaving the details to be discussed at the forthcoming thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

57. Turning now to the agenda of this session, I wish to thank Ambassador Naik, the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy, and Mr. Bogdan Crnobrnja, the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, for their clear expositions of the results of the deliberations of those two Committees [see *2nd meeting*, paras. 6-31 and 33-57]. Though agreement has not been reached, subsequent statements by you, Mr. President, and by the Secretary-General have given this session of the Assembly a good start on its difficult task, which we all hope will be successfully accomplished. The position of the Group of 77 was reported in the communiqué [A/S-11/19, *annex*] of the ministerial meeting that took place a week ago, and was amplified by Mr. Rao in his statement on the opening day of this session [*2nd meeting*, paras. 58-92]. Egypt has taken part in all the previous discussions and shares the views of the Group of 77.

58. However, the subsequent statements to which I have already referred and the statements made by many speakers in the last few days strengthen the feeling of optimism—albeit limited and cautious—that prevailed at the opening of this session. The stage is now better set, I trust, to renew exchanges of views in an atmosphere of deeper understanding, more confidence, and the flexibility required for negotiation. We all have come to realize that there is no need, and it is in no one's interest, merely to maintain the present system of international co-operation or to change it just for the sake of change. Several speakers have recognized some of the important steps and advances towards reforms that have been achieved, but the same speakers have been fully aware of the shortcomings of the current rules, and have fully recognized the complexity of the tasks ahead

¹Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

²Published by the Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, London, July 1980.

and the urgent need to renew efforts on a forward-looking and effective basis.

59. In a statement issued from the White House on 24 July 1980, relating to the *Global 2000 Report to the President: Entering the Twenty-First Century*,³ which was referred to extensively by the United States Secretary of State in his statement to this Assembly [see 2nd meeting, paras. 93-131], President Carter concluded that "There are less than 20 years left in our 20th century. The time to look forward to the world we want to have in the year 2000 and leave to succeeding generations is now." Further, the President has directed "the State Department to raise the issues and problems identified in the *Global 2000* report in all appropriate international meetings". And that is exactly what Secretary of State Muskie did before the Assembly a few days ago.

60. On 9 July 1980 the Federal Republic of Germany published a policy paper on co-operation with developing countries with regard to the recommendations of the Brandt Commission, and in this hall two days ago Foreign Minister Genscher announced that: "Conscious of this, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has revised its basic development concept in the light of the recommendations of the Brandt Commission report". [5th meeting, para. 54.] As we all know, the sub-title of that report is *A Program for Survival*.

61. Only a few years ago, a somewhat similar study by the late Lester Pearson of Canada was entitled *Partners in Development*.⁴ It seems that in a few years the stress has shifted as regards international co-operation from partnership to the need for survival. What we need here now, possibly, is a new partnership for both survival and revival.

62. Last year, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development published the important study entitled *Interfutures*,⁵ which contained alternative scenarios for the world economy according to different assumptions about rates of growth and the types of relations between the developed and the developing countries. The best future prospects for all countries will be realized on the basis of co-operative policies, and the worst—scenario D—on the basis of confrontation policies. That important and already classic study was conducted by a team headed by a French scholar, and the Japanese Government, specifically Minister Saburo Okita, who is with us at this meeting, played a leading role in its initiation.

63. Those are only a few examples of the wealth of ideas and studies which have recently been forthcoming from the highest levels of authority and competence in the industrialized countries. There are many others, including those requested by the President of France and those commissioned by many other Governments. We have to add to them the immense body of material produced within the United Nations, the World Bank and other bodies. From all that, some conclusions can quickly be drawn.

64. First, the process of change within countries and between countries is extensive and, whether for good or bad, is gaining momentum and crisis proportions in

many cases and for many countries. The near future is likely to be different in many respects from even the immediate past.

65. Secondly, the instruments available nationally, regionally and internationally to cope with the changing scene need continual adjustments and improvements.

66. Thirdly, anyone who neglects, either in thought or action, the strong and wild forces of change and the outcome of their unadjusted control will most likely be misreading the writing on the wall.

67. I trust that all delegations present here, especially those of the North, are fully in agreement with those conclusions and will therefore co-operate fully in the reshaping of the instruments of guidance and action with which we are all concerned at this special session, namely in the approval of a new international development strategy and the launching of a system of global negotiations, both of which are urgently needed. The forces of change will continue working at all levels and in all countries, whether the world community present here succeeds in those two important tasks or not. But the prospects for building collectively a peaceful and prosperous future for all nations will be much improved and a better atmosphere for understanding and co-operation will be ensured by the success of this session.

68. The global negotiations are not likely to succeed if they are not based on an element of balance and a combination of different currents and future interests. Hence the need for strong guidance from a centralized body. The negotiations are not likely to advance equally in all directions. Hence the need to form packages of balanced agreed conclusions, possibly in successive stages of the negotiations. Early agreement and implementation in some specific areas should not be a substitute for searching for more fundamental solutions but rather an encouragement to further co-operation.

69. I wish to conclude with two remarks—the first about the seemingly difficult problem of the monetary system, and the second about the role of the small and poor countries in this august gathering.

70. We sense a lot of hesitation on the part of the industrialized countries concerning changing concepts and procedures in the monetary and financial fields. The international institutions principally entrusted with this are those of Bretton Woods: the World Bank and IMF. Those institutions accomplished important tasks in earlier years, when the economic order was established by the 1945 agreements and during two decades of reconstruction and almost continuous growth and stability in the world economic system.

71. It is a well-known established fact that recently the world scene has changed considerably—economically, politically and socially. The emergence of the developing countries, with considerable variations between them, ranging from the least developed to the newly industrialized developing countries up to the OPEC countries, have created completely new demands concerning the international machinery of monetary control and the transfer of funds for trade and development. The two main international institutions concerned have actually tried, with some degree of success, to face the new challenges by creating new facilities, expanding their resources and adjusting their procedures.

72. Some features of the current situation are the considerable surpluses and deficits of countries, the increasing indebtedness, the recently expanded role of private financial institutions, and over-liquidity, on the

³Gerald O. Barney, Study Director (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1980).

⁴*Partners in Development*: Report of the Commission on International Development, Lester B. Pearson, Chairman (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).

⁵*Interfutures: Facing the Future: Mastering the Probable and Managing the Unpredictable* (Paris, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1979).

one hand, and signs of shortage of capital investment on the other. The industrialized countries see ahead of them huge demands for capital for the basic reconstruction of energy and urban systems, and the developing countries are carrying the burden of increased unemployment that will run into hundreds of millions within the next few years, with serious social and political consequences.

73. Under these circumstances it is only fair to consider the basic concepts and institutions of monetary and development aid in order to meet future requirements for the benefit of all countries. The reform or restructuring of the monetary system is considered a cardinal and essential point for future harmonious and effective international co-operation and development.

74. Coming now to my last remark, we have all welcomed to the United Nations at this session the newly independent nation of Zimbabwe, recognizing its heroic struggle for freedom and its rightful place in the community of nations. We appeal to all nations, rich and poor alike, to assume their responsibilities on the international scene, as we agree to do. It will help small and poor nations here, including mine, if it is realized that, in fulfilling their international duties, those nations are most probably exerting proportionally bigger efforts and over-extending their limited resources of money and time. They therefore should feel themselves to be on a par with bigger and richer nations in the different functions of counselling and deliberating.

75. That is not just a philosophical remark. I think it is the basis of the strength and solidarity of this Organization and hence of the effectiveness and usefulness of its recommendations and decisions, including the global agreements we all aspire to conclude.

76. Mr. NOTHOMB (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to extend to you my congratulations on your election to this responsible post, another demonstration of the great trust all members of the Assembly place in you.

77. I also wish to convey special congratulations to the Government and people of Zimbabwe on the occasion of the admission of their country to the United Nations as the 153rd Member State. I would address a particularly warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, who heads the delegation of his country. Under his clear-sighted guidance his country is already on the way to reconstruction, economic revival and, more important still, to reconciliation. The accession to independence of this new Member State was no easy matter. I should like to pay a tribute as well to the successful efforts of the United Kingdom and of the African countries directly concerned to find a peaceful solution.

78. Faced with the deteriorating world economic situation, this eleventh special session of the General Assembly should allow us to launch global negotiations and to define a strategy for the third United Nations development decade. Belgium is determined to do everything possible to ensure its success.

79. I must express my fears over the mounting risk of a deep recession and over our inability to face it without a rapid strengthening of the mechanisms for dialogue and international co-operation.

80. This feeling of impotence in the face of the crisis and this desire for collective action towards economic revival are all the more keenly felt in the small countries, which, whether in the North or in the South, are, like Belgium, the most dependent on international economic activity. Those small countries naturally feel the desire

to be integrated into larger entities. My country is particularly interested in concerted action at the regional level and fully endorses the views expressed by Mr. Gaston Thorn, President of the Council of the European Communities [see 3rd meeting, paras. 50-88].

81. For my part, I should like to set forth the Belgian views on current events and on the corrective action we should take together.

82. The first oil crisis, occurring as it did during a period of high inflation and monetary instability, was the cause of very considerable balance of payments deficits for all non-oil-producing countries, in the South as well as in the North. To absorb those deficits those countries have had to resign themselves to slower growth rates. However, experience has shown that slower growth is incompatible with the dynamism of industrially and socially advanced societies like Belgium. In our case, this slow growth has been accompanied by a weakening of our manufacturing industry, rising unemployment, a growing deficit in the national budget, as well as the gradual appearance of a major trade deficit.

83. These developments make it extremely difficult for Belgium to find a sufficient margin to finance the restructuring of major industrial sectors such as the steel and textile industries, and to maintain existing machinery for the redistribution of income. Understandably, we do not want our society to be condemned to a standstill or to a breakdown of the public order. By the same token, we wish to declare in no uncertain terms that we refuse to yield to the temptation to withdraw within ourselves.

84. Belgium wishes to resolve its domestic economic and social problems while remaining open to the rest of the world. My country wishes to preserve its economic future but is also concerned over the fate of third-world countries. This spirit of openness stems from the actions of our predecessors, who encouraged the West to lower the level of protectionism in foreign trade and to organize a national redistribution of incomes. It is therefore vital to my country to contribute to promoting a climate of vigorous international growth.

85. Unfortunately, however, we again perceive sombre prospects for the world economy. Following the second oil crisis, the imbalances in the balance of payments have reached unprecedented levels. It is likely that 1981 will witness slower growth in all industrialized countries.

86. Belgium, a textbook example of the small open country in international trade theory, cannot detach itself from its major trading partners: it is therefore condemned to another period of slow growth. As I have pointed out, this poses delicate problems of economic and social adjustment to my country.

87. You will no doubt ask me why it is necessary here to mention the economic problems of the richest countries, which must indeed be the envy of the poorest. But, as was rightly pointed out in the communiqué of the last ministerial meeting of the Group of 77, held at New York on 21 and 22 August 1980,

"The interdependence among nations had increased to an extent that no one country, or group of countries, could isolate themselves and remain unaffected by upheavals and turmoil in any part of the world".
[A/S-11/19, annex, para. 5.]

88. In the framework of the global negotiations, we can therefore ignore the interests of neither the North nor the South. I have just referred briefly to the problems of a supposedly prosperous small country in the

North. Allow me now to mention the economic consequences of this crisis for the countries of the South.

89. I speak, above all, of the non-oil-producing developing countries. They are indeed facing one of the gravest economic situations in their history: indebtedness has reached alarming levels in many of them; the poorest among them are simply threatened with asphyxiation. Those developing countries more than ever need aid from the industrialized nations—and at the very time when the latter, confronted as they are with budgetary difficulties, may have to reduce rather than increase their assistance.

90. In this respect, Belgium has made a considerable effort in recent years to reach official assistance of 0.7 per cent of its gross national product. We consider that the 0.56 per cent which we are at present devoting to this is still unsatisfactory, even though this figure puts us among the five countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) making the most significant effort. Budgetary constraints, however, have prevented us from reaching our goal this year, but as far as we are concerned, that goal is not in dispute.

91. The oil-producing countries, in turn, wishing to improve the management of their payment reserves and invest them profitably, are experiencing difficulties in coping with the monetary and financial disturbances stemming from financial imbalance problems in the industrialized countries.

92. All countries, therefore, have a stake in the resumption of economic growth within the framework of a restored balance.

93. That is why we must be determined about the outcome of this special session of the General Assembly, because our mutual interests are at stake. But to succeed we have to be clear-sighted and courageous: the economic development of the world must not depend on the strategies of countries or groups of countries determined to influence negotiations for the sole purpose of settling conflicts which have nothing to do with our common desire to reorganize the world economy.

94. We must respect the spirit of General Assembly resolution 34/138 which called for this session to be convened. That resolution specifies that the negotiations will cover the restructuring of international economic relations, taking into account the mutual benefit, the common interest and the responsibilities of the parties concerned.

95. Although this is very important for the direction and the success of the global negotiations, I shall say no more, as I do not wish to repeat what has already been stated on this subject by my colleague from the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg on behalf of the nine member States of the European Community.

96. Regarding the agenda, we hope that all the areas mentioned in the General Assembly resolution will be considered when it is drawn up: raw materials, energy, trade, development, and monetary and financial matters. But it is important to concentrate in each of these areas on the "major issues", as the resolution states.

97. On the subject of energy, the negotiations will thus have to cover the predictability of supplies and prices. It is disturbances in the oil market that have twice accentuated the gravity of the world crisis which now besets us.

98. Of course, we do not expect precise guarantees in terms of numbers of barrels or the price per barrel, but we wish to make progress towards defining desirable conduct. Thus, the moderation of the producing countries should be supported by the firm desire of the indus-

trialized countries to adopt policies of economy and substitution as well as by the efforts of the non-oil-producing developing countries to promote appropriate energy resources through financial co-operation and international technology.

99. Beyond the global negotiations, moreover, Belgium would like to see regular consultations among all the interested parties on the various problems concerning the future of the production and the consumption of energy in the world. To this end, we should, to use the sensible words of my colleague from France, Mr. François-Poncet, organize a forum for reflection and debate [see 4th meeting, para. 317].

100. Monetary questions cannot be ignored in the context of global negotiations. However, we must avoid depriving the specialized agencies, such as IMF, of their areas of competence.

101. My point is all the more important as it is necessary to respect General Assembly resolution 34/138 in its entirety. And, with reference to the procedures for the negotiations, the resolution provides both that the negotiations should take place in New York and include the major issues in the five main fields, including money and finance, and that the negotiations should not involve any interruption of, or have any adverse effect upon, the negotiations in other forums, but should reinforce and draw upon them.

102. In this spirit, Belgium very much hopes for more active participation by the specialized agencies, including IMF and IBRD, so that relations between them and the central organ will be mutually strengthened and will contribute from both directions to the progress of the discussions.

103. My country places great expectations in the outcome of these global negotiations. At the end of the negotiations, it would thus be ready to make a political commitment to apply the balanced results reached by consensus.

104. Along with the adoption of the agenda and the procedures for the global negotiations, our Assembly is called upon to adopt a new international strategy for the third United Nations development decade.

105. We must discuss this strategy jointly, but it must also be recalled that development decisions are primarily the responsibility of each of our States.

106. No nation can pass on to the international community its own responsibilities. On the other hand, however good our intentions, we cannot force a country to adopt any given development model. It is up to each State to determine in a sovereign manner the direction and the priorities of its development.

107. But if development decisions are first of all the responsibility of each State concerned, they are expressed within constraints which can be removed only by decisions of the entire international community. Past experience has shown the usefulness of proposing to the international community quantified growth targets for the developing countries, even if these are difficult to define and hard to attain.

108. The goal of an annual growth rate of 7 per cent in the gross domestic product of all the developing countries seems reasonable to me. It is a good goal because, taking into account population growth, *per capita* income would increase significantly. It can, however, only be achieved within the framework of an international effort in official development assistance.

109. In order to help create the conditions for a substantial increase in official assistance in spite of the

unfavourable world economic context, Belgium put forward the idea, for the first time at the fifth session of UNCTAD held at Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979, for a pact for growth in solidarity in the framework of which official assistance would be mobilized in accordance with the level of development and the growth rate of the donor countries. In particular, a proportion of the annual increase in gross national product of the donor countries would be devoted to official development assistance according to a progressive scale. Belgium invites its partners—whatever their state of development or their political and social systems—to study and enter into negotiations on such a pact. In order to launch a dialogue on this plan, Belgium will submit to the Secretary-General for distribution a technical note setting out the possible contents of such a pact.

110. An increase in official development assistance would, however, create serious problems for the budgets of the industrialized countries.

111. This is why we must devise financing formulas which would be less of a burden on State budgets. We should agree on a system of guarantees and interest rebates capable of mobilizing the necessary financial means. The funds could come from countries with a built-in surplus balance of payments, such as certain oil-producing countries. We might also look to the additional involvement of IMF in order to supplement this transfer of resources, perhaps through increased international liquidity.

112. The size and modalities of the assistance are but one of the facets of the strategy. If the international community is called upon to contribute to development, it must see to it that such assistance is truly effective and that it serves above all the basic needs of the populations.

113. I should like to state here that we are frightened by the sums being spent on armaments in the South as well as in the North, sums that tie up resources which could be used for development. We understand that each country must ensure its security, but we will neglect no effort to create a climate of trust and understanding which will help us to achieve mutual and controlled disarmament among the European countries. We also hope that such expenditures will decrease among the countries of the third world.

114. Rural development, as we see it, is a priority task for most of the countries of the third world. Belgium is ready to give the greatest attention to this problem, particularly regarding the development of food security. I listened with very great interest when His Excellency President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh stated that this was the top priority of his country [see 3rd meeting, paras. 2-46].

115. I am in full agreement with Mr. Caldera, head of the delegation of Venezuela, when he states [see 3rd meeting, paras. 114-149] that it would be illusory to lay the basis for the true development of the third world without rural development. Agricultural development is an important element of this rural development: the developing countries must do all they can to reach the goal of 4 per cent annual growth in agricultural production, with the assistance of the countries of the European Community among others, thus putting an end to the outrage of hunger.

116. Regional co-operation too should be developed in the next decade. It has already borne fruit in Europe in the union of nine industrialized countries. We must hope that there will be regional co-operation of the same

kind among the developing countries, as is already the case in the framework of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), ECOWAS and the Andean Pact, to give only a few examples.

117. Lastly, there is the short-term problem of the poorest developing countries that do not produce any oil and whose financial situation and balance of payments are in a tragic state.

118. It is in this context that the Secretary-General made his generous proposals [see A/S-11/5/Add.1] for an emergency programme of immediate measures.

119. Here again I should like to recall the position of the European Community as expressed by Mr. Thorn: this emergency programme must be examined with all due attention and must receive urgent consideration by the international community in an appropriate framework.

120. Such an emergency programme should in fact specifically establish clear priorities for the poorest countries within the development strategy.

121. In this connexion, I should like to point out that about 78 per cent of Belgium's official development assistance goes to countries with *per capita* incomes of less than \$400. This point is worth stressing, given the fact that the developed countries as a whole spend a mere 50 per cent of their aid on that category of countries.

122. Such a programme should also show the goodwill of the developed countries of both the East and the West, as well as the goodwill of the OPEC countries.

123. Finally, it should be possible to implement without upsetting the present institutional framework. In this connexion, I wish to thank the World Bank Group for the efforts it is making to implement such a programme.

124. We stand at the dawn of a new decade. During the 1960s, the world witnessed sustained expansion. The 1970s were overshadowed by economic and financial imbalances. It is up to us to make the 1980s the decade of the new economic balance in the eyes of the historians.

125. A year of discussion on such complex and delicate issues will evidently not allow us to come up with a miracle formula for a final and balanced solution.

126. The dialogue between the industrialized countries and the developing countries will therefore have to be continued patiently beyond this session, as has indeed been true since the sixth special session of the General Assembly, which first launched the idea of a new international economic order.

127. In the discussions among the industrialized countries within the OECD, Belgium stated that, for the first time, "the opportunity exists for us to tackle negotiations on a world level; such negotiations would no longer be a one-way street, as has been the case with so many previous attempts over the past 10 years, all of them disappointing".

128. The coming global negotiations, we believe, present a real opportunity for a dialogue that will be beneficial to all of us, and the hope that reasonable solutions can be arrived at for a number of common problems, which are sometimes as serious for us as they are for our partners in the developing world.

129. I should like to reaffirm here that my country is determined to grasp this opportunity and, with the United Nations, to nourish that hope. Belgium will not shirk its responsibilities. It will accept them, prof-

iting from its traditions as a small country open to the outside world.

130. The PRESIDENT: As was pointed out at an earlier stage, we are facing a serious problem at this session in accommodating at a convenient time the large number of delegations inscribed on the list of speakers. In order to hear as many speakers as possible each day, we have, as members know, continued the debate most evenings until 9 p.m. It is my intention to follow that practice as long as necessary. For example, an extended meeting will again be required this evening. To make the situation clear, I should now like to describe the procedure which will be followed in the case of delegations that have inscribed their names to speak at an afternoon meeting but that cannot be accommodated even during an extended meeting: the names of delegations that cannot be heard by 9 p.m. on any given day will be put at the top of the list of speakers for the following meeting. Moreover, delegations which remove their names from the list of speakers for a particular meeting and have not been able to change places with a delegation inscribed to speak at a subsequent meeting will be heard after all the speakers inscribed for the following day. While that is admittedly not an ideal solution, it is, I believe, the one which is fairest to all concerned. Therefore, I trust that I can count on everyone's understanding and co-operation.

131. Mr. ALMEIDA (Angola) (*translation from French*):⁶ The international community is meeting once more in the venerable framework of the United Nations to study the main economic problems affecting our world and to take decisions that will leave a lasting mark on the destiny of all the world's peoples.

132. I hope that our work, our earnestness, our wisdom and our intelligence dictate just and bold solutions which will extricate us from the chaotic situation into which the present economic system has led us and that we may be led irreversibly towards the dynamics of progress.

133. The delegation of the People's Republic of Angola wishes whole-heartedly to congratulate the President of the General Assembly for the way in which he has been guiding our work.

134. We welcome Zimbabwe and express our best wishes for success in the development efforts in which the Zimbabwean people are engaged, under the guidance of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. It is a country which has just been admitted to membership of the United Nations after having struggled heroically until victory was won, at the cost of many human lives and terrible destruction.

135. We also wish to congratulate the United Nations, its Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his colleagues, thanks to whom this special session has been so carefully organized. They have spared no effort to ensure that this special session could take place under normal conditions by preparing background studies to make it possible for us accurately to assess the problems at issue. We can see that the success of this session has been at the centre of their concerns.

136. The direction which Angola has taken and the progress that we have achieved, of course, cannot please the imperialist Powers, which continue to rely on the economic domination—and on its logical consequence, the political domination—of the African continent and, in particular, its southern region, whose subsoil con-

tains important reserves of raw materials of great commercial and strategic value.

137. That is the explanation for the further acts of aggression suffered by our country at the hands of the racist oppressor régime of South Africa. That régime, determined at all costs to defend the selfish interests of moribund international imperialism, has not hesitated to resort to the most sordid methods, sowing destruction, misery, pain and death among the defenceless populations, sparing in its death-dealing madness neither old people nor women and children.

138. Acting in violation of all recognized international principles, South Africa, as the international community is aware, persists in its acts of aggression, of which one of the most recent—if we consider the scope of the human and material means utilized and the extent of the areas affected—has taken on invasion proportions, causing incalculable loss of human life in our country and destroying vast quantities of equipment and materials.

139. As has been stressed in the declaration of the Political Bureau of the Workers' Party of the Movimento Popular da Libertação de Angola (MPLA), published on 1 August, this was an attempt to provoke by all means possible the destabilization of the political, social and economic situation of the People's Republic of Angola, in a futile attempt to obstruct the consolidation and continuation of our democratic people's revolution.

140. The People's Republic of Angola is a country which aspires to live in peace and harmony with the other members of the international community, regardless of the different political systems that govern them.

141. Those measures of political and economic destabilization cannot divert us from the approach set by the immortal guide of our revolution, the founder of our nation, Comrade President Agostinho Neto, a policy continued by Comrade President José Eduardo dos Santos; on the contrary, they strengthen us in our struggle for popular democracy and socialism, for the improvement of the living conditions of our people, the strengthening of peace and the liberation of peoples still subjected to oppression in Namibia and South Africa. The international community cannot evade its responsibility to help the fraternal peoples of Namibia and South Africa in their just struggle to free themselves from the colonialist and racist yoke of South Africa.

142. These destabilizing acts of pressure against Angola are not isolated facts. In other parts of the world there are similar acts against countries which have resolutely undertaken the path of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, and which have decided to defend their economic interests.

143. We therefore bring this situation to the attention of the Assembly for consideration. Just as is stated in paragraph 3 of the Economic Declaration adopted at the last Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979,

"The economic and social progress of developing countries has been adversely affected, directly or indirectly, by different forms of threat, including the threats of military intervention or the use of force, pressure, coercion and discriminatory practices, and often result in the adoption of aggressive attitudes towards those who oppose their plans, to impose upon those countries political, social and economic structures which foster domination, dependence and

⁶Mr. Almeida spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

exploitation of developing countries.” [A/34/542, annex, p. 100.]

144. We condemn colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, racism, Zionism, and *apartheid*—all practices which obstruct and do extreme damage to the economic and social development of the underdeveloped countries.

145. We have listened attentively to the President's excellent statement [see *1st meeting, paras. 11-33*], which we highly esteem. In that statement mention was made of the world economic problem, and a balance-sheet was drawn up of the situation in connexion with commitments taken in the context of the Second United Nations Development Decade. All those delicate problems are familiar to us because we experience them daily. After having been often debated during regional meetings and in international forums, after ingenious solutions have been adopted for those problems, we still see them coming up again in the same breadth, in a sort of perpetual flux. In other words, year after year the situation remains unchanged. And now it is even more serious, with a disorganized commodity market, chronic imbalances in the balance of payments, galloping inflation, world-wide unemployment, a worsening of protectionism and the collapse of the international financial system.

146. In the midst of this string of hardships certain events give us new expectations, new encouragement. Thus, as regards raw materials, we should like to point out how pleased we are at the agreement reached on the establishment of the Common Fund for Commodities. Let us make the Fund, once its institutional framework has been defined, an instrument capable of offsetting the effects of fluctuations in the price of raw materials and even of eliminating those fluctuations. In this context, the adjustments in the price of oil made some years ago on the initiative of a group of producer countries seem to us a just and effective measure corresponding to decisions taken by the developing countries to increase the value of and to protect their natural resources, as well as to guarantee their marketing at appropriate and equitable prices.

147. We wish at this time to voice our objection to the position taken by certain market economy developed countries which blame the present inflationary situation on increases in the price of oil.

148. In our view, increases in oil prices are but the logical consequence of the unbridled age-old plundering practised in this field by the transnational corporations. And if we look at the statistics of the past we can see evidence of this disadvantageous situation in the deterioration of the terms of trade of the countries which produce raw materials. Furthermore, the question of the production, marketing and processing of raw materials must be treated comprehensively, to put an end to the role of eternal suppliers of cheap raw materials which has been imposed on us by international capitalism, which reserves for itself the role of exporting industrial goods at exorbitant prices out of all proportion to their real cost, thus amassing fabulous profits, while the underdeveloped countries find themselves further engulfed in debt.

149. In the view of the People's Republic of Angola, the problem of technology must be given priority consideration, because it is at the heart of the very process of development.

150. We should like to dwell at some length on the objectives of technology transfer. Technology, the result of the knowledge and the intelligence of various

peoples and civilizations, must be considered the common heritage of all mankind and must be utilized to improve the living conditions of mankind. Its utilization for other purposes—purposes other than peaceful ones—must therefore be condemned.

151. In this connexion, we wish to point out that a certain portion of technical co-operation is given on a preferential basis to countries that wage colonial wars, thus posing a constant threat to the peace of the world. We are here singling out South Africa in particular, which, thanks to the support of certain imperialist Powers, has conducted nuclear tests in order to obtain a war arsenal with vast destructive potential so as to keep the people of South Africa under subjugation and to exploit them, and to extend its domination to all the peoples of the region, in the belief that it can stifle their aspirations to freedom, justice and peace.

152. Along the same lines, we deplore the squandering of funds in the arms race for purposes that often have nothing to do with the defence of the well-being of mankind. Once again, we declare our support for all measures aimed at channelling the flow of the capital which, if an end were put to this situation, would be released for this purpose, towards the development efforts of the international community.

153. Special attention must be given to monetary and financial issues. Just as was advocated under item 12 (a) of the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations,⁷ adopted by the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Arusha from 12 to 16 February 1979, fundamental reforms must be made in international monetary provisions to render them more likely to promote international trade and development and to guarantee international monetary stability, and this must be done on an urgent basis. Since trade and financial issues are closely interrelated, in order to guarantee an equitable distribution of international liquidity, it seems to us essential that a conference be convened to deal especially with the question of the reform of the international monetary system, and this as soon as possible, taking into account the complexity of such a problem.

154. Various international instruments, such as the Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries,⁸ give the United Nations an important role in the functioning and implementation of plans adopted at the international level.

155. The People's Republic of Angola is convinced that, as has been envisaged in resolutions of the General Assembly, a restructuring of the United Nations system could lead to satisfactory participation by the international community in the implementation and control of measures that have been and will be taken to reorganize international economic relations.

156. It is therefore important that, in addition to the adoption of a strategy for the third United Nations development decade, this Assembly apply itself to reflecting on the different institutional and material means that would enable the strategy to make significant changes in the international situation. As we have already stressed, the developing countries, on whose

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), annex VI.

⁸See *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.

political will depend the social and economic changes to which their peoples aspire, will each have a decisive role to play in the development process.

157. It is also essential that possibilities for co-operation and mutual assistance be explored among those countries in every field—technology, industry, trade and finance.

158. This is why the Government of the People's Republic of Angola has undertaken many actions to increase production, to foster trade between cities and rural areas and to lay the foundation for a gradual improvement in the standard of living of its population.

159. While we still have a low level of production and productivity, we are pleased at our different accomplishments in the economic and social fields, as well as in the sectors of agriculture, industry, education and health. Enriched by our economic experience during our four years of independence, and hardened by the constant struggle that we waged to safeguard our independence, we are certain that our future will not be the one predicted for us by the imperialist circles, a prediction that they are doing their best to bring about.

160. The First Congress of the MPLA decreed that the People's Republic of Angola would establish with all countries throughout the world economic relations based on the principles of full equality, non-interference and mutual advantage. On this basis, we have established bonds of co-operation and friendship with neighbouring countries, following the established principles of mutual advantage, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the domestic affairs of States.

161. The creation of economic zones in Africa is of interest to us, and we are pleased at this development with a view to the strengthening of the productive potential and economic independence of the peoples of the region.

162. This co-operation is not, however, limited to neighbouring countries. It extends also to all countries in the world, in particular to those in the socialist community.

163. On this occasion, the People's Republic of Angola reaffirms that it is prepared to welcome proposals from countries in other regions, including Western countries, on the basis of the strictest respect for internationally established principles.

164. In conclusion, we reaffirm our conviction that the creation of conditions conducive to development must involve the establishment of an atmosphere of peace and non-belligerence among peoples. This can only be accomplished after the imperialist countries have given up the positions of domination they hold in the political sphere and in international economic relations.

165. *A luta continua. A victoria e certa.*

166. Mr. ALAINI (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, this occasion gives me the opportunity once more to express to you our appreciation and gratification for the wisdom and prudence which characterized your conduct of the work of the General Assembly at the last three sessions and which enabled us to conclude our deliberations successfully.

167. We are extremely pleased to see that the people of Zimbabwe has finally won and that its representatives have joined the United Nations at this session to occupy their natural place among nations.

168. The triumph of Zimbabwe confirms our conviction, in the Yemen Arab Republic and in our Arab

world, that the days of foreign domination and racial discrimination, whether in southern Africa or in occupied Palestine, are numbered.

169. The holding of this session is a phenomenon that creates optimism, and we want to believe that these meetings are not just a formal implementation of General Assembly resolution 32/174, adopted in 1977, but emanate from a firm conviction that the economies of this world, with its North and its South, are inter-related and interdependent and that collective action is the optimal way to solve the economic problems from which we are all suffering.

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

170. The purpose of our meeting at this session is specifically the following: first, to discuss and approve the draft new international development strategy for the next decade, that is, the 1980s; and, secondly, to begin a new round of negotiations between the developed and the developing countries on economic co-operation between them covering all basic issues—raw materials, energy, finance and trade.

171. This is not, in fact, the first time that the United Nations has discussed the problems of development. As we know, it organized the First United Nations Development Decade for the period 1961 to 1970, then the Second United Nations Development Decade for the period 1970 up to now, and we are currently discussing a third development decade.

172. First of all, we must examine the main problems we faced during the last two Development Decades, with a view to avoiding the negative aspects and strengthening the positive ones in both our perspective on and our treatment of problems of development in the future.

173. Although negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order started early, no significant progress has been achieved in this respect. In fact, all indications suggest the opposite, and, unfortunately, the new economic order is proceeding on a discouraging path.

174. The rich industrialized countries are becoming more advanced and richer, while the poor developing countries are becoming more backward and poorer, with the suffering of their peoples becoming more acute.

175. The real growth rate achieved in the last decade was only about 5.2 per cent for the developing countries as a whole.

176. With regard to the world economic environment, if we look back, it will be evident to us that the existing International Development Strategy has failed to provide adequate additional external support and encouragement for the economic development effort being made in the third world.

177. With the adverse developments that took place in the past few years, as well as the continuation of the arms race, the world economic environment became less supportive of the development process than before. Thus the new strategy for the 1980s should be designed not only to divert resources from weapons to development but also to overcome known additional constraints on the development process, which, apparently, will prevail in the world economy in the period ahead.

178. The economic growth rate of the industrialized countries is declining and the current rate of inflation and unemployment in those countries is persisting.

There is stagnation in the economies of the developing countries.

179. The last years of the 1970s witnessed the end of the era of cheap energy. We should assume that oil will still be a scarce commodity during the next decade and that its real price will continue to increase unless more active and effective action is taken to reduce its consumption and develop new sources of energy.

180. There are strong indications that the world has entered a period of great instability, characterized by short-term sharp fluctuations in production, rates of exchange, relative prices and terms of trade.

181. In such a case, where uncertainty is a significant element, any economic planning, however precise, can be affected by unexpected circumstances.

182. As to the basic objectives, in view of the nature and the power of those constraints, and the excessive reliance of the developing countries on their economic relations with the developed countries, consistent and concerted additional effort by the international community is an essential prerequisite.

183. A new international strategy is therefore required—a viable strategy which cannot be limited to purely quantitative changes in the flow of trade, aid and technology, in spite of the importance of those elements. The structural framework of international economic relations has also to be reformed in order to achieve the dual objective of reducing the dependence of the developing countries on the economic interests of the developed countries and of providing much more support for the development process.

184. Such reform should promote structural change not only in the developing countries but also in the developed countries, as well as in the economic relations between those two groups.

185. The decade of the 1980s should witness a significant acceleration in the production and trade of the developing countries, so that their share in the world economy would become much larger by the end of the decade than it is now.

186. This change in the world economy should be supplemented by a more effective control by the developing countries over the utilization of their resources and by the enhancement of their participation in the decision-making process affecting international economic relations.

187. One of the important features of the new strategy could be the formulation of concrete issues which should be the subject of negotiations in the next decade, preferably within an agreed time-limit, in addition to various generalized actions taken by Governments.

188. In view of the wide discrepancies in the economic conditions and prospects of various developing countries, especially with the least developed countries still suffering low, even negative, rates of growth, consideration should be given to including in the strategy a minimum target for the growth rate of all developing countries, as well as for that of the least developed among them.

189. Throughout the 1970s the international community made political pledges in a series of world conferences to improve the quality of life in the developing countries by providing primary education, basic health care, clean water, sanitation and adequate nutrition for every individual.

190. We know that it is naive to assume in any society that poverty will disappear quickly and easily within one decade.

191. We also know that, in the context of international action for the formulation of a development strategy for the 1980s, all the developing countries should establish their own work plans to achieve certain improvements in the standards of living of the low-income groups of the population.

192. Only such concrete programmes on the national level can translate international intentions into actual improvements in the life of individuals, thereby providing a realistic basis for the evaluation of the type and size of foreign assistance required.

193. Most of these efforts must, of course, be made by the developing countries themselves as they cope with the critical problems of development. Clearly, no foreign assistance can be a substitute for sustained domestic efforts made by the developing countries individually. These efforts are an absolute necessity, without which nothing can be achieved. These domestic efforts, however, must be accompanied by more assistance from the international community if the task of development is to be successfully accomplished.

194. The acceleration of economic development is not expected unless the major countries substantially increase their assistance—particularly the United States, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, whose current assistance is only, respectively, 0.22 per cent, 0.25 per cent and 0.32 per cent of gross national product.

195. The full account given by Mr. Narasimha Rao, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India, on the developing countries' view of future negotiations [*see 2nd meeting, paras. 58-92*] actually covered all that we wanted to say.

196. My country is making significant development efforts. Planning and development are proceeding speedily. Emerging from a backward autocratic rule, and having suffered turmoil and instability in the past, my country is now moving forward in all areas, relying in these efforts on its own limited resources, the assistance of brothers and friends, and the efforts of the Yemeni people working in various countries. If the overwhelming difficulties facing the third-world countries, especially the least developed countries, are overcome, we certainly shall have achieved a great deal within a few years.

197. If the world has been able in the era of the United Nations to bring about decolonization and is eliminating the remaining vestiges of injustice and subjugation, particularly in Palestine and South Africa, it is high time for it to dedicate its efforts to the eradication of economic injustice and the existing vast discrepancies in the standards of living of its inhabitants. Our world will be neither happy nor stable if the large majority of its inhabitants remain poor and hungry while a rich minority becomes richer and more advanced.

198. Mr. de KONING (Netherlands): I am very pleased to be able to participate in the debate of this special session and I should like to congratulate the President of the General Assembly on his election. I think we must also congratulate ourselves on the fact that, with his broad experience, he has agreed to preside over the Assembly for the third time this year.

199. It is a great pleasure to welcome Zimbabwe to this world Organization as a new Member. Our ties with the Zimbabwean people date from the time prior to independence, and they found expression in aid efforts for special groups. From my talks with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe in Salisbury, I learned how desperate the economic situation of Zimbabwe is. The Netherlands Government will continue its aid—now to the

independent Zimbabwe—initially through a contribution of \$10 million. I urge all Members of this Organization that are in a position to do so to extend their assistance to Zimbabwe.

200. We are gathered here to find solutions, solutions which will enable us to launch, as agreed, the new round of global negotiations and to adopt a new development strategy for the decade at the threshold of which we now stand, solutions which will have a decisive impact on the course of North-South relations.

201. The international community is faced with the necessary task of introducing changes in the structure of the world economy, the malfunctioning of which is a source of increasing concern to all of us. I believe it is legitimate for the developing countries—the majority of the countries in the world—to demand adequate participation in the world economic system.

202. That system is today, more clearly than ever before, suffering from the play of disintegrating forces resulting from a number of structural weaknesses and imperfections. I shall mention only a few: steady and seemingly uncontrollable inflation; stagnating trade flows and concomitant trends toward protectionism; a high level of unemployment and underemployment; the unbearable burden of debts of many developing countries and their intolerable balance of payments deficits; and the uncertainties and tensions of the world energy market. The World Bank's recently published *World Development Report, 1980* serves only to underline the critical nature of those and other issues.

203. Clearly, the scope and nature of these problems and of the potential conflicts they represent leave us no choice: we have to react in concerted action to solve these problems, or together we shall be held responsible by future generations for not having offered them a future. Let us therefore earnestly explore and find the right course of action to prevent a situation of conflict. Let us prevent chaos. Let us build a new international economic order.

204. In seeking solutions we must be guided by a number of key principles: first, the principle of mutual benefit and common responsibility in recognition of a new concept of interdependence, not the interdependence between unequal partners of times past, in which the poorest countries did not take part; secondly, the principle of relating the measure of responsibility to the economic capacity of each individual country; and thirdly, the principle of honouring our commitments, irrespective of whether they are of a political or of a legal nature—and I shall elaborate on this principle at a later stage. And we should be guided also by our obligation towards the hundreds of millions of poor who cannot be fed by words and declarations but need our sustained efforts to alleviate their plight.

205. Since the publication of the Brandt report no one can avoid being inspired in our discussions by the findings of this Independent Commission on International Development Issues, which most appropriately has given its report the sub-title *A program for survival*.

206. A few days ago Mr. Thorn of Luxembourg, speaking on behalf of the European Community, outlined our common position towards the main issues of this special session [see 3rd meeting, paras. 50-88]. I take this opportunity to make more explicit the Netherlands position on some topics under discussion.

207. Turning to the new development strategy, I should first of all like to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy, Ambassador Naik of

Pakistan, and to his predecessor, Ambassador Dubey of India, who faced the difficult task of giving guidance to the discussions. If today we have to deal with a number of important issues which remained unsolved in the preparatory phase, it is through no fault of theirs.

208. The position of the Netherlands Government is clear and unequivocal: the new strategy should be ambitious and more comprehensive than the previous one and than the consensus arrived at at the seventh special session of the General Assembly, and all of us should be prepared to commit ourselves politically to the new document. This political commitment, necessary as it is, should be brought about by, among other things, actively mobilizing public opinion. I listened with interest to the observations made on this issue by the Canadian representative [see 4th meeting, paras. 349-379].

209. I shall—only for the sake of brevity—limit myself to one issue: the target for official development assistance. The Netherlands Government urges all developed countries, including the developed countries of Eastern Europe, to adopt the agreed target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product, coupled with a time-limit for reaching that target in the next few years.

210. We have many times expressed our willingness to reach the 0.7 per cent target for official development assistance. It is disappointing indeed that so many countries failed to reach that target. Inclusion of that target in the new strategy constitutes a corner-stone, perhaps even the backbone, of the strategy. We also believe that the proposal of the Group of 77 to raise the target to 1 per cent at the end of the decade deserves serious consideration. Without exaggerating the importance of the official development assistance target, we consider it to be a significant sign of the political will of the developed countries to implement the strategy as a whole.

211. I agree with those who plead for realism in the elaboration of the strategy. Realism is a laudable characteristic. I submit, however, that realism should lead us not only to recognize the sombre prospects of the economies of the industrialized world but also to recognize the dramatic realities in the larger part of the developing countries. Above all, realism should lead us to recognize that there is a direct relationship between those problems and those realities.

212. We are deeply convinced that preoccupation with the problems of our own so highly privileged societies should not distract us from waging a world-wide battle against poverty.

213. Realism also lies in acknowledging that our serious present-day economic difficulties, far from being a reason for our reluctance to assist, may partly be the result of our own failure in the past to provide the required and necessary inputs for the development process. Part of our economic difficulties may be traced to our reluctance to accept structural changes in the world economic system.

214. I also take this opportunity to underline the importance that we attach to adequately incorporating the results of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, held in July 1980 at Copenhagen, in the text of the strategy. In the last five years we have made considerable progress in recognizing the crucial role of women in development. The new strategy should not only reflect that progress but should also enhance it.

215. In the next 10 years a considerable effort must be made in creating employment in the third world. Especially in the rural areas, new jobs have to be found in order to avoid a catastrophe. The young people would

suffer most if we did not take the necessary action. The strategy must deal thoroughly with this problem.

216. A last word about the implementation of the strategy. The review and appraisal procedures of the Second International Development Strategy were not very successful. The strategy for the coming decade should provide for better solutions. A procedure has to be found by which we can review and appraise the performance of individual countries—donors and recipients alike—in accordance with objective criteria.

217. I shall now present my views on the second, equally important, issue before this Assembly: the new round of global negotiations. Rather than elaborating on the problems concerning the agenda and procedures for the negotiations, I should like to present a number of guidelines which may, I sincerely hope, serve as a basis for the phase following the solution of the problems of the agenda and procedures. I trust that we shall be able to overcome these procedural issues during this session in order to concentrate on the more important matters of substance when the global negotiations start.

218. I shall limit myself to three fields of major importance: the field of energy, the field of financial issues, and the field of trade. The interrelationship of these three fields has rightly been acknowledged. If I limit myself to those three fields, it should not be taken as a sign of their exclusive importance. I do, however, believe that a solution in those fields would be instrumental in the recovery of world economic growth within the context of a restructuring of world economic relations, and with particular emphasis on the needs of the developing countries.

219. To start with the field of energy, although I understand the reluctance shown hitherto by some countries to discuss energy matters in a world-wide forum, it is my sincere hope that this session will mark the start of constructive international consultations on energy. International action in this field should be centred on the following elements.

220. First, every effort should be made, especially by the industrialized countries, to reduce their oil consumption by considerably strengthening conservation measures and by developing and introducing other sources and forms of energy.

221. Secondly, we should gradually work towards a framework for assuring stable supplies, with predictable and manageable pricing trends. We realize that this objective is related to the need to increase the stability of the value of the financial assets of the oil-producing countries.

222. Thirdly, I propose that an international agreement should be reached on measures required for a smooth transition to the post-oil era, including among other things the development of new and renewable sources of energy.

223. And last, but certainly not least, an overall package agreement on energy matters must take due account of the pressing need for financing arrangements to enable the oil-importing developing countries to overcome the very serious difficulties resulting from their intolerable, largely oil-induced, balance of payments deficits.

224. That leads me to the second field I have mentioned: that of financial problems. Allow me again to present a necessarily brief outline of my views on these problems and on possible ways to overcome the problems flowing from the truly mind-boggling magnitude of the deficit on current accounts that the developing countries will reach in the course of this year: \$70 bil-

lion. A solution to these problems can perhaps be sought along the following lines.

225. First and foremost, measures are needed to ensure that the recycling of the revenues of oil-exporting countries can continue. Governments must assume responsibility in this field through the existing machinery of IMF and other competent international forums. Needless to say, special attention should be paid to the poorest developing countries. I suggest that we consider the introduction of additional interest subsidies for those countries to the effect that they be charged only a percentage—say one third—of the going interest rate on the international capital markets.

226. Secondly, in applying the rules of conditionality for short-term financing by the Fund, we should take into account the specific circumstances of the deficit countries, and the causes, very often of a structural nature, of their payments difficulties. More specifically, we should not limit ourselves to strict consideration of the need to regulate the balance of payments, but also pay due attention to the need to maintain the consumption level of the poorest groups and the need to safeguard economic growth. Particularly in the poorest countries, possibilities of reducing demand are very limited. Therefore, we shall have to apply the conditionality rules in such a way as to allow those countries sufficient time to introduce structural improvements in their economies within the context of their specific circumstances. We appreciate the positive developments which are taking place in this regard, and we would urge the Fund to proceed with its efforts.

227. My third point is that it is inevitable that measures be taken to reduce the debts of developing countries, which have reached the gigantic proportions of \$300 billion. Drastic measures have to be found for the benefit of non-oil-exporting countries without substantial exports of industrial products, and which find their development efforts hampered by serious balance of payments problems. We could, for instance, consider the idea of henceforth providing bilateral aid for that category of countries solely in the form of grants, and of certain measures of debt relief and cancellation. Such measures could, for example, consist of an annual 10 per cent cancellation of the debts of these countries over the next 10 years, with a view to bringing about a situation by 1990 in which those poor countries would no longer be in debt to the Governments of rich countries.

228. My fourth and last proposal concerns the understandable wishes of the oil-exporting countries to protect the stability of their foreign currency assets as far as possible. Possibilities for a just solution seem to be limited at first sight but they may be found in a closer involvement with IMF by the countries of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

229. The third field I mentioned was that of international trade. It goes without saying that the increase of export opportunities for developing countries depends not only on economic growth but also on our ability to find ways and means further to liberalize access to market conditions. We must fight the spectre of protectionism, and we must achieve the freest possible conditions for access to the markets of the industrialized nations for the products of the developing countries. To that end I suggest that Governments of developed countries pledge themselves, first, to make the maximum use of available instruments with a view to increasing imports from developing countries and, secondly, to formulate a long-term trade strategy. Such a strategy should be accompanied by an international review procedure to

examine its results. I propose further that UNCTAD and GATT explore the feasibility of adopting such an active trade strategy, and examine ways and means of putting it into practice.

230. I have presented this Assembly with a necessarily brief outline of some proposals which constitute possible elements of a package agreement to be negotiated during the new round of global negotiations. In elaborating these proposals we must keep in mind the differences in position and economic strength between the various groups of countries, and within those groups. Recognition of these differences means, in particular, that we should focus on the needs of those developing countries which have not built up a position of strength. For those countries the principles of mutual benefit and common responsibility do not suffice. In addition, we must agree on concepts that will enable us to negotiate solutions to which each individual country can, and will, contribute according to its economic capacity, while safeguarding the internal political cohesion of the group of developing countries.

231. The Secretary-General has presented to us a report [A/S-11/5/Add.1] on immediate measures in favour of the most seriously affected countries. I commend his efforts to focus our attention on a number of urgent problems the solution of which cannot await the outcome of the new round of global negotiations. I also recall the speech delivered by the Secretary-General at the recent session of the Economic and Social Council, held in Geneva.⁹

232. Seized by this sense of urgency, one cannot but agree in principle for the need for immediate action. The Netherlands Government is therefore prepared to consider favourably, together with other industrialized countries and the developing countries, the further elaboration of these proposals. However, these proposals should not be taken as a substitute, but as a stimulus, for the new round of global negotiations. On this condition we are prepared to consider immediate additional balance of payments assistance to oil-importing developing countries.

233. I need not elaborate on the need for additional resources for exploration activities in the developing countries in the energy sector. Such resources could go a long way towards alleviating the energy problems in those countries. In this context I am pleased to announce that the Netherlands Government has decided to contribute the amount of 5 million Dutch guilders—that is, the equivalent of \$2.5 million—to the recently established energy account of UNDP. I am also pleased to note the interest shown by the oil-exporting countries in making a contribution to that account.

234. I should like to say a few words on what is, to my mind, a fundamental question of international co-operation for development. I have already briefly referred to the nature of commitments entered into by the international community in this regard.

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

235. Until recently North-South co-operation was based almost entirely on the principle of charity as well as on self-interest. During the last few years a new principle has emerged, namely the principle of interdependence. My thesis is that actions based solely on the principle of mutual interest and charity are insufficient to meet the requirements of all countries and peoples.

236. The main argument in support of my thesis is that history teaches us that there have always been countries and peoples that are powerless and therefore unable to defend themselves on the basis of mutual interest. They run a serious risk of remaining unable to benefit from the rising living standards of the world as a whole. I submit that these countries and peoples also have a right to live and a right to development and that it is our obligation to guarantee this fundamental right to the poorest.

237. An International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*General Assembly resolution 2200 A (XXI)*] was prepared by this world Organization as one of the instruments to safeguard human rights. I submit that the time has come to elaborate and implement the provisions of that Covenant regarding the right to an agreed level of subsistence. I refer to the right to adequate food, the right to education, the right to housing, the right to medical care, and so on. Acceptance of the right to an acceptable level of well-being means the rejection of the concept that development aid is restricted solely to the realm of charity. This acceptance leads to development aid being a right of the recipients of that aid.

238. At the national level, we have witnessed in our country an evolutionary process which made the weak no longer dependent on charity, but provided them with statutory rights to receive assistance, thereby enhancing their opportunities to develop. It is my firm conviction that we must take action to promote the same evolutionary process at the international level. This means that development co-operation will eventually have to be based on, and rooted in, international law rather than in feelings of charity or in specific interests. This is a matter of fundamental importance involving right versus wrong, the weak versus the strong.

239. The development problem concerns people who are helpless. Behind the problems of energy, trade and monetary issues, there are hundreds of millions of people who are unable, either individually or collectively, to lead a decent life because of economic and social oppression.

240. If we fail to meet our obligations towards those people, we fail as human beings.

241. Mr. OUKO (Kenya): I should first of all like to convey the greetings of the President of the Republic of Kenya, His Excellency Mr. Daniel Arap Moi, to this eleventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly. My delegation also wishes to congratulate you, Sir, upon your unanimous re-election as President of the General Assembly.

242. My delegation takes great pleasure in welcoming the Republic of Zimbabwe to membership in the United Nations. The admission of Zimbabwe to our Organization is indeed a milestone in the history of our struggle against colonialism, racism and imperialism. We salute and pay a tribute to the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, who waged one of the longest and toughest struggles for the noble cause of independence. The story of their long struggle for independence will no doubt occupy a special place in the annals of history. The people of Zimbabwe, under the able leadership of their dynamic leader, His Excellency Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, deserve the assistance of the world community in preserving their independence and in reconstructing their country's economy. We pledge our friendship and support for this new nation.

243. The world economy is, by all forecasts, headed for disaster unless we promptly and boldly step in to

⁹See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Plenary Meetings, 24th meeting, paras. 7-30.*

take command of its destiny and to launch it on another, more secure, course. We are meeting at a time when the world economy is experiencing the most serious crisis since the depression of the 1930s, and there is every indication that the international economic situation is likely to get worse.

244. The fate of the world economy is, without a doubt, our fate, and what we do, or choose not to do, today will determine the fate of the world and of the generations of tomorrow. We shall not escape full responsibility for our actions or for our failure to act.

245. The 1970s will be remembered as the decade of social unrest, of serious economic uncertainty, of inequity and of instability, characterized by a slow pace of economic development and persistently high and rapidly rising rates of inflation. The 1970s will also be remembered as a decade of high and continually rising unemployment, of instability in the international monetary system, of prohibitive energy prices, of diversion of vast resources to the arms race, of structural disequilibrium among nations, of a general lack of political will to co-operate, of continually inadequate financial resources in developing countries, of reverse transfer of technology, as well as of mass illiteracy, poverty, hunger and malnutrition in most developing areas of the world, where some 800 million people—or about 40 per cent of the population of the developing countries—live in absolute poverty.

246. The 10 years following the launching of the Second United Nations Development Decade will also go down in history as the decade of great but lost opportunities. The decisions emanating from the numerous conferences we have held since then on problems of development have hardly been implemented. These include the recommendations of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, held respectively in 1974 and 1975. At those sessions, our Government stressed the realities of our interdependence and common destiny and recognized that this interdependence would only be attained through actions, and not by mere words.

247. Consequently, the General Assembly solemnly and unanimously adopted new guidelines and principles which would govern future economic relations among nations in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]. Such an order was to be based upon equity, justice, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and genuine co-operation among all nations. Six years have elapsed since the sixth special session of the Assembly was held and yet most of the decisions of the session still remain unimplemented.

248. The North-South talks ended in failure; so did the Conference on International Economic Co-operation held in Paris from 30 May to 2 June 1977. That failure prompted the General Assembly to establish, by its resolution 32/174 of 19 December 1977, a committee of the whole on global economic issues, which would assist the Assembly, *inter alia*, in overseeing and monitoring the implementation of the decisions and agreements reached in the negotiations on the establishment of the New International Economic Order. In the same resolution, the Assembly decided to convene a special session in 1980,

“... to assess the progress made in the various forums of the United Nations system in the establishment of the new international economic order and, on the basis of that assessment, to take appropriate

action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation, including the adoption of the new international development strategy for the 1980s”. [General Assembly resolution 32/174, para. 2.]

249. The Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 could not make any progress in the first year of its work, 1978, owing to the deep differences that existed between the industrialized countries and the developing nations of the Group of 77. Agreement could not be reached even on the mandate of the Committee, and when the Committee met in three sessions in 1979, only very limited progress was made. No real progress was made in such traditionally difficult areas as resource flows to developing countries, attainment of the agreed target of 500,000 tons of cereals of the International Food Reserve, industrial development of the developing countries, and resolution of the special problems of the special categories of least developed, land-locked, island and most seriously affected developing countries.

250. The developing countries did express serious concern at the slow progress made in the North-South dialogue and at the lack of political will on the part of most of the developed countries. We were, therefore, compelled to initiate, at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, the idea of a new round of global and sustained negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, which should include major issues in the fields of raw materials, energy, trade, development, and money and finance. These issues were subsequently put in the agenda of the Committee of the Whole which, under General Assembly resolution 34/139, was designated to act as the preparatory committee for the global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development.

251. Unfortunately, the progress of the negotiations on the agenda, procedures and time-table for the new round of global negotiations has been very disappointing. The three sessions of the Committee of the Whole held in 1980 failed to reach agreement on the proposals for the agenda, procedures and a time-frame for the global negotiations. The current grave crisis may result in an economic disaster for us all, unless the international climate improves. This forecast is reflected in all the competent studies on the current international economic situation, including the analytical report of the Secretary-General, submitted as document A/S-11/5 in accordance with General Assembly resolution 33/198 of 29 January 1979.

252. Also, after two years of concentrated study on the grave global economic and social problems facing the world community, the Brandt Commission¹⁰ has confirmed the findings of earlier economic studies and reports, namely, *inter alia*, that the developing countries are the victims of the world economic crisis; that the developed countries of the West and East should stop spending vast quantities of the world's resources on the arms race and instead use them more rationally for economic development, especially of the developing countries, and that the developing nations need massive transfers of resources to help them eradicate such evils

¹⁰See *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

as inflation, which originate largely in developed countries.

253. Energy is one of the most serious problems of this decade, even of this century. The economic situation of the developing nations has been made particularly gloomy because of the energy crisis, and will almost certainly remain so for some time to come. For the oil-importing developing countries like my own, the dilemma is threefold. First, the sharp increases in the prices of oil have prompted sharp increases in the prices of industrial goods imported by non-oil-producing developing countries, with the result that these countries have had to meet a very high import bill. Secondly, the implementation by the industrial countries of their stabilization policies has resulted in a sharp rise in nominal and real interest rates in world financial markets. Thirdly, the slowdown of economic activity in the industrial nations has led to a reduction in the demand for imports from the developing countries.

254. Kenya is one of the developing countries most seriously affected by the energy crisis, and it was one of the first countries to see the urgent and imperative need to shift the dependence of countries from petroleum to a greater reliance on alternative new and renewable sources of energy. It is our hope that the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, to be held in Nairobi in August 1981, will offer the world community a rare opportunity to find alternative solutions to our energy problems. My Government looks forward with enthusiasm to hosting that Conference and we wish the preparatory committee for the conference every success.

255. On international trade and raw materials, we should like to see a substantial increase in the developing countries' trade in manufactures. Furthermore, we seek differential and more favourable treatment in favour of the developing countries on a non-reciprocal basis, and the elimination of non-tariff barriers and other aspects of protectionism.

256. As for economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, Kenya calls on the developing countries to intensify their activities at the sub-regional, regional and inter-regional levels, and to undertake regular studies to expand trade and monetary co-operation among themselves. The developing nations should also increase their share in the trade in, and transport, marketing and distribution of, their primary commodities.

257. Economic and technical co-operation among developing countries is thus an important instrument which we in the developing nations should extensively utilize in our efforts to attain, advance and intensify co-operation and collective self-reliance among ourselves. Since, however, the Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries of 1978¹¹ assigned important roles to developed countries and also to international organizations in such co-operation, we also urge the countries of the North to provide financial and technical support to enable the countries of the South to realize their objectives of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries.

258. Rapid development, particularly in the developing countries, requires increased financial resources.

That is why the developing nations have constantly called for reform of the international monetary system and the early achievement of the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product for official development assistance. Resource transfers to developing nations should be made on an increasingly assured and continuous basis. The official development assistance transfers from the developed countries should be made known on a more regular basis. We therefore urge these countries to honour the political commitments which they make with regard to the transfer of resources in real terms to developing nations.

259. I wish now to turn to the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade. Representatives will recall that the First United Nations Development Decade had no world plan on the measures required to reach its goals. The Second United Nations Development Decade is over. Many of the policy measures of its Strategy have not been implemented. The task of preparing an international strategy for the 1980s has been fulfilled only partially. This Assembly still has the task of reaching agreement on the bracketed paragraphs in the documents before us for negotiation. The lack of political will so far demonstrated is, to say the least, regrettable.

260. It is essential that the strategy for the 1980s should secure substantial average annual growth in agricultural production for the developing countries. In order to improve life in the rural areas, it is necessary to have a higher rate of food and agricultural production, food security and storage, and a reduction of food losses. Problems of food and agricultural development therefore call for national and international action to achieve collective self-sufficiency in food. They also call for increased capital from external sources.

261. The primary objective of UNIDO is to accelerate the industrialization of the developing countries and to realize the objectives of the New International Economic Order. We welcome the progress made recently in the negotiations within the Industrial Development Board, as a follow-up to the decisions and recommendations of the Third General Conference of UNIDO held at New Delhi from 21 January to 9 February 1980. In particular, we note with appreciation the agreement and recognition at the Board's fourteenth session of the fact that Africa is the least developed of all developing regions and that, consequently, the General Assembly should proclaim the 1980s as the industrial development decade for Africa.¹² As the least developed region containing the largest number of least developed, landlocked and most seriously affected developing countries, Africa requires massive financial and technical support. We hope that donor countries, and the international community as a whole, will make substantial contributions towards the realization of the objectives of the decade for Africa.

262. Similarly, we call on donor countries and the international community to contribute substantially towards the realization of the needs of the continent in the field of transport and communications, as improvement of that system will enhance, among other things, intra-African trade and develop the rural areas of the African continent.

263. Science and technology are crucial elements for the achievement of the objectives of the third development decade. High priority must therefore be given to

¹¹See *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.

¹²See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 16, vol. II, annex I, resolution 52 (XIV)*.

the improvement of the capacity of the developing countries to make better use of science and technology for development. Indigenous scientific and technological planning, as an integral part of national planning, must be strengthened, especially in the developing countries, in order, *inter alia*, to help reduce the problem of brain-drain, create research centres in those countries and accelerate the process of their technological transformation and development.

264. Transnational corporations can play an important role in the establishment of the New International Economic Order. Given their capacity to mobilize financial resources and to deploy specialized technology and managerial know-how, transnational corporations occupy a crucial place in the economic interactions, not only between the developed and developing countries, but also among the developing countries themselves. The Brandt Commission's report, for example, states that the transnational corporations control between one fourth and one third of all world production. The transnational corporations are therefore at the very centre of discussions on structural changes necessary for more equitable sharing of economic benefits, as called for in the relevant General Assembly resolutions, including those of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly.

265. It is to be noted that the transnational corporations have not so far made much contribution towards the establishment of the New International Economic Order. The role of transnational corporations in money and finance, industrialization, trade and transfer of technology must be geared more to the development goals and objectives of the developing countries than has been the case in the past.

266. The full potential of the contributions that transnational corporations can make in the future to developing countries, as we see it, will significantly be enhanced by the conclusion and early adoption of a code of conduct currently being formulated by an Intergovernmental Working Group of the Commission on Transnational Corporations. In this respect, we wish to urge that all Member States represented in the Intergovernmental Working Group on a Code of Conduct for Transnational Corporations should show more political will in the future so that the code may be finalized by early next year. As indicated in draft resolution II on the assessment of the activities of transnational corporations, adopted by the sixth session of the Commission on Transnational Corporations,¹³ the code should, *inter alia*, reflect the principle of respect by the transnational corporations of national sovereignty, laws and regulations of the countries in which they operate, as well as the policies of these countries and the right of States to regulate and monitor the activities of transnational corporations, in order to enhance their positive contribution and eliminate their negative effect where these exist.

267. The transnational corporations which operate in South Africa and Namibia, thereby strengthening the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, must be called upon once again to stop their collaboration. Of the gravest concern to Africa is the collaboration of certain transnational corporations with the South African régime in the nuclear field, which creates a threat not only to the African continent but also to international peace and security.

268. In order to eliminate peacefully the policies of *apartheid*, which all countries gathered here have condemned, my delegation wishes to reiterate the call that the home countries of transnational corporations take urgent and immediate measures against their transnational corporations operating in South Africa and Namibia, if further bloodshed is to be avoided. It is in this context that Kenya supports the inclusion of a clause on the non-collaboration of transnational corporations with the South African régime in the code of conduct currently being drawn up for the transnational corporations.

269. We cannot stress strongly enough the need to pay greater attention to the four special categories of States recognized by the United Nations. These include the most seriously affected developing countries, like my own, Kenya. We urge the international community and countries in a position to do so to take measures to help these countries overcome their grave and urgent problems.

270. My delegation would like to convey its gratitude to the members of the Committee of the Whole and the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy, and in particular to their respective Chairmen, for their tireless efforts in producing the papers which are before this session.

271. An examination of these documents will reveal that the main points of disagreement in the global round are identical to the differences in the new strategy. We hope, however, that negotiations on these differences will be conducted frankly and in a warm and constructive spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding.

272. In conclusion, I wish to stress the importance that my delegation attaches to the launching at this eleventh special session of the General Assembly of the new development strategy and the new round of global negotiations. We believe that failure to do so will result in disastrous consequences for the 1980s and beyond and for all of us.

273. We have confidence in the ability of this session to come up with a more effective development strategy for the 1980s than that designed for the 1970s. Knowing what is at stake, we owe it to posterity to make a success of this session.

274. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the Albanian delegation is very happy that the work of the present session is taking place under your competent guidance and would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you and wish you every success in the discharge of your task.

275. My delegation warmly welcomes the admission of the friendly Republic of Zimbabwe to membership in the United Nations. That event is the result of a victory won by the heroic people of Zimbabwe after many years of resolute struggle against the racist régime and the colonialist policy of the imperialist Powers. We should like to express to the delegation of Zimbabwe the congratulations of our people, which has always followed with sympathy and firmly supported the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for freedom and national independence.

276. This eleventh special session of the General Assembly is meeting to examine once again the problems of economic development and the international economic and trade relations that are of concern to most countries of the world.

277. The sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly served to highlight the great injustices committed in international trade and economic relations

¹³See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 10 (E/1980/40/Rev.1-E/C.10/75)*.

by the capitalist and revisionist industrialized States at the expense of the developing countries. The decisions taken at those sessions reflect to a certain extent the legitimate concerns and just demands of many sovereign peoples and States aspiring to free and independent development, to economic and social progress and opposing imperialist intervention, oppression, exploitation and pillage.

278. During the period that has elapsed since those sessions, further documents have been adopted, both by the General Assembly and by other United Nations bodies. But thus far their results have been extremely disappointing. No progress, not even any symbolic progress, has been accomplished to implement the promises made and the decisions taken. On the contrary, the situation has remained as it was, or become even worse. The capitalist countries have grown even richer and the poor countries have become even poorer. The inequality in international economic relations has become further accentuated, the trade barriers and the tariffs imposed on the products from developing countries have increased even more, the disproportion between the prices of raw materials and those of manufactured goods has increased and the developing countries are finding more and more obstacles in the way of selling their products on the markets of the industrialized countries.

279. In the field of industrial development, the great inequality between the advanced industrial countries and the developing countries has become ever more accentuated. The super-Powers and the other imperialist Powers have exerted and continue to exert every effort to resolve their difficulties at the expense of other countries. The present crisis in the capitalist system is making its full weight felt in the poor countries, where 70 per cent of the world's population lives, where more than a billion people do not possess the necessary minimum for survival. In these countries, the *per capita* income is one 38th of the average *per capita* income of the 10 main capitalist countries. The "assistance" that these Powers claim to accord to developing countries does not even amount to 0.33 per cent of their gross national product, at a time when they are deriving super-profits from their investments in these countries that are sometimes 10 times as great.

280. The imperialist Powers, through loans, credits and the so-called transfer of technology, have exported crisis and inflation to countries with under-developed economies. The result is that the external debt of these countries has increased at a fantastic rate. Whereas in 1955 that debt was \$8.5 billion, by 1977 it had grown to \$150 billion and it is now \$400 billion.

281. The great imperialist and capitalist Powers are aggravating the economic situation in other countries by imposing on them all sorts of extremely onerous expenditures for armaments. The arms race, apart from the danger it represents for world peace and stability, also presents another great danger. It is absorbing a large share of the social product of countries that are involved in this maelstrom. Expenditures on armaments make up a considerable part of the indebtedness of developing countries to the imperialist Powers which traffic in arms.

282. The grave situation and the many economic difficulties that exist today in a number of countries throughout the world are connected with the expansionist, hegemonist and neo-colonialist policy pursued by the great imperialist and capitalist Powers. To implement that policy, those Powers, notwithstanding their

conflicts and rivalries, are striving to arrive at agreements and compromises among themselves to create aggressive axes and alliances, to rally the reactionary forces round them so as to stifle the efforts of peoples to break the chains of neo-colonialism, and thus to keep them under their domination as long as possible.

283. In one way or another, every country is confronted by and clashes with the policy of *diktat*, hegemony and expansion of the super-Powers and the other imperialist Powers. The pressures, interventions and the economic, political and military blockades entered into by the United States of America and its allies against Iran in order to crush the anti-imperialist Iranian revolution, the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, which is striving to ensure its neo-colonialist and strategic positions in that country, and the efforts of the Chinese social imperialists to create their own zones of influence and expansion in their turn are the most recent examples that testify to the dangers that threaten other peoples and other countries.

284. In order to justify their underhand expansionist manoeuvring, their neo-colonialist policy of intervention and economic domination in countries and entire regions of the world, the imperialist Powers, the great monopolies and the transnational corporations are propagating a plethora of reactionary theories and doctrines. They are trying to spread the dangerous psychosis of fear that no State in the world can live and develop without credits and financial assistance from the metropolitan countries. Behind this imperialist conception lurks the design of breaking the will of various peoples and countries and undermining their confidence in their ability to make progress and develop independently, and of stifling any patriotic and revolutionary spirit opposing the policy of expansion and hegemonism practised by American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, Chinese social imperialism, and other imperialist forces. The neo-colonialists are striving to pass off the exporting of capital—whether in the form of direct investments, credits or various kinds of services—as a work of charity, an act of generosity, aimed at promoting the emancipation of peoples, eliminating world poverty, creating equality between peoples, establishing peace, staving off wars and so on.

285. But the present world reality shows that the contrary is true, that imperialist assistance and credits, whatever their form, represent one of the most widespread and usual ways of oppressing and exploiting peoples. As to the results brought about by these credits and this assistance from the major international capitalists, they can be seen in the situation prevailing in most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are being steadily impoverished. The fact is that, the more the credits and the assistance accorded to other countries by international capital monopolies increases, the more those countries are plundered and exploited, the more they suffer, and the bleaker become their prospects. While at the beginning of the 1950s, when the developing countries began receiving credits from capitalist countries, the *per capita* income of the developing countries was one tenth that of the creditor countries, it is now one fourteenth. After the Second World War, the imperialist States gave to other countries tens of billions of dollars in credits and loans, but the profits they have reaped from that amount to hundreds of billions. In practical terms, these credits and loans have served not to promote the development of the borrowing countries but to make more profits for the lenders. There are now many countries whose payments of interest on past loans and credits amount to more than the

new loans and credits they receive. In practice, these countries have become perpetual debtors.

286. The Soviet social imperialists are also making great efforts to strengthen and consolidate the imperialist system of loans, credits and assistance. They advertise the credits and loans that the Soviet Union grants to other countries as a "new form of the international division of labour", which is supposed to be characterized by mutual advantage, aimed at levelling off disparities in economic development and so on. But these propaganda fairy tales cannot stand up against reality. The fact is that the Soviet Union is conducting all its "activities" not only in the same manner as the United States of America and the other imperialist Powers but also on the basis of the same imperialist laws and practices as now govern this kind of relationship.

287. The positions and the ideas propagated nowadays by China are just as reactionary. Peking claims that the loans and credits being granted by imperialists not only help to "build socialism in China" but also serve to develop the national economies of developing countries, strengthen their political stability and so on. Their aim is actively to assist the American imperialists to maintain the bases of their domination throughout the world.

288. The representatives of big money throughout the world and all the apologists of neo-colonialism also talk about the need for change in existing international economic relations and feign concern about the future of the world. Their aim is to hold back the awakening of the national consciousness of the peoples in poor countries and restrain their mounting anger and their revolt against imperialist exploitation and plunder. They want to stifle that revolt by spreading illusions and the utopian idea that, under the new "international economic order", about which everyone has his own ideas, the interests of the developing and poor countries could be harmonized with those of the imperialist Powers, thus establishing a "community with common interests". And what do they recommend? They recommend to peoples the path of submission to the developed capitalist countries and to their transnational corporations, the path of concessions, compromise and increased dependence vis-à-vis those Powers, and they advise them to take their places in the machinery of economic integration and in the forms of the neo-colonialist division of labour. One can see the same illusions being spread intentionally in the hollow assertions according to which the great imperialist and capitalist Powers would like to restructure and reform some of the international institutions created by the imperialists, such as GATT, IMF, the World Bank and so on. It is clear that we are faced here with attempts to prolong the existence of neo-colonialism and to continue the oppression, exploitation and plunder of other countries and peoples.

289. What "new economic order" can there be, what respect can there be for the sovereign rights of peoples, when the super-Powers and the other imperialist Powers are intensifying their policy of war and aggression, when their economic aggression has assumed unprecedented proportions in all regions of the world, and when they add their savage neo-colonialist practices to the past relations of economic dependence and submission? What kind of new economic order is this, when we see the United States and its allies indulging in such barbarous actions as the economic, political and military blockade against Iran? Are they supposed to be doing this in order to contribute to the progress and development of that country? The United States has resorted to

an embargo and blocked all Iranian assets deposited in its banks because it saw that the interests of the American imperialists were being affected because the Iranian people had decided to stop the imperialist plundering and to become master of its own wealth.

290. The Albanian people, which has suffered a great deal from the interventions and pressuring of the big imperialist Powers, understands perfectly the concern of the peoples of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in view of the grave economic situation they are facing; and it understands the aspirations of those peoples to free and independent economic development. Now we know that a country's political independence and economic independence are indivisible and that one cannot exist without the other. Economic independence is of vital importance for every country. It is the basis of national sovereignty, freedom and full independence. Some might say that under these conditions, a small and poor country stands very little chance of speedily attaining economic independence. To be sure, in such cases difficulties abound but they are not insurmountable. The struggle to secure economic independence is a long and arduous struggle, especially for small countries, and that kind of struggle cannot be waged without encountering difficulties, without having to overcome obstacles and without making sacrifices. What is important is that a country that wishes to achieve political independence should strive resolutely to attain that goal, believe in the strength of its people and do its utmost to bring about the development of its economy, pulling itself up by its own bootstraps.

291. Since it won its freedom and independence, the Albanian people has had to wage a resolute struggle and exert great incessant efforts to secure a free and independent and economic development. At the beginning, the situation was difficult because of the great backwardness inherited from the past and the devastation of the Second World War.

292. But from the very start, the power of the people made it possible to establish a just economic policy designed to mobilize all internal material and human resources in order to strengthen and consolidate the independence that had been won and to lay the bases of a completely independent economy capable of walking on its own feet. Nationalization, the exclusive control by the State of foreign trade, the barrier set up against all forms of penetration by foreign capital and all forms of control by it: those were the first important revolutionary measures, and they became the powerful basis of our economic revival. Thus, our economy was able from the very outset to satisfy the needs of its own subsequent development, as well as the need to raise the standard of living and to enhance further the cultural and social development of the people.

293. During the years of the building of socialism, Albania has succeeded in setting up an advanced industry on a powerful technological basis, an industry capable of satisfying a large part of the country's needs in machinery and spare parts. In Albania, which was formerly an agrarian country where feudal relationships predominated, we have now established an advanced socialist agriculture which satisfies the needs of the people in bread, cereals and other vegetable and animal products and which has greatly strengthened the country's independence.

294. The policy of the industrialization of the country, of collectivization of agriculture, and of electrification, the training of cadres and specialists: all this has been very healthy for our country because it has ensured the development of an independent, dynamic economy

guaranteeing the basis of its future development, without any need for external economic assistance of any kind. Albania, relying on its own forces, is today able to maintain its high economic and cultural growth rates, constantly to raise the standard of living of the people, and to guarantee its defence capabilities in all circumstances. The next five-year plan—1981 to 1985—envisages a growth in industrial production and agricultural production by, respectively, 40 to 42 per cent and 41 per cent. We are convinced that any country, however small and underdeveloped, has every possibility of achieving its independent development and economic progress if it establishes complete national sovereignty over the riches of the country, if it mobilizes all the internal material and human energies for the benefit of the country and the people, and if it stops any form of foreign intervention in and control of its economy or any other field.

295. The apologists for neo-colonialism, the theoreticians of "interdependence", call the pursuit of such an independent political policy "autarky", for they can conceive of small countries only as dependent and dominated by the big imperialist Powers. We have not been and we are not in favour of autarky, and we are deeply convinced that no economy can develop and progress without economic trade with other countries. But that trade must not jeopardize sovereignty and independence, or impede each country's economic development.

296. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is in favour of economic and trade exchanges with other countries, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, and is against practices that would make one economy the appendage or the open market of another. It is in favour of economic and trade ties and exchanges that are free of political conditions or any kind of pressure or *diktat*.

297. It is not autarky to refuse credits or loans from the imperialist Powers, when they are always accompanied by heavy economic, political and military conditions that seriously jeopardize the sovereignty, freedom and national independence of countries to which they are granted. It is not autarky to refuse to get caught in the machinery of the neo-colonialist co-operation and specialization of imperialism and social imperialism—a structure designed to increase the developing countries' dependence on the industrialized metropolitan countries.

298. Imperialism, social imperialism and big international capital are striving to preserve and strengthen the forms and institutions of plunder and exploitation established during the former colonial period, by adapting them to neo-colonialism. They go so far as even to make warlike threats against the peoples and the countries that want to establish their sovereignty over their own national resources, that are struggling for justice and equality in world relationships and trade, that seek to develop their economy independently. But the situation in the world has now changed. The peoples are now aware of what is happening. Their revolt has burst forth everywhere. The imperialist Powers can no longer act as they did in the past. Their policy of expansionism and hegemonism is meeting everywhere with the resistance of the peoples.

299. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has said that

"Economic decolonization is now the order of the day, and nothing can stop this new revolutionary process that has appeared on the world scene. The

peoples have the undeniable right to establish full sovereignty over their natural resources, and to nationalize them. Nothing will stop the attainment of that goal, however long and dogged the resistance and counterattacks of the imperialists and other exploiters may be. Nothing can stop the struggle of the peoples for equality in international trade and for the use of the income from the sale of their raw materials for the development of their industry and culture, for the improvement of their living conditions."

300. The Albanian people has supported and will continue to support the aspiration of the peoples to be free and independent of the super-Powers and the other imperialist Powers. It supports the peoples' demands and efforts to establish their sovereignty over their natural resources, as well as all other initiatives designed to strengthen their independence and ensure their progress. We believe that the struggle of the peoples for their political and economic independence, against imperialism and its neo-colonialist system, against the multinational corporations and any foreign intervention, will be crowned by victory.

301. Mr. AZEVEDO COUTINHO (Portugal):¹⁴ Sir, I am particularly pleased to extend to you the congratulations of the Portuguese delegation on your election to the presidency of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. Your great ability as well as your wide diplomatic and political experience have won you the respect and the admiration of us all, and we believe that these qualities will be put to good use both in the conduct of the work of the General Assembly and in reaching the targets that have been set for this special session.

302. We feel that positive results can indeed be achieved during the current session as long as there is a willingness to engage in fruitful dialogue and to make concessions if the need arises. That has been the path followed in recent years by the Portuguese delegation, and it constitutes, in our view, the best possible attitude to be adopted in the present context. We have not spared any efforts, even in various political situations—as, for instance, during our recent term of office in the presidency of the Security Council—in the search for a conciliatory platform which suits both our condition as a Euro-Atlantic country and the role Portugal has historically played in the past.

303. Recently we had the honour and privilege, together with other members of the Security Council, of proposing to this special session of the General Assembly the admission of Zimbabwe as the 153rd Member of the United Nations, thereby closing another chapter in the long history of decolonization and the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence.

304. We are pleased to see Zimbabwe join the community of nations, and we feel confident that it will make a positive contribution to the cause of peace and justice in the world, one of the fundamental aims of this Organization. I should therefore like to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a tribute to the people of Zimbabwe and to its leaders, to whom we address a fraternal salute in the name of the Government and people of Portugal.

305. History has always judged countries and peoples by their standards and the values they have adopted both in war and in peace. The very remarkable and courageous way in which the leaders and the people of Zimbabwe first acceded to independence and later

¹⁴Mr. Azevedo Coutinho spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

addressed themselves to the tasks that lay ahead of them in a spirit of mutual understanding and reconciliation is in itself noteworthy, and we feel that it is the duty of the international community to give them all the support they need for the national reconstruction of their country.

306. This special session is taking place at a time when the seriousness of the problems facing mankind cannot remain unnoticed by anyone, especially not by those in positions of leadership, who have the duty and the responsibility to face them and to act with a view to solving them.

307. The hunger that still affects so many human beings, the diseases that continue to afflict them, the malnutrition that attacks countless innocent victims, the widespread and severe deficiencies in the areas of housing, employment, basic sanitation, education and economic development, all continue to spread their shadow over vast sections of mankind and constitute challenges that must be faced by our generation. Their resolution or non-resolution will determine how we are to be judged by generations to come.

308. The crisis, which in the 1970s affected even the most prosperous sectors of the world community with the unhappy phenomenon of inflation, unemployment, social and political unrest, and, above all, uncertainty about the future, constitutes another troublesome aspect of the international situation. Its deep and far-reaching nature has had a negative effect upon the efforts made to resolve the most urgent problems affecting us.

309. The tensions that persist in so many areas of the world, the lack of political liberty experienced by such a large portion of mankind, the misunderstandings and suspicions, the arms race, the grave international crisis, rivalries and even wars are yet other factors that impede the enjoyment by all peoples of their inalienable right to progress and security.

310. These are all enormous challenges to those who in these troubled times assume the responsibilities of power and leadership. In fact, if the situation confronting us today is not encouraging, prospects for the future will be even dimmer unless the international community is able to halt its present drift and to take decisive steps on the road to co-operation and development. Only a pooling of efforts in which all participate, regardless of the differences in our individual stages of economic and social development or in the political systems which guide us, will lead to the true peace in progress and solidarity to which mankind aspires.

311. In this context of co-operation, which can be viable only if it is universal, and for which political will is the decisive factor, the United Nations has an important role, part of which it has played in its efforts over the decades to resolve deeply unjust and shocking disparities and to create an international economic order that is more equitable and in keeping with the primacy of human dignity.

312. We therefore call for all countries to overcome their existing differences, which were so clearly expressed in the preparatory meetings for this special session, and to adopt policies of understanding which will permit the achievement of consensus and the definition of common goals.

313. Because of its importance for the process of co-operation and development, we should like first of all to refer to the international development strategy for the present decade. The outlook for its adoption is promising, although we feel that certain objectives will probably be difficult to carry out. Without calling into ques-

tion the necessity of bridging as soon as possible the gulf that separates the developing from the developed countries, we do believe that the current world economic situation will not allow for the achievement of excessively ambitious growth rates. It seems worthwhile to emphasize, nevertheless, that this fact should not exempt all those countries that are able to do so from contributing directly towards the creation of greater equity and justice in the international community.

314. We are particularly sensitive to the proposed goals in the sectors of food, assistance to the least developed countries, and social development. As far as the first two are concerned, we recognize the anguishing situation faced by certain countries and the necessity for the international community to make effective efforts to reduce and eliminate hunger in the world as well as to promote a series of immediate and intensive global measures for the benefit of the least developed countries, whose levels of development are truly shocking for our era.

315. For us the importance of social development goals stems from the fact that we believe them to be indispensable to a process of integrated development. In this area, Portugal has pursued efforts at co-operation with developing countries primarily in the sectors of education and public health, without, however, neglecting those areas in which we have a special vocation, as, for example, that of technical assistance, and which are a particularly valid choice given our own intermediate stage of development.

316. The probable consensus that will be reached with respect to the basic principles of the strategy will be useful and productive only if the negotiations under way between the developed and the developing countries are successful. Therein lies the fundamental importance of the global negotiations, for they are the underpinnings of the North-South dialogue, and on their success depends the implementation of the principles and objectives established in the strategy.

317. We are in favour of an open and responsible debate on the theme of energy, which we consider to be essential for the development process, be it at the level of reducing consumption, at that of exploration for alternative sources, or even at that of the supply and pricing of natural resources.

318. The donor countries must promote increases in the volume of resource transfers—that is, of official development assistance and of the recycling of financial surpluses to the developing countries, favouring the least developed in particular. Correspondingly, the latter should respond with a progressive rationalization of their economic and social systems so as to enable them adequately to absorb the assistance rendered to them.

319. It seems to us that the progress that we hope will be achieved in the launching of the global negotiations and during the process depends on two factors: the first, ambition, and the second, realism in the treatment of the aims to be accomplished.

320. If, on the one hand, the demands of the developing countries deserve better understanding on our part—for, indeed, some arise from situations that we ourselves also face—on the other hand, we feel that the international economic crisis hampers a fully satisfactory resolution of these matters. This fact, however, must not impede an increasingly greater participation by the international community in the process of co-operation for development. For this, true political will is indispensable and must be shown by the industrialized

countries, market economies and centralized economies alike, and by the developing countries for which this is possible.

321. While the countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development have undoubtedly already given concrete proof of their political will, the centralized economy nations have so far avoided fully facing their global obligations as industrialized States. Indeed, with respect to the problems of the least developed countries, their past record has been extremely poor given their true capabilities.

322. In addition to that aspect we should like also to emphasize that the dichotomy to which some would reduce the North-South dialogue—that of developed countries versus developing countries—is not helpful to the resolution of the impasse that we now face. In fact, the international community cannot be artificially divided only into those two large groups. Portugal, which, although a candidate for membership in the European Economic Community, is still in an intermediate stage of development, feels this situation most keenly, given its position as a country that is simultaneously a beneficiary and a donor of co-operation and assistance.

323. Just as there are sometimes tremendous differences in the wealth and levels of development of developed countries—not to mention the profound diversities in their economic and social systems—there are also considerable divergencies, whether in the area of resources, sources of income, or even levels of economic or technological achievement, between the developing countries.

324. From this circumstance derive two consequences: the first, that those countries which have the necessary capabilities must recognize their obligation to participate in general efforts to assist the less favoured; the second, that those most seriously affected by the absence of natural resources or by factors related to geographical disadvantage have an increased right to benefit on a priority basis from the attention and co-operation of the international community. Only thus will they be able successfully to carry out their own necessary efforts to overcome their present difficulties.

325. Man is the ultimate objective of all progress. The most elementary notion of dignity must allow all men, women and children the right to enjoy the minimum benefits inherent in their human condition. It is for this reason that all material progress and all measures aimed at the achievement of justice on earth must be accompanied by wide-ranging efforts in the social, educational and political fields which will enhance man's dignity. Only thus will material progress take on its true dimension and meaning.

326. The Portuguese Government hopes that all States, large and small, rich and poor, developed or developing, will overcome the differences that sometimes divide them and behave as true members of the international community—in the realm of principles as well as that of actions—so that we may achieve a new and more just international order, guaranteeing a legacy of true peace and economic and social progress to future generations.

327. Mr. AL-LAMKI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is no mere coincidence that you are occupying your present post, for you fully demonstrated your great abilities in directing the work of this Organization during its thirty-fourth session. You are now crowning your career by successfully presiding over the discussions and deliberations in one of

the most important undertakings of the General Assembly and over three of its most important special sessions, all concerned with human destiny and the preservation of human rights. In congratulating you, I also rejoice that my country, which belongs to the third world, is a developing country and, like your country, is a member of the Group of 77.

328. We have inaugurated the work of this special session by fulfilling one of the most sublime objectives of this Organization—namely, the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe to membership of the Organization. I avail myself of this opportunity to convey the congratulations of my country, the Sultanate of Oman, to the valiant people of Zimbabwe and to express our appreciation to His Excellency Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, who has proved to the world that through hard work, patience and perseverance it is possible to achieve the impossible and to bring about what seems to be unfeasible. Zimbabwe's admission to United Nations membership at this of all special sessions signifies that there is a dire need to exert every possible effort to achieve the purposes for which this session was convened.

329. The world is witnessing a constant tug-of-war between the poor and the rich, the needy and the self-sufficient. A wide gap separates the industrialized producer North and the vulnerable consumer South, as it does the developing and the least developed countries. The economic disparities are increasing day by day, and famine is rampant in various parts of our third world, which suffers from a high mortality rate among those of its youth who are lucky enough to have survived infancy.

330. We are on the brink of a terrible human catastrophe, the repercussions of which have touched us all; hence the decision to hold this special session. My country hopes that every effort will be exerted to achieve our objectives, so as to substitute hope for suffering in the world, and smiles for tears.

331. That is the picture which emerges when we review the international economic situation, particularly that in the developing countries. The picture is certainly gloomy and we cannot remain impassive, particularly when we live in a world where our interests are interrelated and our borders contiguous, so much so that no single country or group of countries can live in isolation from the disruptions and disturbances taking place in any part of the world or can afford to remain indifferent to them.

332. The concept of establishing a new international economic order stemmed originally from the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973; it has since been supported by the United Nations General Assembly during its two special sessions held in 1974 and 1975.

333. In its resolution 34/138 the General Assembly emphasized “the imperative need to establish a new system of international economic relations based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit”. It also stressed the need for “bold initiatives” and “new, concrete, comprehensive and global solutions going beyond limited efforts and measures intended to resolve only the present economic difficulties”. The General Assembly also urged “the restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of principles of justice and equality in order to provide for steady economic development, with due regard to the development potential of developing countries”.

334. The world at large is watching us today as we assume one of the most important tasks entrusted to us in order to provide solutions to these problems, as called for by General Assembly resolution 34/207—namely, “to assess the progress made in the establishment of the new international economic order”, through the adoption of

“appropriate action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation, including . . . the adoption of the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade and for the launching of global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development”.

335. The General Assembly, in its resolution 34/138, decided to initiate at this session a round of global and continuous negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, with the understanding that these negotiations would indeed be comprehensive.

336. The General Assembly further decided that these negotiations should take place within the framework of the United Nations with the participation of all countries and also within a specific time-frame. The main issues to be considered were also determined, and these were raw materials, energy, trade, development, and money and finance. The Assembly emphasized too that these negotiations were to contribute to the implementation of the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade and also to the solution of international economic problems as part of the restructuring of international economic relations. They were also to contribute to steady world economic development, in particular of the developing countries.

337. My country, like other developing countries, is aware of the growing importance of the establishment of a new international economic order. Therefore it fully supports the positions and endeavours of the Group of 77—to which it belongs—particularly as regards the draft agenda of the global negotiations, which should concentrate on raw materials, energy, trade, development, and money and finance. My country also supports the positions of the Group of 77 as regards the procedures and time-frame of the global negotiations, and we insist on the need for these negotiations to take place within the United Nations framework, with the participation of all countries and on a high political level. My country is of the view that the special session of the General Assembly should call for a United Nations conference to serve as a forum for negotiations, with a view to ensuring an integrated and coherent approach to all the issues under consideration.

338. Considering the fact that the issues to be tackled by the United Nations conference are important issues which will brook no delay and that they involve problems that have an adverse effect on the economies of developing countries, the conference should start its work as soon as possible and should, indeed, be concluded before the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

339. This special session is also called upon to take measures which will lead to the adoption of a new international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade, as provided for by General Assembly resolutions 34/207 and 33/193. Those resolutions reaffirm that the new international development strategy should be designed to promote the development of developing countries and should be formulated within the framework of the new international economic order.

340. The international community has agreed that this strategy should have as its objective the accomplishment of far-reaching changes in the structure of world production of developing countries and enable their agricultural exports to reach international markets on a more remunerative basis.

341. We should not be disappointed about what we have been unable to achieve during the past two decades, but should work very seriously at this special session in order to lay down the proper foundations for the third development decade. Efforts have been made to find out the truth about world conditions and the causes of the deterioration in economic conditions and human relations. The results have been analysed by researchers, and they have described the situation as catastrophic. It will indeed be a grave catastrophe if we come to the end of the work of this session without drawing up guidelines for the proper tasks to be achieved and setting forth practical principles and radical solutions to the problems in international economic relations, which have caused numerous wars and great destruction and calamities.

342. The objectives to be sought by the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade are one of the most important topics for the developing countries, among them my country, a topic which deserves great attention. Therefore, my delegation would like to emphasize the importance of undertaking at this session the drafting of a new international development strategy that will be comprehensive and will provide for concerted measures in all sectors of development. We also stress the need for this strategy to be adopted during the current session.

343. In spite of the fact that there are still some differences concerning matters relating to the strategy, the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy was able to achieve considerable progress, which augurs well for the future, particularly if we are able to create an atmosphere in which it will be possible to conduct purposeful negotiations which will lead to agreements making the strategy an effective instrument for establishing the new international economic order in keeping with the challenge in the area of development which faces us in the third development decade.

344. The suffering of humanity in the southern hemisphere of our planet is indeed severe, and we are called upon today more than ever before to reaffirm man's confidence in the United Nations. We must therefore work seriously and genuinely to realize the aspirations of humanity for a brighter future, characterized by more just economic relations and by the prevalence of peace. If political will is the motive force behind all great accomplishments, this will must today be commensurate with the aspirations of humanity.

345. The Sultanate of Oman appeals to the international community at this special session to make additional efforts to attain the objectives for which we have met and to safeguard the principles of the United Nations by preserving the independence of peoples and building a society in which justice and equality prevail, a society devoid of hatred, domination and the imposition of political, economic or ideological influences and by establishing lasting world peace. Therefore, the negotiations should be conducted and the strategy planned with a great sense of responsibility.

346. Mr. NGARUKIYINTWALI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Rwanda is pleased to avail itself of this opportunity once again to

express to you, Mr. President, its congratulations on the manner in which you are performing your important and arduous tasks. The ability, dignity and dedication that you displayed in conducting the work of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly are, we feel, additional guarantees for the success of the present special session.

347. My delegation is happy too to welcome the arrival of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the United Nations. This is the time for us to express Rwanda's desire to co-operate very closely with that new Member State, whose victory over the retrograde forces of colonialism represents a very important stage in the process of the total liberation of the African continent.

348. This special session of the General Assembly assumes great importance because it is a part of the long process of negotiations between countries with very different levels of development with a view to establishing world relations that will constitute a new international economic order, bearing in mind the aspirations of every people to full economic development and to higher levels of socio-cultural well-being through the optimal utilization of natural and human resources. The establishment of this new machinery presupposes that the entire international community will agree to a code of conduct for international economic relations which will forever do away with self-centredness on the part of States and the exploitation of the overwhelming majority of the world's population by a small minority of countries with a developed economy.

349. Unfortunately, we must note that international meetings convened during the last two decades have not led to a consensus along those lines. However, we are pleased to note that a spirit of conciliation has gradually taken root in the international policies of States, fortunately replacing the scarcely disguised state of confrontation which seemed about to prevail in both the spirit and the form of international relations, for the notion of a North-South dialogue was not then understood and, if there was any dialogue, unfortunately, it was merely a dialogue of the deaf. Most fortunately, the respective positions of countries have changed and we can welcome what has been accomplished. Certain progressive developments have taken place, such as the adoption by the international community of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI)*], and the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States [*General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

350. However, in order to be meaningful for the developing countries, those documents must be translated into action. A new economic order is not an abstract concept. For us, a country seeking the means for development, it must mean in particular a just and equitable remuneration for the work done by our working people, beginning with our farmers. This means that the fruit of their productive efforts must be equitably distributed, which implies that international trade must be improved, and governed by a code of commerce in which any attempt at exploitation would be prohibited. Here we touch upon the vital necessity of arriving rapidly at an international agreement designed to halt the continuous deterioration of the terms of trade and concomitantly to ensure stabilized prices for commodities. Accordingly, my delegation hopes that the conscience of the international community will rapidly overcome the hesitation and even the opposition shown by certain partners, which have thus far prevented the functioning of the Common Fund for the financing of

buffer stocks for raw materials as well as that of the Integrated Programme for Commodities.

351. We wish also to stress the need to find a solution to the vexed question of the indebtedness of developing countries. Feelings of international solidarity should encourage the developed countries to relinquish their claims to reimbursement, or at least to reduce them considerably, while proceeding to revise the terms of debt reimbursement, thus rendering them more manageable within the budgets of the developing countries.

352. The Government of Rwanda welcomes the position taken by a number of industrialized countries, which have relinquished their claims or considerably lessened the debt burden. It expresses its deep gratitude to the friendly countries that have taken such measures with respect to Rwanda and hopes that this example will be followed for the benefit of all developing countries.

353. My delegation feels, however, that it is even more important to ensure the industrialization of developing countries in order to remedy the dramatic situation which today divides the world into two blocs: on the one hand, the developed countries which export manufactures and, on the other, the developing countries which export primary products whose prices are subject to the fluctuations of the international raw-material markets.

354. Thus, the Republic of Rwanda wishes to address an appeal to countries to ensure that the industrialization of the developing countries should no longer be considered as a form of competition which must at all costs be avoided. The industrialized countries in particular should henceforth once and for all be convinced that it is in their own interest to deal with economically strong partners rather than with countries that are weakened by hunger.

355. That is why it has become urgent for those who today have a monopoly over capital and technology to facilitate their transfer, without the indebtedness of the third world, which is already a cause of great concern, having to increase in consequence.

356. We express that wish, so that confrontation may give way to concerted action and co-operation among men and countries which differ in terms of their level of development and the political system which they have freely chosen, but which are very fortunately complementary and essentially equal. In expressing this desire, the Government of Rwanda is reflecting the ideals of its National Revolutionary Movement for Development which considers peaceful coexistence, co-operation and respect for the sovereignty of each nation to be a fundamental rule of relations among nations.

357. The Government of Rwanda hopes that the present special session will conclude with progress towards greater economic justice, without which the establishment of a new international economic order can only be an illusion followed by bitter disappointment for the peoples that have placed their hope in the ability of our Organization to find an equitable solution to the most scandalous imbalances that characterize the unfortunate structural dualism of the world economy.

358. Fortunately, the recent developments in negotiations at the regional level between some developed countries and the third world are a cause for optimism. If such examples were followed by all developed countries, the best interests of all would thereby be served and the international community might enter an era of true peace—because there can be no peace without a radical change in the existing situation in international relations.

359. It is thanks to such measures that the establishment of a new international economic order, which the Republic of Rwanda so ardently desires, can emerge from the realm of rhetoric and become an everyday reality in inter-State relations.

360. It is clear that goodwill alone will not be enough. Developing countries must rely first upon their own efforts, because economic and socio-cultural development is, above all, their own business. Aid from the international community can only be supplementary in character. This is the principle underlying the policy of the Republic of Rwanda in the domain of international co-operation. Indeed, while recognizing that aid from the international community will long remain necessary for our development, the people of Rwanda are aware that our country will be developed only by the efforts of its own sons and daughters, external aid merely being supportive and supplementary in nature.

361. We are pleased to note that the principle of progress towards self-sufficiency is now accepted as an obvious truth by all developing countries. It is in line with such thinking that Africa has now adopted the Lagos Plan of Action which is essentially based on the principle that I have just described and whose foundation is the Declaration of Commitment on Guidelines and Measures for National and Collective Self-Reliance in Social and Economic Development for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted at the sixteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held at Monrovia, Liberia, in July 1979. In that Declaration, the Heads of State of African countries undertook, *inter alia*, to promote economic and social development and the integration of our economies, with a view to enhancing self-reliance and encouraging endogenous and self-supporting development, to promote the economic integration of the African region in order to strengthen and facilitate social and economic relations, and to create national, subregional and regional institutions to facilitate the achievement of the goal of self-sufficiency as part and parcel of our endogenous development.

362. The Government of Rwanda believes that that commitment deserves the backing of the international community, in particular that of the developed countries which have the material and human resources to support it. Moreover, the regional and subregional approach adopted by the African Heads of State is, in the view of the Government of Rwanda, more realistic than any other approach that might be global or worldwide in its pretensions without going through the necessary preliminary stages. Given the backwardness and inequalities in levels of development that we can, unfortunately, observe today in various parts of the world, such a process would run the risk of rapidly leading to failure.

363. The Republic of Rwanda, convinced that it is serving both its own interests and those of African unity, which itself constitutes an important stage on the way to international economic integration, has for several years been endeavouring to encourage the creation of regional unions that would gradually transcend national selfishness and particularism.

364. It is in line with such thinking that the Government and people of Rwanda welcome the relations of mutually advantageous co-operation enjoyed by Rwanda with its neighbours within the framework of subregional economic organizations.

365. This horizontal co-operation between developing countries is a necessity and should be encouraged. We continue to hope that solidarity among countries of the third world will gradually replace competition and economic egocentricity. It is encouraging to note that this conception of new relations is beginning to be well understood by developing countries and by a growing number of the developed countries and is making it possible to carry out a multipolar co-operation.

366. It is in this context that the Government of Rwanda pays a tribute to the efforts exerted, for some years now, to intensify Arab-African co-operation, supplemented by a substantial contribution from the developed world.

367. My delegation hopes that such relations will grow for the benefit of all developing countries, so that it will be possible to establish new relations within an international community where existing economic injustice will have given way to greater morality in international affairs and to greater distributive justice for the benefit of all men and of man himself.

368. Long live peace and co-operation among nations! Long live the United Nations!

369. Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): At the very outset I should like to welcome the delegation of Zimbabwe, a country whose emancipation we have always fully and whole-heartedly supported. We are confident that under the leadership of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, the new non-aligned nation of Zimbabwe will make a positive contribution to international peace, progress and stability.

370. I should like, Sir, to congratulate you once again on your assumption of the presidency of this important session. Under your able guidance, we are confident of making steady progress in our quest for a New International Economic Order. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General and the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation for the valuable reports they submitted at this special session [A/S-11/5, annex, and A/S-11/5/Add.1-3].

371. Extensive analysis and in-depth studies, both within the international community and elsewhere, have been undertaken in respect of the ingredients of a new and more just international economic order. As a result, we are now aware of the solutions that are required to overcome human deprivation and the policy instruments that are necessary to achieve the objectives that we have envisaged in the New International Economic Order.

372. However, so far we have not been able to take the requisite action to establish such an order, largely because of considerations of the short-term interests of developed societies and their fear of jeopardizing their present high living standards. Such a situation persists in spite of the instabilities that characterize the present economies of developed countries. The net result is that the international economic scene is continuing to deteriorate further, and large numbers of people in the developing countries continue to face conditions of absolute poverty.

373. There is, therefore, an urgent need to take those political decisions that are absolutely essential to effect real and meaningful changes in the present unsatisfactory international economic system. The major responsibility in this regard rests squarely on the shoulders of the technologically advanced and capital-rich countries. Unless and until those countries take the necessary political decisions towards attaining the objectives of the

New International Economic Order, the chances of success from our ongoing negotiations will be dismal indeed.

374. The reform of the international monetary system and the expansion of the international trade of the developing countries will have to go hand in hand with an increase in their production capacities. The increase in the international trade of developing countries has, however, progressed slowly, even given their existing production capacities, in view of the prevalent tariff and non-tariff barriers, imposed particularly by the market economy countries. Unless such barriers are removed, the developing countries will have difficulty in gaining access to the developed-country markets for their goods, and their balance of payments position will continue to be critical.

375. As the international community is already aware, the land-locked developing countries are especially handicapped in their external trade. They have to pay higher transportation costs for their exports, making it difficult for them to compete in world markets. It is not surprising, therefore, that 15 out of the 19 land-locked developing countries are in the least developed category. In spite of the geographical disadvantages of land-locked countries, it is possible for them to overcome their severe handicaps if appropriate and timely measures are taken. There is a pressing need to improve and expand transport and communication facilities within the land-locked countries and in the transit countries. The creation of adequate transport and communication facilities, however, requires considerable international support. It was for this reason that the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries was created in 1976 [see *General Assembly resolution 31/177*]. Unfortunately, contributions to this Fund have been, to say the least, disappointing. The total amount of voluntary contributions to this Fund so far is only \$759,600, including pledges for 1980. As representatives of a land-locked, least developed country, my delegation would like to urge the international community, and especially the developed countries, to expand this assistance programme immediately. It is also necessary that the international community consider subsidizing the exports of the land-locked, least developed countries until such time as more efficient and economic transportation systems can be developed for them.

376. When we speak of measures to assist developing countries, the circumstances of peculiar disadvantage of the least developed among them should not be lost sight of. The general measures adopted so far for the developing countries as a whole have benefited the least developed countries only to a marginal extent. According to recent studies by UNCTAD, the growth rates of the gross domestic product of the developing countries as a whole for the periods 1960 to 1970 and 1970 to 1980 were 5.5 per cent and 6.2 per cent per annum respectively. As compared to this, for the least developed countries the growth rate was only 3.1 per cent for the entire two-decade period. During the period 1970 to 1977, the economic performance of the least developed countries deteriorated further. In 1979 and 1980, their growth rates fell even below their past levels of performance, to 2.4 per cent and 2.6 per cent per annum respectively. For the period 1970 to 1980, the purchasing power of exports of the least developed countries declined at an overall rate of 4.1 per cent annually and the growth in export volume was zero. These developments severely reduced the import capacities of the least developed countries. As a result, the volume of imports

recorded only a modest growth at an annual rate of 1.7 per cent.

377. These statistics reveal the stark economic realities facing the least developed countries. It is not that these difficulties are insuperable; many of the least developed countries are endowed with abundant natural and other resources. The exploitation of such resources requires the creation of a proper environment and the injection of catalytic agents in the form of technology and finance. This implies the strengthening of the infrastructural base. Transport and communications, and social welfare amenities such as health and education require considerable expansion and development even to meet basic minimal needs. Agricultural potential has to be fully realized to overcome severe food shortages. More efficient and appropriate technologies must be introduced into the existing production facilities. All these tasks have to be accomplished in the least developed countries if the level of their economies is to become comparable to that of other developing countries.

378. It was because of the international community's realization of the severe economic difficulties being faced by the least developed countries that resolution 122 (V)¹⁵ was adopted at the fifth session of UNCTAD, held in 1979 at Manila. That resolution calls for special help for the least developed countries in two phases. The first phase is the Immediate Action Programme, covering the period 1979 to 1981, and the second phase is the Substantial New Programme of Action for 1981 and beyond. It is true that the issues relating to the least developed countries will be considered in depth by the international community at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries in 1981. Preparatory work for this Conference has already begun. However, the measures envisaged in the Immediate Action Programme for 1979 to 1981 can brook no delay. My delegation would therefore like strongly to urge the developed and the capital-rich countries to provide assistance to the least developed countries according to the Immediate Action Programme.

379. My delegation has closely examined the proposal, entitled "Immediate measures in favour of most seriously affected countries", made by the Secretary-General in document A/S-11/5/Add.1. The proposal, which is being considered a transitional measure, requires further elaboration during the days and months ahead. It is, however, the considered view of my delegation that the programme is basically sound and should be implemented as expeditiously as possible.

380. During the past few months our representatives in the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy have been engaged in intensive negotiations to formulate a meaningful strategy for the third United Nations development decade. Simultaneous efforts have been made in the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 to reach agreements on the key elements required for launching the global round of negotiations. In spite of their protracted efforts, the stalemate continues and there is so far no meaningful breakthrough.

381. The international community must see the light of reason while there is still time and not delay any longer the launching of the process to overcome the severe economic problems of the developing countries

¹⁵See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. 1, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. A.

and to establish the New International Economic Order. The developed and capital-rich countries must adopt a more humanitarian and far-sighted global approach if we are to avoid violent social, economic and political convulsions in the third world in the years ahead. If there are such convulsions, there will be no winners in this interdependent world; only losers—developing and developed alike.

382. Mr. HEIDWEILLER (Suriname): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to see you in the Chair once again, and my delegation is confident that your experience and leadership will contribute to the success of this special session.

383. It also gives me particular pleasure to welcome in our midst the delegation of the gallant people of Zimbabwe. Its presence in this hall symbolizes the realization of the rightful aspirations of the people it represents. My delegation is confident that the membership of Zimbabwe in the world Organization will prove to be a positive factor in the realization of its aims. The Head of my delegation to the coming thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly will undoubtedly emphasize in a more eloquent manner the great significance of Zimbabwe's entry in our Organization.

384. The adoption of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] six years ago marked the beginning of a new era in the history of international economic relations of the developing countries. It summarily called for a departure from existing uneven patterns of economic relations and development, which are characterized by inequities and injustices, and advocated a more just and equitable sharing of opportunities, resources and rewards.

385. Many representatives have expressed their disappointment or dismay at the lack of progress in achieving the goals and objectives in essential areas of the New International Economic Order. This has been especially true in regard to development aid, restructuring of world industry and the monetary and financial system. Among the achievements so far realized, we may mention the agreement on a modest Common Fund for Commodities and the setting up of IFAD.

386. A number of world conferences in the 1970s, as well as a number of authoritative publications, have identified a great many critical linkages in the development process. However, concrete results during most of these conferences have been difficult to achieve, because an important part of the industrialized world, seeking refuge behind its economic difficulties, was not willing to make substantial concessions.

387. Consequently, the necessary far-reaching changes in key international economic structures and institutions have not been brought about, as a result of which the position of the developing countries today can still be characterized as follows: they are mainly exporters of primary products, they suffer from unfavourable terms of trade and one-sided dependence on the industrialized countries in the fields of finance and technology, and they experience problems in obtaining access to external markets.

388. According to the World Bank's recently released *World Development Report, 1980*, the developing countries and, in particular, the non-oil-producing countries, are facing two major challenges at the beginning of the decade. First, they must strive to continue their social progress in a climate that is less helpful than it was a decade or even a year ago and, secondly, they must

tackle the plight of 800 million people living below the absolute poverty line who have benefited very little from past progress.

389. The world economic crises have now assumed unparalleled dimensions and are of a greater magnitude than the crises that the world faced at the time of the sixth special session in 1974. The crises confronting the world economy today are more serious and intractable than those it faced in 1974 and 1975. In that period the combined current-account deficit of the non-oil-producing developing countries rose to a peak in 1975, but diminished rapidly thereafter, when growth in the industrialized countries accelerated again. At present, however, the combined current account deficit of that group is estimated to have risen from \$36 billion in 1978 to \$55 billion in 1979 and is projected to reach approximately \$70 billion in 1980.

390. The present problems of non-oil-producing developing countries are of an external character and are largely beyond their control. These problems, as we know so well, are the rise of prices of imported industrial goods as a result of higher energy costs, a sharp rise in nominal and real interest rates in world financial markets as a result of the implementation of stabilization policies in the industrialized countries, and, as a result of those stabilization policies, a slowdown of economic activity in the developed countries and consequently a reduction in demand from the industrialized countries.

391. In this respect we agree with the view of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that it would be a mistake to rely too much on financing rather than adjustment in the belief that external conditions will improve. We believe that, on the basis of the particular economic situation of each country, a judicious blend of adjustment and financing should be considered in order to cope with these imbalances.

392. One of the other major obstacles which the developing countries constantly meet has to do with their relations in the field of money and finance. Despite numerous efforts by, *inter alia*, UNCTAD, progress in assuming greater participation in the management of the international financial and monetary system of the developing countries has been very disappointing. There has been no significant change in the voting and management pattern of the established and powerful financial and monetary structures.

393. It is now almost generally accepted that the very basis of the international monetary and financial framework on which the Bretton Woods system was founded can no longer prevail in the future, and that fundamental reform of the system is needed in the interest not only of the developing countries but of the industrialized countries as well.

394. In this respect, my delegation regrets the absence of the B-group countries from the meeting, recently held at Geneva, of the *ad hoc* intergovernmental high-level group of experts on the evaluation of the international monetary system. We are of the opinion that consideration of money and finance issues by UNCTAD does not necessarily preclude IMF as a negotiating forum; but we support the view that by concentrating on such long-term aspects as growth and structural change and leaving short-term measures to the relevant specialized forums, UNCTAD should be able to make an essential contribution, especially in the context of the impending new round of global negotiations. We believe that UNCTAD is best suited to play that role since its main task revolves around the interrelationship of central

issues such as trade, money, and finance and development. The universal character of UNCTAD is, furthermore, reflected through the participation of all United Nations Member States, and more specifically the planned-economy industrialized countries.

395. The main objective of this special session is to adopt a third international development strategy and to launch the new round of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

396. The Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy was not able, after six sessions, to agree fully on the text of the draft strategy. Without disregarding the progress made towards reaching agreement on a number of matters, we must state that minds are still divided on important aspects of that strategy. In essential areas of quantitative targets, financial resources for development, monetary issues, energy and some structural aspects of trade and industrialization, very little progress has been registered—though we have noted that Mr. Dadzie, the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, in a recent interview seemed to be more optimistic on this point.

397. The Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 concluded its final, third session without agreeing on proposals for the agenda, procedures and time-frame for the new round of global negotiations. The unsatisfactory results of the negotiations again confirm the shortsighted attitude of most of the industrialized countries. At the closure of the third session of the Committee of the Whole, the Chairman of the Group of 77, Ambassador Mishra of India, eloquently expressed our feelings by stating that the industrialized countries had disavowed the

notions of reciprocity and that they generally took no account of the special and urgent problems of the developing countries.

398. Speaking of two groups of countries, we wish to make it very clear that we consider most of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe as belonging to the industrialized countries, which implies that they have a responsibility in this matter.

399. During the numerous negotiations between the Group of 77 and the industrialized countries, the Group has resisted the pressures to capitulate, retained its cohesion and managed to keep its solidarity. In the negotiating process, members of the Group were constantly aware of their economic dependence and the need to eliminate it in order to bring about a significantly greater measure of national and collective self-reliance. Last week, in a communiqué issued as the annex to document A/S-11/19, the Ministers of the Group of 77 expressed their resolve to continue to work within the framework of the efforts of the Group of 77 towards the implementation of the New International Economic Order.

400. The entire focus is now on this special session, and the outcome of the ongoing negotiations in the committees that have been established is therefore essential. There are stumbling blocks on the way to agreements, but a failure of the session would undoubtedly result in far-reaching adverse consequences for international economic co-operation. We do not believe, however, that at this very sensitive time the industrialized countries would wish to carry that burden of responsibility.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.