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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. Mr. NWAKO (Botswana): On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I should like to join the earlier speakers in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your election. It is not only because you are a representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, a country with which Botswana shares the closest and most cordial of relations, but also because of the personal qualities and well-known commitment to the noble ideals upon which this Organization is founded that my delegation is very happy indeed to see you as President of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly.

2. It is a fitting tribute to you, Sir, that it was during your presidency, not so long after you relinquished your post as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that the Republic of Zimbabwe was admitted as the 153rd Member of the United Nations. The admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the United Nations brings special joy to my delegation, especially as it serves to remind us of the inevitable triumph of the forces of liberation in the remaining colonial enclaves in southern Africa.

3. It is a necessity of our times that this session bring about change that will herald a new era of peace, prosperity and partnership as none of us, rich or poor, irrespective of different political and economic systems, can afford to witness basic aspirations and genuine efforts being replaced by frustration and despair, with all the consequences that would result.

4. The issues before us and our approach to them will no doubt determine the nature of the remaining two decades of the present century and shape the character of the next century as well. Those issues are simple and interrelated. Pragmatism dictates that a sound and universal strategy for development in the decade ahead will have to be accompanied, and even preceded, by the restructuring of the world economy. The international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade and the establishment of the New International Economic Order are thus inseparable and interlocked. This reality should engender a clear sense

of urgency as well as putting into sharp focus the need for a new framework for the launching of the global round of negotiations with renewed vigour, mutual co-operation and common goodwill. Failure in that regard would hold in store a very bleak and frightening future for us all.

5. It is not an easy task to chart out an agreed course for co-operation and development. Despite an awareness of the reality, attempts to effect structural and systematic changes in the world economy have not been successful. The need for the immediate establishment of the New International Economic Order has become increasingly pronounced. The objectives which this body set six years ago have been demonstrably validated by developments in the world economy since that time. Yet the achievement of those objectives is nowhere in sight. Instead, international economic relations are increasingly characterized by negative trends. The detrimental consequences for the developing countries are visibly evident. Even the industrialized nations, which are the main beneficiaries of the present decadent economic order, are now facing the most serious crisis of the post-war era. It has become obvious to all that the present structure and system of the world economy is simply unworkable and should be replaced by a new order. Yet the concerted efforts in that direction continue to meet with resistance and experience failure in almost every international forum.

6. The world economic scene is beset by the crisis of spiralling inflation, stagnating growth or deepening recession followed by rising unemployment. Those problems defy the conventional approaches and economic laws as they are no longer cyclical in nature but stem from fundamental structural imbalances. Such imbalances and deficiencies in the world trading system can hardly be removed without provision for an equitable division of international labour and a redeployment of global industry. Urgent action is required in order to improve the over-all economic environment, to counter the lag in economic growth and to effect long-term structural adjustments over and above short-term remedial measures in the interests of the developed and developing countries alike.

7. With the Assembly's indulgence I shall recall that we have been engaged in similar discussions and exercises time and again over the long period since the time when there arose a universal concern at the growing plight of the great masses of the people of this world. Hopes were rekindled at times, only to fade away. The tendency to avoid facing the problems squarely appears to have gained ascendancy. Tossing issues from one forum to another may have helped to keep the spirit alive, but only at the cost of sapping energy and creating disharmony. We have now reached a stage where growing world opinion and the restive, poor masses of people all over the world will hardly tolerate a repetition of earlier, futile exercises.

8. It was in this great hall six years ago that the delegation of Botswana reaffirmed its belief that "the eradica-

tion of poverty, illiteracy, hunger, disease and other sources of human suffering and misery should remain the concern of us all, individually as well as collectively".¹ This was a reflection of the aspirations and hopes of many in the wake of the historic decision to strive for the establishment of the New International Economic Order. We thought at the time that a new era had begun in the development of international economic relations. But six years later, and after tremendous efforts, we are dismayed and alarmed to find that the common concern, far from having been transformed into concrete action, is still a centre of debate. This is a luxury which the international community can hardly permit itself if we are to have a blueprint for survival before it is too late.

9. We are all aware that the world economic situation is deteriorating fast. Over these years, the quest for food, for a life of dignity, for the prosperity of future generations and, above all, for peace and security has gained a desperate urgency while the prospects are rapidly shrinking. It is hardly necessary for us here to underscore this stark reality with more facts and figures. It should be sufficient for me to cite the recent report of the Brandt Commission,² which has succeeded in revealing the present bleak outlook and the future dark prospects in all their reality. The Brandt Commission has contributed largely to creating and educating public opinion and may signal the dawn of a new realism in the outlook and concerns of the affluent countries. Some soul-searching is already evident in some of those countries. These are encouraging signs, perhaps even harbingers of what may be the rise of a new awareness and an emboldened political will, which are now required for a breakthrough.

10. We must draw appropriate lessons from the bankruptcy of the conceptual framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade if we are to appreciate the causes of the economic morass of the 1970s. The decade of the 1970s saw the emergence of factors which have contributed to a further widening of gaps and a weakening of the institutions and mechanisms that were supposed to safeguard the interests of, and promote development in, the third world countries. The real terms of trade of the developing countries have steeply declined in the face of rising imports. The capacity of the developing countries to produce food has dwindled sharply. Over-all export earnings have stagnated and become more vulnerable to external factors. The energy problem has become acute. The scarcity of resources has critically impeded the capacity of the developing countries in the 1970s to mount and maintain meaningful growth strategies to generate adequate jobs and income in the fight to overcome mass poverty.

11. It is not going to be an easy task to arrest and reverse the negative trends in the 1980s. It needs a complete breakthrough in approach and efforts. Such a breakthrough will have to be made possible through the concerted efforts of the international community and will come about only if we place long-term collective interests above short-term self-interest. Lasting solutions should be preferred to stop-gap arrangements. The international development strategy for the third United Nations decade in the 1980s will have to take cognizance

of these cardinal principles in its attempt to re-orient and restructure world economic relations and pave the way for the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

12. Similarly, the launching of the new round of global and sustained negotiations on international economic co-operation for development will also have to avoid the shadows of the past futile exercises and contribute dynamic and global solutions in a comprehensive manner. By doing so we should be making significant contributions on the basis of the principles guiding the establishment of the New International Economic Order towards the implementation of the new international development strategy for the third United Nations decade of the 1980s.

13. The new round of global negotiations must cover other elements not adequately covered in other international forums including the energy issue, perhaps the single largest factor exercising the minds and energies of people all over the world today. My delegation believes that the energy issue is a critical element in international economic relations and that it is an issue of such significance that it will continue to shape and influence development prospects in the third world. It should be dealt with in a comprehensive and integrated manner. My delegation would like to recommend to the General Assembly that priority be also given to the evolution of a new world energy framework which should, among other things, safeguard the interests of the developing countries, especially the least developed and land-locked among them, which are critically dependent on the import and use of the hydrocarbon-based energy.

14. The state of the present world trade leaves much to be desired. The world trading system is hardly equipped to cope with the stresses and challenges that lie ahead. The task of sufficiently liberalizing and improving the international trading framework has been given scanty attention. The generalized system of preferences is still *ad hoc* and limited in character. The conclusions of the 1973 Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations have been a great disappointment to the developing countries. If we are to see dynamic trade flows in the 1980s, the long overdue measures to facilitate structural changes as well as the new rules and principles governing international trade are the basic prerequisites.

15. Of the new arrangements which are essential for new international economic relations, nothing is perhaps more important than the reform of the international monetary system with a view to making it more responsive to the development needs of the developing countries. Besides, it is also more important to create appropriate mechanisms which would lead to a net transfer of resources in real terms on a vaster scale than has ever been attempted before. The debt problems of the developing countries also need to be ameliorated with appropriate provisions for serving future requirements.

16. It is a universal truth that there can be no lasting development in any country without a sound agricultural base. Both the strategy and the global negotiations must place some priority on the adoption of requisite measures which could enhance the capacity of the developing countries to raise their food production substantially and sufficiently and to overcome short-term and structural problems.

17. Any viable development strategy will have to deal with industrialization in such a manner as to permit full exploitation of the development potential. The increased share of the developing countries in the world

¹See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2261st meeting.

²*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).

trade in manufactures through the restructuring and redeployment of the world industry in favour of developing countries is a necessity without which the development process can hardly be sustained in the long run. This restructuring and redeployment will be equally essential if increased technical and financial support is to be found for the creation and enlargement of an infrastructure for development in the developing countries.

18. The establishment of a new infrastructure and institutions is a prerequisite for a nation or region being capable of contributing towards regional trade and economic co-operation. It is in this context that Botswana together with independent African States in southern Africa have decided, in arranging their priorities for the promotion of economic co-operation among themselves, on the establishment of a Transport Commission first. Our efforts to integrate the region through collective self-reliance are aimed at consolidating our independence and providing in the long term prosperity and peace for the people of southern Africa. Regional efforts are part of a bigger whole of the international community, and the Southern African Declaration on Development Co-operation, in recognition of this fact, welcomes participation in our development effort by those in the international community who share our aspirations.

19. Urgent, concerted and sustained international action is required to assist the least developed countries, the majority of which, like Botswana, are also landlocked, in overcoming their serious structural problems and resource constraints. The urgent relief measures for and preferential treatment in favour of these countries should receive paramount priority attention in the new international development strategy and also in the global negotiations to enable these countries to sustain their development drive.

20. The difficulties faced by the least developed countries and their special requirements are more complex than what has often been assumed. These countries have severe long-term constraints on development and continually find themselves caught up in a vicious circle. If these countries are ever to overcome their development problems, they need on an urgent basis massive international economic support measures. To achieve this, the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries scheduled for 1981 in Paris will have to be made a success. Donor countries and multilateral development agencies must provide these countries with urgent additional assistance in the form of grants and on a predictable, continuous and assured basis. The means to implement both the Immediate Action Programme and the Substantive New Programme of Action contained in resolution 122 (V) adopted during the fifth session of UNCTAD at Manila, from 7 May to 3 June 1979,³ must be made available as a matter of priority.

21. Since in many of the least developed countries development efforts are a relatively new phenomenon, the deeply rooted structural socio-economic deficiencies tend to surface only after it has been possible for a country to achieve some progress in certain areas. This has been the experience of my country in its development process.

22. Botswana is, as all Members know, both landlocked and least developed and its geographical location in southern Africa has added another development constraint which is hard to quantify. Despite all these handicaps, the people of Botswana have striven hard to achieve their present state of economic development. This would not have been possible without the wise and dynamic leadership of our late President, Sir Seretse Khama.

23. The strength of my country lies in its deeply rooted democratic principles for which we credit our late President. Our new President, Mr. Masire, who had been a close associate of President Khama and has contributed in no small measure to the establishment of sound values and traditions for the management of our development, will continue on this path in his endeavour to preserve our national principles of democracy, development, self-reliance and unity.

24. In a geographical region which continues to be torn by racial strife and political conflict, it has not been easy for my country to sustain the momentum of its first decade of independence in the development of its economy. There is no doubt that the emergence of Zimbabwe as an independent non-racial democracy is a welcome development which vindicates and reinforces our faith in the ability of the peoples of southern Africa to seek and find each other, to live in peace with one another and to strive for a better future for themselves and for generations to come.

25. South Africa must abandon the evil policy of *apartheid* if the independent States of southern Africa are to feel secure as they seek to concentrate their efforts and energies on the development of their economies in their common endeavour to fulfil the aspirations of their people. Namibia should be freed from the shackles of South African occupation and domination if we are to begin to lay the foundations for collective self-reliance in an atmosphere free of political tensions and racial confrontation.

26. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the present deliberations will generate a new momentum in our common endeavour to create a better international economic environment for the benefit of all our peoples. We should like to urge this august Assembly to use the opportunities provided by this session to lay the foundations for collective prosperity. We can no longer pretend that we are unfamiliar with either the problems we face or the solutions we seek. It is incumbent upon us to summon our collective will and determination in order to establish a consensus upon which we can initiate the concrete and action-oriented programmes that have eluded us during the past two decades. Our past failures can be repeated only to the detriment of our common future.

27. Mr. VU SONG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I should like to perform a very agreeable task: that of joining my voice to those of previous speakers in expressing our feelings of confidence and joy at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the work of our Assembly. Our confidence, first of all, because we are aware of your own qualities and expertise; and our joy, because through you we are able to greet the people of Tanzania with which we are bound by a long friendship and whose active role in the cause of the national independence of Africa is well known to us.

28. That cause scored a wonderful victory when our community welcomed in its midst the free and independent Republic of Zimbabwe. We are particularly delighted at that since, for our part, we have always sup-

³See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. A.

ported the struggle of its people, a struggle whose outcome now gives indications of the future of the whole region of southern Africa. In their work to consolidate the independence and reconstruction of their country, the people of Zimbabwe and their Government can rest assured of our abiding friendship and co-operation.

29. I should like to take this opportunity also to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his active contribution to the preparation of this present session. His concern about development problems is commensurate with his tireless efforts for the cause of peace and security on the international or regional level.

30. Our delegation has come to this eleventh special session with a real determination to contribute to the success of its work. But we also know that that success will not be won without difficulty and that first a lucid analysis of the present situation in the field of international economic relations and in the field of the world economy. That will provide the point of departure allowing us to establish a strategy adapted to the needs of the people belonging to the developing countries.

31. An over-view of the results obtained since the sixth special session in implementing what was decided then on the New International Economic Order reveals a very sparse record.

32. The North-South dialogue is stalemated. The goals put forward for the Second United Nations Development Decade have not been attained [*General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. The important measures announced or decided on by the international community to restructure international economic relations have for the most part remained a dead letter. More recently still, the more specific international conferences, such as the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979, the Third General Conference of UNIDO, held at New Delhi from 21 January to 8 February 1980, and the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna from 20-31 August 1979, have produced results unworthy of the hopes placed in them.

33. From another point of view, the world economic situation continues to worsen. In the developing countries famine, unemployment and poverty continue to claim hundreds of millions of victims. Externally, an increase in the public and private debt, a deficit in foreign trade and increased food dependence are the lot of most of them. Here and there some have tried to mitigate the bleakness of the picture by pointing to the relative industrial growth of a small number of countries, called the new industrial countries. Without going into more details here and without denying the real developments which have taken place in certain cases, we must nevertheless take note of the fact that in several instances that growth is not balanced, complete or independent. Indeed, it concerns only a limited industrial sector, that sector which produces goods intended for export, leaving aside other indispensable sectors such as capital goods and the agricultural sector. Furthermore, that all too outward-looking growth, alien to real economic and social development, has been made possible only by the increased dependence of those countries on the transnational corporations, whether in capital, technology, raw materials or markets.

34. In the market economy industrialized countries, the economic crisis has become protracted with inflation in its wake and with its sometimes massive unemployment which has reached the levels of the 1930s. That crisis, which everyone recognizes as long-lasting, has no

quick solution. In the meantime it seems obvious that the biggest and most seriously affected of those countries have tried to transfer the burden of their difficulties to the developing countries, whether it be directly by transferring inflation or indirectly through protectionism, to say nothing of a systematic and substantial reduction in their official development aid.

35. The reasons for these difficulties and this worsening of the situation are well known. They cannot be confined just to the problem of energy, a problem which has been the consequence rather than the cause of the type of development of the industrialized countries and of their failure to overcome their monetary and economic disorders. As to the developing countries, we find these reasons in the past as well as in the present. The exploitation and oppression of which they were victims in the past, as they are now, and the myriad forms of their present dependence are now the fundamental causes of the difficulties that they have to confront.

36. In saying this, we can only join with those who have always demanded and fought for a global recasting of international economic relations, whether they belong to the developing countries or to the industrialized countries. In this forum, the Group of 77 has always demonstrated firmness and flexibility, goodwill and scrupulousness in seeking to establish a mutually and lastingly advantageous co-operation. We are convinced that the forces of the past which continue to defend selfish and short-sighted interests and which refuse to accept the changes imposed by history will inevitably be left behind.

37. Broaching now the problem directly at issue at this eleventh special session, I should like to recall some basic conditions without which it would be difficult to suggest any real changes. I shall come then to the principles guiding our delegation in the work on the international development strategy and the global negotiations.

38. First of all, we welcome the unanimous agreement achieved on the need to take urgent action—and I quote from paragraph 12 of the preamble of the draft international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade:

“... to end without delay colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, interference in internal affairs, *apartheid*, racial discrimination, hegemony, expansionism and all forms of foreign aggression and occupation, which constitute major obstacles to the economic emancipation and development of the developing countries”. [*A/S-11/2 (Part III), annex.*]

39. We fully endorse another condition advanced by the Group of 77, that of putting an end to dependence, i.e. asserting the right of each people to gain control of their own material and human resources. The right to nationalize stems directly from that fundamental provision. Furthermore, we need an appropriate international framework. Peace, security, détente, an end to the arms race, and disarmament, like regional peace and stability, are all indispensable to real economic development.

40. Finally, an end must be put to the various discriminatory practices and to the economic blockade, to encirclement and to political pressures in the granting of development assistance—all practices used by international imperialist and reactionary forces against the developing countries, practices of which Viet Nam was and is now a victim.

41. Having recalled these conditions, our delegation will strive to make an active contribution towards the

establishment of a strategy whose ultimate aim is the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions on the establishment of a new international economic order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. That strategy must ensure the independent development of countries and peoples and meet the fundamental needs that they themselves have decided while ensuring a co-operation which will be as advantageous, democratic and broad as possible. Accordingly, we think that strengthening co-operation between the developing countries is particularly important, both in line with an economic need and as a factor of political solidarity. Moreover, the goals that our community will strive to attain will of necessity have to be higher than those of the past decade, if only because the difficulties to be overcome are more numerous and the needs more urgent. We have the means to attain them. We also have the determination to do it. And we are aware that by doing so we shall be making a contribution towards defending the enlightened self-interest of all.

42. At the initiative of the non-aligned countries, the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session decided to embark upon global negotiations [*resolutions 34/138 and 34/139*] to overcome the present obstacles and the stalemate in various fields. We should like to emphasize once more the goodwill and flexibility that has always been demonstrated by the Group of 77 throughout these debates. If our partners were to take a step in the same direction and adopt a similar attitude, great progress could be achieved. For our part, we think that global negotiations on the five sectors agreed on are a necessity. Decentralization of the negotiations would neither be in conformity with the decisions of our group nor be adapted to the problems at issue. Of course, the specialized agencies have their part to play in the negotiations, and they can render a major service in the fields falling within their purview. But they cannot replace the central body which would be responsible for taking the final decisions. It is one thing to have to discuss or spell out the respective mandates; it is quite another to have to recall the democratic principles which have always animated our group. The developing countries have too often been the victims of the discriminatory practices adopted by some of these agencies under the pressure of imperialist and reactionary forces. The events at the World Bank and at the ninth session of the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes of the World Food Programme held in Rome, from 14-25 April 1980, with respect to Viet Nam are not isolated occurrences.

43. As a member of the Group of 77, Viet Nam is more aware than any other country of the crucial problems facing the peoples of the developing countries, particularly the most seriously affected: the least-developed, land-locked and island countries. That awareness is something we feel every day because our country has not been able to leave that stage of underdevelopment, after decades beneath the colonial yoke, decades of wars of aggression.

44. We are also a socialist country, which gives us a better understanding of the fact that there is another form of fruitful co-operation based on respect for independence, free choice and mutual advantage. But we are also in favour of fair democratic co-operation with all countries, regardless of their political and social system, on the basis of respect for national independence, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. While building an independent economy in line with the aspirations and interests of our people, we have up to now established economic relations with many countries. Within the framework of the Council for Mutual

Economic Assistance (CMEA), we have benefited from the active and significant assistance of the Soviet Union and other brother socialist countries, which was particularly timely and effective during natural disasters or at times of threats of aggression.

45. We have also striven and we have succeeded to a certain extent in developing co-operation with the developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Regional and subregional co-operation is one of the priorities in our economic policy. We regret that that policy has not produced all the results hoped for because of the obstacles placed in our way by expansionist forces.

46. With regard to market economy industrialized countries, we also often have fruitful relations with some of them that are based on the principles I have already enunciated.

47. Finally, we also have links with many United Nations agencies, which have brought us considerable assistance. We shall continue to develop those links whatever may be the action of revanchist forces and whatever the obstacles they may strive to place in our way.

48. In conclusion, we are all aware that our debates and our work will be long and complex. But we are also aware of the fact that what is at stake is too important to be taken lightly. Sooner or later the just demands of the developing countries will start making headway. That is our heartfelt conviction.

49. Mr. BLONDIN BEYE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Emerging from the cataclysms of the last terrible war, bewildered and battered but nevertheless confident in the future, the peoples of the United Nations, meeting at San Francisco on 26 June 1945, solemnly proclaimed their faith in their common destiny and declared themselves determined to build a world of peace where political equality among all nations and the natural right of all persons to live in conditions in accord with the dignity and the worth of the human person would prevail.

50. Thirty-five years after that solemn proclamation and at a time when we are preparing to celebrate in December next the twentieth anniversary of the famous decolonization Charter contained in the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly, of 14 December 1960, it is particularly reassuring and perhaps not fortuitous that this event should coincide with the entry on the international scene of the valiant people of Zimbabwe, which, on behalf of the people and the leaders of Mali, we are pleased to greet and thank for having given the international community an outstanding lesson in political courage. The people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the worthy members of the Patriotic Front, were able to preserve their dignity and unity during the epic moments of their heroic struggle for national liberation, the sublime moments of which have been recalled from this rostrum with remarkable nobility by one of its most illustrious sons, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe [*4th meeting*].

51. The people of Zimbabwe maintained their exalted sense of responsibility when, after having gained victory through arms, they did not disdain to sit down at the negotiating table to complete their independence.

52. Victorious in the elections, the people of Zimbabwe in their greatness were able to master their triumph, being convinced that armed struggle had been undertaken only as an instrument for peace. In this new course, the people and the leaders of Mali wish to renew to the people of Zimbabwe, in addition to their sym-

pathy, their militant support in the lofty enterprise of national reconstruction they are undertaking.

53. Nor is it fortuitous—and the symbol is highly relevant—that it should be a son of Africa, which recently was still colonized, who also represents a front-line country, who was presiding over the historic meeting [*1st meeting*] during which our Organization welcomed its 153rd Member, Zimbabwe, which had emerged from the long night of colonialism thanks to the support of the international Organization, whose irreplaceable decolonization instrument, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, was for over eight years presided over so successfully by our illustrious President of the General Assembly. It is therefore not out of mere compliance with tradition that we express our pleasure at seeing you, Sir, for the fourth time in 12 months presiding over the General Assembly with a competence that does honour to our Africa.

54. Finally, it is fitting that the historic event of the admission of Zimbabwe to the United Nations should have occurred while the Secretariat of our Organization was headed by an indefatigable man, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, with a competence and dedication known to all.

55. The current eleventh special session of the General Assembly will represent a turning-point in the evolution of the world.

56. Twenty years ago the overwhelming majority of new States, particularly African States, of which my country is one, had just rid themselves of colonial domination. But political independence is not an end in itself. It must be consolidated by economic and social independence. Man cannot do without freedom, but bread is what sustains him.

57. The dean of the African Heads of State, during the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), devoted to economic matters and held at Lagos, from 28-29 April 1980, expressed this idea which deserves deep reflection: "What is the use of freeing the slave if for his basic needs—food, lodging, medical care, education, in short, all that has to do with the quality of life—he must have constant recourse to his former master? That kind of dismal and inadmissible dependence, which seems to be still our lot, must not continue. Our dignity and our future are at stake."

58. The future of mankind is also at stake. Let us not forget that the basic lack of symmetry of the economies of the world, which was brought about by the great depression of the 1930s, was one of the major causes of the last world war.

59. Proof has thus been tragically given that achieving peace through justice is more fruitful than achieving peace through law—the thankless task which exhausted the defunct League of Nations. Yes, peace is the work of justice.

60. In our statement to the Assembly at the thirty-fourth regular session, we declared from this rostrum that peace was also, and perhaps above all, economic and social justice. Hunger, poverty, the delusions fostered by lack of hope for survival dangerously undermine efforts to establish peace throughout the world.

61. It would be illusory and suicidal to live in a haven of political peace without meeting the basic economic needs of mankind as a whole.

62. No one should remain unaware that peace is largely dependent on the solutions which together we shall find to the serious imbalances at present characterizing the world economy.

63. There is today an unprecedented crisis in the world economy. The crisis that we have been experiencing since 1974 resembles neither the one in the 1930s nor the cyclical depressions that preceded it.

64. Those who at present believe that a real crisis will follow the phony crisis are as rare as those who, 40 years ago, dared to recognize that a real war would certainly follow the phony war. All the elements of the economic order—or what remains of it—are deeply disturbed: production, prices, international trade, capital flows, international payments, financial institutions, key international markets; they are all at the boiling point.

65. These imbalances have spared no part of the planet, because there is a true interdependence of the economies of the world—indeed, this is a major phenomenon of the twentieth century. Thus the developed, market-economy countries—those motors of the world economy—are today at the end of their rope.

66. Since the severe but inevitable devaluation of the dollar which, in 1973, led to the collapse of the system of fixed exchange rates instituted by the 1944 Bretton Woods agreements, the role of the dollar has become even stronger. Its rapid decline has played a large part in the renewed world inflation. That inflation, nourished by a large depreciation in the value of the dollar, has given a world-wide dimension to the speculation which is now literally gnawing at the springs of the market economy. The generalized speculation in raw materials, gold, currencies and even land is paralysing the regulatory element *par excellence* of all liberal economies—that is, the discipline of the cost factor. This illness of the world economy led an illustrious African statesman—an advocate of the principles of a liberal economy—to sound a warning bell for the ears of "those who blindly play with the fate and the lives of the workers producing the raw materials". He couched that warning to the West in these terms:

"Your mortal enemy in Africa are your own stock exchanges, which, by speculating on raw materials, destabilize our economies, generalize poverty, and arouse rancour, which is as bad a counsellor as the anger that it breeds".

67. The industrialized countries with planned economies, which for a long time remained largely on the sidelines of the traditional international economic order, are today concerned about the tribulations of that anachronistic order, because of the magnitude of the shocks, on the one hand, and the beneficial effects of détente and the ties established between them and the decolonized countries, on the other.

68. Of course, the countries of the third world have been dealt particularly severe blows by the growing disintegration of the shaky international economic order.

69. Even those third-world countries that were really on the road to development—the countries that people liked to describe as "miracles" because of a growing prosperity that was in contrast to the stagnation of the others; the countries that, we were told, were at the economic take-off point—have found their growth prospects unfortunately undermined and, in some cases, virtually wiped out.

70. What, then, should we say about the weakest and most vulnerable? There is a general economic crisis

which has affected everyone, but it has affected countries very unequally. A number of the most vulnerable countries are countries of that Africa which, while replete with natural resources and having a large human potential, has been and remains the continent of absolute poverty, the continent that has the sad privilege of containing 20 of the 31 least advanced countries of the world. And yet, that Africa is the continent which is by far the richest in raw materials; it is the richest in iron ore, in copper, in bauxite, in manganese, in chrome, in uranium, in gold and in diamonds. But despite the enormous mineral and hydraulic potential of that black Africa, more than half of its population lives in a state of cruel indigence.

71. Agricultural development is taking place very slowly there; indeed it is stagnating, and in certain countries there has even been a decline in absolute figures. The most tragic consequence is the considerable decline in the production of foodstuffs. Africa, which has a tremendous amount of fertile and arable land, is no longer able to meet the food needs of its peoples and is therefore forced to import food. Six Africans out of ten get barely enough food. There is so little industrialization that the African countries import almost all their manufactured goods and all their capital goods.

72. Some countries—and we should really call them countries on the road to underdevelopment—have even recorded a considerable reduction in *per capita* income since 1960. In other countries, like mine, the situation has, paradoxically, remained stationary. It is a real achievement that in this situation of unprecedented crisis my country, Mali, has not recorded a decrease in its growth rate.

73. Indeed, Mali is typical of the countries in the category of least developed countries. The Assembly may judge for itself: Mali is, of course, a third-world country, with all the features characteristic of that heterogeneous entity called “under developed or developing countries”. But my country, Mali, unlike other partners in the third world, experienced the colonial phenomenon and thus remained largely dependent economically, because of the unfavourable international division of labour and its disadvantageous position in the trade negotiations in an Africa which, unfortunately, has been balkanized. But one of the most serious consequences of the colonial system is cultural. Mali, like all the former colonized countries—and President Moussa Traoré forcefully pointed this out when he addressed the economic summit conference of the Organization of African Unity, at Lagos—is a victim of extraversion, the main consequence of the colonial phenomenon, which leads us to place too much value on external things.

74. Mali—a developing country, a former colonized country—is, unlike other third-world countries that have emerged from the colonial night, a Sahelian nation whose economy has severely suffered, since 1973, from the scourge of drought. The risks of an unstable climate have wiped out all the efforts of our farmers, despite their legendary courage and tenacity. What is more, because of the bad distribution of the rainfall, the workers of my country—which in the past was the bread basket of that region of West Africa—have experienced famine, that scourge which debases the human being. The deficit in cereals—as was recently recalled by the Head of State of Mali in his appeal for aid to the countries members of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel—has been estimated at more than 250,000 tons in Mali alone.

75. Of the eight countries members of that Committee, so severely afflicted by the drought, only three, including mine, are land-locked. The capital of Mali, which is situated less than 1,200 kilometres from the ocean, is serviced by an almost inexistent infrastructure. These are factors which accentuate the difficulties of being land-locked, hamper the arrival of provisions—particularly cereals and hydrocarbons—and make necessary very costly transportation operations.

76. This under-developed, former colonized country, suffering from drought and severely land-locked, cannot yet, unlike other countries more blessed by nature, count on the almost certain profits from its natural resources to finance its development efforts.

77. Above all, the rare products that can be extracted from our land by our brave peasants are at the mercy of the stock exchanges of the West, which manipulate the prices of our vital exports and deny our populations just remuneration for the fruits of their labour. The world market rates for cotton and ground nuts continue to decline, while the prices of agricultural inputs increase rather than decline.

78. In these conditions of extreme vulnerability, Mali, one of the countries of the third world, suffering the consequences of colonization is lamentably involved in a special struggle—against drought; being land-locked; being unable for the time being to rely on the resources of its subsoil; it is deprived through the inequitable mechanisms of international trade of the income it should rightly be earning thanks to the praiseworthy efforts of the sons of its soil; it has had to suffer like all the others (however better endowed by nature) the nefarious effects of a world recession for which they have absolutely no responsibility.

79. It is in respect of countries such as mine that we could talk of “miracles” today. It is almost paradoxical that situations imposed on us from outside which we have not been able to master have not been reflected in the brutal reactions and violent convulsions that might have resulted from this deterioration of our fragile economies.

80. But because we are richly endowed with a wealth that does not come from the soil or the subsoil, a mastery of technology or inequitable exchange mechanisms, the Malian people have been able to face, coolly and courageously and with great dignity and serenity, the difficult situation imposed upon them by an antiquated international order. This rare rich endowment, shared by few, is our history on which we can draw inexhaustibly, finding in the traditions of our forefathers the solid qualities of valour, dignity, courage, justice, honesty and legitimate pride.

81. Men of goodwill very soon became convinced that this world in crisis could not long continue along that path. In fact, no man, no country, no system in the world can remain indifferent to this “geography of hunger”. When the failure of the old order became obvious, those men of goodwill devoted a long time to the task of considering how to devise a new order more in conformity with present-day reality. The collective consideration of the problems of development conducted in various circles has led to the diagnosis of the patient's illness.

82. The formula of the *ad hoc* committees charged particularly with examining all aspects of the question of the survival of humanity was widely utilized. Recently, under the aegis of the World Bank a new commission, the Independent Commission on International Develop-

ment Issues, has just submitted a document known as the Brandt report.⁴

83. May I here greet the 18 eminent members of that well-balanced commission, who, out of concern for effectiveness, pragmatism and intellectual honesty, preferred to give us their collective thinking on the basis of concrete and living realities, of real life. Thus, in a desire to see for themselves the realities of under-development in Africa, the continent that suffers most, those 18 competent and eminent persons from the North and the South decided to hold one of their working meetings in Mali, a country that rightly seemed to them to be typical of the least developed countries and the best laboratory in which to arrive at a correct analysis. In order to get all the facts, they freely and deliberately chose to go to a country that is land-locked and suffers from drought. And they went there not during the pleasant months of July, October or January, but during the month of May 1978—that is, at the hottest time of the year.

84. Their report, which contains a wealth of thoughts and proposals, should receive our undivided attention at the global negotiations, if only because of its realistic approach.

85. Beyond these contributions from men of goodwill, those in charge of the world's affairs, those who govern, have at last, after too many delays and postponements, turned their attention to the constantly widening gap between the rich countries and the others, which threatens to engulf the entire world.

86. At the Guadeloupe meeting from 5-6 January 1979, the leaders of the seven great industrialized countries of the Western world, aware that the difficulties of the moment are far from temporary, established the formula of economic summits, the third of which is to be held in Canada in 1981, at Ottawa, after those in Tokyo from 28-29 June 1979 and at Venice from 22-23 June 1980, and is to be devoted entirely to the important question of co-operation for development.

87. The socialist countries of Europe, while pursuing their own movement, within the framework of their organization for economic co-operation, are continuing their collective thinking in order to make an indispensable contribution to the elaboration of an order that will no longer be one of exploitation, plunder or domination.

88. The peoples most concerned, those of the third world, are naturally the most active.

89. The defective functioning of the world economy having increased their vulnerability, the developing countries became increasingly aware that they constituted a political force. They now feel that they constitute an economic category and they have chosen to organize at all levels and in all organizations.

90. Thus the Heads of State of Africa, after careful preparations had been made at the expert and ministerial level, held a special economic summit at Lagos in April 1980. After profound and realistic debates, a plan for the development of the African region was prepared within the framework of the third United Nations development decade and the future global negotiations.

91. Thus mobilized by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the 120 developing countries of the Group of 77 took the initiative to convene the sixth special session

of the General Assembly, which became necessary because of the acute crisis resulting from the disorganization of the international monetary system that caused the rise in oil prices decided upon by those among us who, now exercising the right to set prices for their natural resources, secured recognition of the principle, hitherto ignored and yet proclaimed, that every people had the exclusive right to exercise full sovereignty over their natural resources.

92. It was in the context of the sixth special session that this Assembly, convinced that the real solution of our problems required something other than a few expedients for the rearrangement of the existing system, and even less temporary remedies, adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] to replace the present international economic disorder characterized by inequality, domination, dependence, narrow selfish interest and fragmentation. The new order will be based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among States regardless of their economic and social systems. Let us hope that that Declaration will have the same happy outcome as its elder sister, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)*]. Perhaps we should have called the Declaration adopted at the sixth special session the "Declaration on the Granting of Economic Independence to Dependent Countries and Peoples".

93. Thus since 1974 the debates, conferences and negotiations have redoubled on the inevitable establishment of a new international economic order. This is surely the right place to welcome any courageous initiative, wherever it is taken. The most symbolic initiative of this kind was the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, held in Paris from 30 May-2 June 1977, which for the sake of convenience has since been called the North-South dialogue, which confirms that although it has suffered setbacks, détente has reduced East-West tensions, while the deterioration in the international economic situation has further increased tensions between the North and the South.

94. But we must agree that the North-South dialogue is deadlocked. The debates in the various forums continue without results. Many proposals have been made, and too often, because of details, the desire for compromise has prevailed over essentials. Very little progress has been made since the fifth session of UNCTAD held at Manila, from 7 May-3 June 1979 and the Third General Conference of UNIDO held at New Delhi from 21 January-8 February 1980.

95. While recognizing slow and limited progress in certain areas, one must establish the fact that in basic sectors such as access to markets, monetary and financial matters and the protection of the purchasing power of exporters in the developing countries, barely the first steps have been taken, if progress has been made at all.

96. Even the Common Fund for commodity price stabilization, which a country potentially rich in natural resources such as Mali cannot but welcome, has been marking time as far as implementation is concerned.

97. It is thus necessary to take new steps to break the stalemate.

98. The present special session of the General Assembly, which hence appears as the logical consequence of the sixth special session, is a timely one. It is timely because not only is this session taking place when it is imperative to pull the North-South dialogue out of its

⁴*North-South: A program for survival*, report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

rut but it also coincides with the end of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

99. It will be recalled that at mid-term of the Second Development Decade the General Assembly met in a special session to consider the alarmingly meagre results. The particularly serious scope of the world economic crisis then led the Assembly to recommend the holding of this special session for, on the one hand, the examination and doubtless the adoption of a new international development strategy and, on the other, the study and probable proclamation of the third United Nations development decade starting in 1981.

100. The strategy for the third decade must effectively—I was about to say necessarily—represent something new: A break with past strategies calls for new ideas and new approaches. While we must learn from the past so as to be aware of the obstacles which have emerged on the road to progress, we must not be slaves of the past, particularly so negative a past.

101. There must be a radical change of direction.

102. The new strategy must absolutely not be a revised, amended or improved version of the two earlier strategies. The strategy which we are now preparing must above all have new objectives. It should endeavour to define decisive measures designed to promote fundamental structural changes in international economic relations.

103. In that context, I speak for the delegation of Mali in viewing as fallacious the alleged conflict between satisfying essential needs and an alternative development strategy to pave the way for a new international economic order.

104. In fact, the necessity of satisfying essential needs is undeniable. There can be no striving for development without the elimination of the plagues of hunger and malnutrition. The Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, to which the great majority of third-world countries belong, intended to emphasize precisely that point by the solemn adoption, during the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo, from 16-19 August 1976, of a strategy for essential needs.

105. It is therefore legitimate and undeniable that the satisfaction of essential needs such as health, food, clothing, education and housing should figure among the major—even priority—concerns of the developing countries, and particularly of the least developed countries.

106. But there is no contradiction in pointing out that the war against hunger is only a limited aspect of the heroic efforts that we must undertake. The concept of essential needs is but one component, however important, of the new development strategy. But the concept of essential needs cannot wholly replace the strategy nor even endow it with a sort of moral base, let alone a doctrinal legitimacy, which would in effect transform it into a so-called “global strategy for the war against poverty” for the sole use of the third world, thus subtly deflecting the strategy from its basic objectives.

107. Thus it was a laudable initiative by the Secretary-General, who, justly concerned by the quite special situation of countries which are among the most impoverished by virtue of their scarce resources, their extremely limited incomes or their unfavourable geographical position, prepared a plan of action and immediate measures, which in no way should detract from global negotiations or take the place of the structural changes so sorely required by the world economic system.

108. It cannot be over-emphasized that in order to be new the strategy must be an alternative strategy, one in which the development of countries of the third world is no longer viewed as a by-product or foot-note to the economic growth of the industrialized countries.

109. This new approach which represents the keystone of the new strategy—an approach which must break completely with paternalistic thinking and with the spirit of parsimonious generosity—entrusts the countries themselves, and in the first instance the developing countries, with full responsibility for their economic and social development. Each country, and particularly each developing country, must rely first and foremost on itself, that is to say, on its human and natural resources. That essential characteristic of the new strategy has been termed “collective self-reliance”.

110. That strategy of collective self-reliance was supported by the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries when they advocated economic and technical co-operation among developing countries—that South-South co-operation that must be established.

111. That new strategy was adopted by the African Heads of State or Government at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Monrovia, in July 1979 where they defined the strategy of national and collective self-sufficiency in the area of economic and social development with a view to the establishment of a new international economic order.

112. That strategy of collective self-reliance which was called by the United Nations bodies concerned with development “new dimensions of development” is the basic choice of the people of Mali. Weary of sterile academic debates, the Malian people have chosen to build an independent and planned national economy in the context of a national democracy.

113. The Malian version of self-reliance, an independent and planned national economy is the expression of the will of the people of Mali to build a self-developing economy centred on itself rather than an outward-looking economy.

114. For us, endogenous development must be promoted, based essentially on the village community. According to our strategy and our choice, it is not so much a question of looking after the peasants as of permitting the peasants to look after themselves and their own affairs.

115. Of course collective self-reliance does not mean collective self-sufficiency. An independent national economy cannot signify, for such a people of individuals, withdrawal into oneself. On the contrary, an independent and planned national economy presupposes an active and effective policy of international co-operation, underlying national or interregional efforts in the context of an interdependence. And this interdependence must be neither a unilaterally imposed complementarity nor an asymmetrical complementarity that recalls the relation of horse and rider, but a balanced interdependence, that of an interdependent future.

116. The riparian peoples of the Senegal River, which share in many respects the same historical and cultural traditions, have voluntarily joined the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River (OMVS) in order to bring about and strengthen that interdependent future.

117. The devotion of our Heads of State to the cause of OMVS, the voluntary and effective participation of our people in its activities, and the adaptation of its

structures to the real development needs of our countries have enabled us, in harmony and confidence, to work out development projects appropriate to our economic goals and designed to develop our vast farmland, grassland, water and mineral potential through the construction of large dams.

118. OMVS can thus be mentioned as a fine example of horizontal co-operation among developing countries with resources that have not yet been utilized. Its objectives go beyond the mere achievement of regional projects because their goal is to stop desertification, to give new life to that part of the Sahelian region and to enable a land-locked country like my own to have direct access to the sea.

119. In view of the economic difficulties now being experienced by our countries, we are convinced and confident that the international community will rally behind us to bring to bear the significant financial and human resources necessary for the achievement of those goals.

120. It is in order to achieve this triumph of mankind over itself that we are beginning these new, and we hope global, negotiations.

121. Those global negotiations must involve all the world's countries, including the poor countries which represent nearly half of mankind. It would be neither wise nor realistic not to heed the voice of those who have fought for these debates.

122. The magnitude of the crisis requires universal action and non-discriminatory participation by all States in negotiating solutions and taking decisions on problems which concern them all.

123. What could be a more appropriate forum for such global negotiations than the General Assembly, the most universal, egalitarian organ and the one with the most sweeping powers?

124. Finally, these negotiations must be global because the new strategy cannot adjust itself to piecemeal views favouring a sectoral approach. All the essential aspects of the crisis should be examined: international trade, the international monetary system, raw materials including energy and the indebtedness of the third world.

125. These questions, which must necessarily appear on the agenda of our global negotiations, must be examined taking into account the need to increase the volume of official development assistance pending an improvement in the purchasing power of the developing countries by means of far-reaching structural measures for stabilizing the export earnings of the developing countries and improving the prices of our products.

126. The present crisis shakes our entire planet to its foundations. It once again illustrates the common destiny of nations and peoples.

127. We have already said that the prevailing crisis is a general one and that it would be illusory to seek to build some oasis of prosperity in the vast desert of poverty. The real economic miracle is one which gives human dimensions to the profound and legitimate aspirations of all our populations.

128. That is why "We, the peoples of the United Nations", wished to express in the preamble of our Charter our firm decision to combine our efforts to bring about this common destiny and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

129. I am reminded of the expressive metaphor describing our world as a ship sailing on the waves. If through selfishness, if because of an inadequate percep-

tion of international realities and of the nature of our common interests, the ship were to founder, there would be lifebuoys for no one.

130. The New International Economic Order already advocated by the sixth special session of the General Assembly is thus the only choice open to us to put our economies in order, to strengthen their natural complementarity and to ensure their steady and real expansion.

131. The new order is slow in coming. Yet no one seems willing at present to make do with either the archaic structures which have characterized international economic relations or the unjust laws which govern them, both of which factors make them so vulnerable. The important statements made by the many distinguished personalities who are participating in the debate during this special session of the General Assembly bear sufficient witness to this.

132. We are men of action; we have come here to build a beautiful future—our future—and to be worthy of posterity. We have freely adhered to the Charter because of its noble ideals, but also because it bears witness to good faith placed at the service of the patient quest for lasting solutions to the challenges faced by mankind. We have risen to our responsibilities and have done good work each time that, aware of the nature of our problems, we have successfully arranged for a process of dialogue to solve them. The present special Assembly session which is meeting at this time of grave economic crises should be a session of collaboration, not of confrontation; a session of frank and constructive dialogue; a session of give and take so that the economic convulsions may be brought to an end and that all nations without exception may be true partners in progress.

133. That was the choice offered to us by the President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert McNamara, when he stated before the Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors of the IMF, held at Belgrade from 2-5 October, 1979, that

"During the coming decade, the industrialized nations may face much the same choices as they did during the depression era of the 1930s: either to turn fear fully inward in self-defeating efforts to preserve narrow privilege, or to look courageously outward and assist both themselves and the less advantaged to become productive partners in an expanding international system."⁵

134. This momentous choice was also referred to by His Holiness Pope John Paul II who, during his recent courageous and highly significant pastoral visits, made this anguished appeal to mankind in keeping with his constant determination to mobilize men's consciences:

"I am addressing you because of this terrible threat which looms over mankind. The world is not stable. The world is in turmoil, not to say at war. The future of man and of the world is threatened, radically threatened. I beg of you: let us make every effort. Decide to show the noblest solidarity with humankind: a solidarity which is based on the dignity of the human person. Build peace starting with its foundation: respect for all human rights."

135. You will note that His Holiness clearly specifies "all human rights" and even adds:

"... the rights which are related to the material and economic dimension and those related to the spiritual

⁵International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *Summary Proceedings, 1979 Annual Meetings of the Board of Governors*, Washington, D.C., December 1979, p. 31.

and internal dimension of human life in this world. May wisdom inspire you. May love guide you, love which will eliminate the growing threat of hatred and destruction”.

136. The Pope's moving appeal included a severe but real warning:

“Justice in this world is at the crossroads: either it will be achieved by far-reaching and courageous reforms in accordance with principles based on human dignity or it will be achieved through force and violence but with no long-term result or any benefit for humanity: of this I am convinced.”

137. And so too am I.

138. Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to express our congratulations to you on your election as President of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. I am sure that, under your presidency, this session will achieve the greatest success thanks to your wisdom and other qualities and abilities which were manifested during your presidency of the thirty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly and also because you represent a country in the continent of Africa which has been suffering greatly from the imbalance between the North and the South, between the industrialized countries and those which have enormous quantities of raw materials needed by the industrial countries and which also represent a market for the products of the industrialized countries.

139. I must not miss this opportunity of congratulating, on behalf of my country, the fraternal country of Zimbabwe on having acceded to membership in the United Nations. We wish that young country the greatest success under the leadership of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, whose endurance in the struggle and whose wisdom as the head of his Government have earned the admiration of the international community.

140. The representative of India, on behalf of the Group of 77, clearly pointed out the dangers of the crisis resulting from the huge gap which separates the developed countries from the developing countries, and, in particular, from the poorest and least developed of the developing countries. We note with satisfaction that the developed countries are beginning to realize that their industrial superiority does not guarantee their prosperity and security and that they must share their superiority with the developing countries; it is no longer possible for a country or a group of countries to live isolated from the rest of the world, because the developed countries need the developing countries just as the developing countries need the developed countries. It is in the interests of the developed countries to establish co-operation and close co-ordination with the developing countries, not only in the political field but, first and foremost, in the economic, technological and industrial fields as well. There is an obvious interrelation between political and economic matters and the political interests of the industrialized countries require economic co-operation. It is imperative that economic and technical co-operation should be unconditional and not tied to any political factors; otherwise all efforts would be deprived of any interest and doomed to failure.

141. In reviewing the international economic and social situation at the end of the present decade, we cannot but express our concern at the limited progress that has been achieved. For the past eight years the world economy has suffered many crises, owing to the population explosion, decreased rates of development, increased inflation, lower prices of the raw materials

produced by the developing countries and the increase in the prices of manufactured goods.

142. The confrontation between the developing and the developed countries, food and energy crises, inflation, unbalanced growth and slow global development have been shaking the very foundations of the world's traditional economic edifice. The world economy is now in a state of constant crisis at a time when the developing countries do not have the means to overcome that crisis. Consequently they have been exposed to an economic stagnation unprecedented in its duration and dimensions and the continuous and increased inflation accompanying it. This same situation has given rise in the developing countries to increased deficits in their balance of payments, increased indebtedness, a deterioration of their trade rates and slowing down of their growth in general. This situation has shown the need to change the structure and bases of the world economy in a manner that will ensure justice and progress for humanity at large.

143. The common interests of the developed and the developing countries, including the oil-producing countries, is to collaborate among themselves so as to prevent the deterioration of the world economy, and particularly the deterioration of the economies of the developing countries, because such deterioration imperils world peace and security. This is also in line with the United Nations Charter, the preamble to which stipulates the necessity of promoting social progress and a better standard of life in larger freedom. Article 55 of the Charter provides for the promotion of full employment, economic and social progress and development and for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

144. The quest for the establishment of a new international economic order requires the formulation of a global strategy that would include all aspects of economic and social development. Such a strategy should apply the fundamental principle that joint efforts should be based on co-operation and mutual sacrifice. It would be pointless, in view of the present economic situation, to cast all the blame on one country or on one group of countries, because the responsibility is shared, although in different degrees. As an example, I would say that no one could deny the fact that the economy of the United States, because of its importance, directly affects the whole world. When the United States is faced with an economic problem, its repercussions are felt throughout the world, and particularly, in the developing countries. When the United States balance of payments shows a surplus because of an increase in its exports or a decrease in its imports, this adversely affects the economies of countries which are deprived in great part of their possibilities of exporting to the United States, besides being affected by the protectionist trend. On the other hand, when there is a deficit in the balance of payments of the United States due to the increase of exports over imports, it results in the inflation which the world has witnessed over the past three decades, the effects of which are felt in the developing countries. The inflation which affects the economy of the United States has two basic causes: a reduction in productivity and the resort to irresponsible monetary and financial policies.

145. There is another problem, namely, that of excessive oil consumption in the United States and other advanced industrial countries, which causes an increase in the demand for oil and oil imports. That in turn gives rise to an increase in world oil prices, which multiplies

the problems of the developing countries. It is known that the economic factors that govern the oil market, control its prices. The evidence is that the recent reduction in oil imports by the United States and the industrial countries because of the recession has led to a stability and even a reduction in oil prices. If we wanted to go into further detail we could cite further reasons which show the responsibility of the industrialized countries, and particularly the United States, for the present world economic problems. However, we do not wish to oversimplify matters, placing the blame indiscriminately on any specific category of the international community. It would be better to analyse the reasons for the problems which face all sides so that we can find practical and positive ways to co-operate in reducing the severity of those problems and to overcome them.

146. During this special session the international community has a duty to view matters realistically and constructively so that it can determine the reasons which have caused the deterioration of the present world economic situation and find appropriate solutions. First and foremost we must spell out the basic questions that we must face: development, energy and the international monetary system.

147. The advanced countries cannot escape participating with the developing countries in development efforts so that they can be more closely associated to world production and to world trade. No doubt the advanced countries are aware of the fact that they have contributed to the rise of problems linked to poverty and underdevelopment in the developing countries and to world economic and political instability. Developed countries realize that the monopoly of industry and the weakening of efforts for the transfer of technology to the developing countries do not and will not ensure to them economic stability and have not prevented the continuation of inflation. I know that some may not understand, do not want to recognize, that the industrial community itself needs to promote the development of developing countries in order to enhance their purchasing power so that they can assimilate a greater share of the production of the developed countries. Here we have to abide by the United Nations resolutions regarding economic assistance and the acceleration of the transfer of technology to the developing countries. The General Assembly advocated this at its sixth and seventh special sessions [*General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) and 3362 (S-VII)*]. But the political will to reform the present system is still lacking. Had the political will for taking speedy effective steps been exercised in the developed industrialized countries, the international economic situation would not be what it is today.

148. The economic factors connected with energy in general and oil in particular impose the conditions that govern the energy market at present. We should not forget that oil is a non-renewable resource. One of these days oil wells will dry up. What is now happening in the oil-producing countries is actually an exchange of real assets for financial assets. These financial assets are ultimately subject to the control of the industrialized countries and to the inflation they are suffering from. What is certain today is that financial assets are continually losing their value because of world inflation and the deterioration in purchasing power. Between 1974-1979, for example, the value of those assets decreased by more than 50 per cent. That is why the oil-exporting countries find themselves making concessions in three ways. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing countries of OPEC produce more oil than they need, thus sacrificing an important natural

resource—if only to stimulate international economic activity. My country accepts this situation, on the other hand, by accepting assets whose value diminishes because of the drop in their purchasing power but appears to the world as if it had a balance-of-payments surplus, whereas it is obliged to be in this situation merely because it agrees to shoulder its responsibilities. Thirdly, there is the suffering from inflation caused by the developed countries which impedes the implementation of the development programmes of the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

149. For all those reasons, my country has to fight against time in order to compensate for the depletion of its oil reserves, to offset the drop in the value of its oil earnings through inflation and to accelerate industrial, agricultural and social development in order to guarantee the continuity and advancement of a decent life for its people, because oil is our main source of income. The claim by developed countries that international financial inflation is due to an increase in the prices of oil imported from the OPEC countries, is a fallacious and false pretext for the following reasons. First, oil prices rose in general in all oil-producing countries; the increases were not confined to the oil produced by OPEC countries. Secondly, the rise in oil prices was dictated by purely economic factors reflected in the international oil market, which is affected by the supply and demand factor. Thirdly, statistics show that the rise in the price of oil paid by developed countries was only a very small part of the production cost of the goods and services in those countries. It is therefore clear that the claim of these countries is false and intended to mislead its citizens and world public opinion. Everybody knows that the real causes that have given rise to world inflation, which has existed and continues to exist in these countries was on account of a fall in production and the adoption of irresponsible financial and monetary policies. It is strange that developed countries should try to justify for themselves the incredible increases in the prices of their products and to cast the blame on the oil-producing countries, which are developing countries, for all their financial problems.

150. I should now like to speak on a third topic, namely the international monetary system. The developed countries which have large financial resources should transfer a portion of them to the developing countries in order to help the latter develop their resources. This could be done through bilateral and multilateral agreements and under relief programmes for the countries most seriously affected by the economic crisis, due account being taken of the problems affecting the least developed and the land-locked countries. It is necessary to provide opportunities for the developing countries to have access to international financial resources so that they can tackle their problems of borrowing and those related to improving their balance of payments with the aid of the facilities provided by the IMF. In order to facilitate this, the necessary steps should be taken speedily to reform the structure of the present international monetary system. The Government of my country has supported many measures taken by the IMF to that end in order to promote the system of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) and to link the allocation of SDRs with development. We have also supported the new trend of the IMF in dealing with matters of balancing, taking account of the special supply aspect and accepting longer repayment periods, in addition to the co-ordination measures taken by the Fund and the World Bank for the benefit of members of

those two organizations. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has strongly supported the creation of an account for subsidizing poor countries when they borrow from the Fund at commercial interest rates. My country has stated that it will make substantial grants to this account and will extend loans to it, should that prove necessary. It has likewise approved the plan for aid to the countries most seriously affected by the increase in food prices, which is now before the IMF.

151. It is high time for the developed countries to co-ordinate their efforts in order to stabilize their currencies and reduce the inflationary gaps separating them. Until this is done, we shall unfortunately not see an international monetary system that is stable and serves the interests of all.

152. This special session is taking place at a very critical time because of the economic crisis, the energy crisis, the food crisis, the monetary crisis and other crises which affect all countries. But the developing countries, are the principal victims of these crises. The efforts that have been exerted in recent years at the international level to try to improve the situation have not produced the expected results. The negotiations on basic commodities and the efforts to overcome difficulties in the fields of trade, the transfer of real resources, investment, development financing, relief, and the transfer of technologies have not produced positive results. More than that, certain steps taken unilaterally by the developed countries to try to revive their economy have led to widespread inflation and hence worsened the economic difficulties, especially in the developing countries.

153. There are individual and collective responsibilities that should be borne by all countries for co-operating in the establishment of the New International Economic Order, which aims at achieving economic and social justice for developing countries and guaranteeing the interests of the developed countries in a stable and peaceful world. Thus, the developed countries must assume the responsibility of transferring part of their resources and technology to developing countries and helping them to establish industries compatible with the resources and needs of international and local markets. The socialist industrialized countries should also participate in this effort because their international responsibilities are no less important than those of other industrialized countries. We believe that the contribution of the socialist countries in the transfer of resources and technology to developing countries will strengthen the effectiveness of this new order and guarantee its success. There is no doubt that the developing countries should assume a large part of the responsibility for the success of the new order. They should seriously and sincerely redouble their efforts to absorb the aid that is given them and co-ordinate their resources and opportunities, so as to avoid making mistakes in utilizing those resources and managing their industries.

154. Having mentioned the responsibilities of the different categories of countries, we should affirm here that the oil-producing countries which have a surplus on their oil earnings because of production in excess of their needs should also assume a large part of the joint responsibility. It is clear that these countries take account of their international responsibilities in drawing their oil policies and go beyond mere national interests. We call upon countries which produce large quantities of oil for local consumption to assume the same responsibility in regard to international considerations. Furthermore, all oil-importing countries, including countries which also produce oil, should redouble their

efforts to use energy more effectively. They should try to reduce the demand for oil, to use other sources of energy and to promote conditions for organized oil markets. These countries should resort more and more to a pricing system and to taking direct governmental measures to lessen consumption of energy and to find other energy sources. Unless such efforts are made, the 1980s will witness economic jolts as a result of the energy problem and there will be very serious constraints placed on the economies of the developing and industrialized countries.

155. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in common with other oil-exporting countries, which are themselves developing countries, has paid particular attention to the aspirations and hopes of the poor countries and has tried for many years to contribute to the development of their economies through bilateral, regional and multilateral assistance both within the framework of the United Nations and various funds, through its Saudi Development Fund, in particular, the Arab Fund for African development, the Arab Economic Development Fund in Africa, the Islamic Development Fund, the Arab Fund for economic and social development, the Arab Bank for Investment and Foreign Trade, the Arab African Bank, the Arab Fund for Technical Assistance for African and Arab Countries, the Asian Fund for Development, the International Arab Bank, the Special Fund of the Organization of Oil-exporting Countries, as well as the Arab fund for granting loans to African countries, the Soviet Authority for Development and the IFAD. To quote but one example, the contributions of the oil-exporting countries to IFAD have reached 43 per cent of its capital, which exceeds one billion dollars. Convinced that that fund will play a very important role in developing the agricultural sector of developing countries, my Government proposed a renewed commitment to capital of the fund. The official development assistance of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has reached more than 3 per cent of its gross national product. Our official commitments thus far have attained nearly 5 per cent of our gross national product, whereas aid from developed countries has not reached even 0.3 per cent of their gross national product.

156. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has become the main source of financing for the IMF and the World Bank, through one of their oil agencies. It granted amounts exceeding one fifth of the total loans of the World Bank between 1973 and 1976 and pledged itself to provide about one quarter of all the resources of the complementary financing agency, whose fund target is 10 billion dollars, which makes Saudi Arabia the major subscriber to this agency.

157. The main reason for convening this special session is to strengthen and increase the political will of the United Nations within the framework of the global efforts to establish a new international economic order. The world today cannot remain for ever divided into a rich minority having the lion's share of world income and a poor majority of developing countries containing more than 75 per cent of the world population, whose share of world income, including that of the oil-producing countries, does not exceed 30 per cent and whose industrial production is as low as 7 per cent of the world's total industrial output. Developed countries cannot resolve their problems without the contribution of developing countries.

158. In such circumstances, the main task of the international community now should be to evaluate the resolutions adopted at the sixth and seventh special sessions and take resolutions that would be the basis of negotia-

tions about wide frameworks agreed upon through which commitment to work and settlement of the serious problems that have emerged during the last years could be achieved, as well as formulating the different rules in the various fields of economic relations, with a view to implementing the international economic strategy for the coming decade.

159. Therefore, political will on the part of all countries will be a necessity if we wish to be successful in finding sound solutions for this world crisis; all should understand that it is in the interest of all countries to promote co-operation and co-ordination in working out the main lines of a global approach based on justice, mutual interest and real solidarity among all peoples.

160. Mr. GUESSOUS (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I should like at the beginning of my statement to express my warmest congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. Your experience and the skill with which you presided over the work of the thirty-fourth regular session and the preceding special session guarantee the success of our present tasks.

161. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome the State of Zimbabwe to the United Nations. The arduous and unremitting struggle of the heroic people of Zimbabwe has thus been crowned with success and that people has been able to achieve its dignity and its independence.

162. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe is also our victory, for we have contributed to their struggle, either directly or indirectly within the Organization of African Unity (OAU). I wish to state that my country commits itself to pursuing the struggle to eliminate the last vestiges of imperialism in Africa and to coming to the assistance of the peoples of southern Africa and Namibia until they can achieve their right to independence and dignity.

163. This session should have been the crowning achievement of various international meetings held recently, among them, the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979, the third General Conference of UNIDO, held at New Delhi from 21 January to 8 February 1980, and other meetings of important international bodies.

164. At those meetings efforts were made to find a common field of action acceptable to us all. While all those conferences did not succeed, our session today is of great historical importance as a turning-point in international relations. We must bear this reality in mind and seize the opportunity to arrive at a general agreement on the problems before us.

165. The complexity of international relations and the economic interdependence of States make co-operation a necessity for all. The economic crisis which has afflicted the world for some time has shown how the interests of States are linked and to what extent their economies are interdependent. This should lead the international community to consultation instead of confrontation, to entente rather than disagreement.

166. While we recognize that all countries of the world are aware of that, the experience of past years has shown that awareness and declarations of principle are not sufficient unless they are accompanied by practical positions and a precise definition of the means by which those declarations are to be implemented.

167. During the Second United Nations Development Decade, the international community defined the most important objectives that had to be achieved. It declared

its unanimous agreement on the need to establish a more just and more equitable New International Economic Order [*General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VII)*]. What has been the result? What have we accomplished, now that we are on the threshold of the third development decade? All the studies and analyses that have been undertaken reveal that we are still far from having achieved those objectives. Furthermore, the situation is continuing to deteriorate in the developing countries that are most affected by the economic crisis. The effects of this crisis have had repercussions on the developing countries—such as inflation, the terrible increase in the prices of raw materials and capital goods, widespread economic recession and deficits in the balance of payments, not to mention the other negative economic effects. The share of the developing countries in world industrial production is still far from having reached the target set for the end of this century, that is, 25 per cent of world industrial production, under conditions of justice and equity. The share of developing countries in international trade has declined because of the new protectionist trend among industrialized countries. That policy consists not only in imposing tariff barriers but also leads to protectionist measures with regard to the production of industrialized countries from foreign competition.

168. Worse still, the tendency to protectionism is not confined to industrial goods but also affects agricultural products. It is neither conceivable nor reasonable for certain industrialized countries to impose such tariff restrictions to protect their economies.

169. There is no doubt that that is affecting our interests, multiplying our problems and constituting a barrier to our industrialization. What remains to us the developing countries to promote our economies, when we know in advance that our income from raw materials is subject to market fluctuations and to a handful of specialists in monopolies?

170. My country welcomed the agreement recently reached on the principles of the Common Fund for commodity price stabilization, but we must still note with regret that more efforts are needed. We are all aware of the importance of the Fund: it will contribute to laying the foundations of the New International Economic Order by establishing prices compatible with the needs of the developing countries, bearing in mind the relationship that should exist between the prices of raw materials and the prices of manufactured goods if the desired balance in the world economy is to be established.

171. No progress has yet been made in regard to the transfer of technology. It is still monopolized by a group of industrialized countries. So far, those countries have refused to transfer technology unless it is unsophisticated technology or technology on which experiments are still being carried out. On the other hand, the world economic crisis has demonstrated that the present international monetary system is incapable of adjusting to the new international facts. The measures recently taken by the industrialized countries because of the fluctuations in their currencies have led to a serious deterioration in the situation of the developing countries, which continue to suffer from a lack of financial resources and from a balance-of-payments deficit which this year will reach \$70 billion.

172. In that respect, the solutions proposed by the institutions of the present economic system are inadequate; they are not commensurate with the enormous damage suffered by the developing countries. The responsibilities placed upon poor countries are the same

as those of the rich countries, and that is a flagrant injustice.

173. That is the present situation. It gives no grounds for optimism. Nevertheless, we do not wish this session to be a source of discouragement; rather, we must study the reasons for our failure. We must use this session as a starting point for a more general and effective dialogue designed to give us a better understanding of the problems of the developing countries.

174. The reasons for the failure are inherent in the incompatibility of the present economic system with the balance that must be established between the countries of the North and the countries of the South. It is clearer today than ever before that the solution does not lie in making minor reforms or changes; the system as a whole must be reconsidered and new methods of action must be proposed that take the primary aims into account, if we wish to contribute to the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

175. It was the industrialized countries alone that laid the foundations of the present economic system—at a time when the majority of the developing countries were still under the yoke of colonialism. The foundations of the present economic system were laid to serve the interests of the industrialized countries—those countries which today are trying to overcome the crisis from which they are suffering by exporting it, in various forms, to the developing countries: at times, workers from developing countries are being expelled from the advanced countries where they have been working; at other times, the industrialized countries refuse to establish just and equitable prices for raw materials and they increase the prices of their manufactured goods.

176. Thus, we see that the present economic system serves the interests of the strong. This system can be changed only if the right of the developing countries to develop is recognized.

177. That is the reason for the overriding importance of the present session, which is seeking to define the objectives of the strategy for the third United Nations development decade.

178. Everyone recognizes that the final objective of development is an improvement in the economic, social and cultural conditions of life of the individual. In that context, I would recall that a large proportion of the people of the world suffer from hunger, ignorance and disease. Approximately eight hundred million human beings live in a state of abject poverty; thousands die of hunger every year; the infant mortality rate remains very high in the developing countries, as does the illiteracy rate.

179. If we wish to be realistic and to face up to our responsibilities, one of our objectives must be to specify the means to put an end to these scourges and to establish decent living conditions for mankind. Generally speaking, we must define the objectives and the social indices that are the genuine criteria of the standard of living of the people. We believe that that should be the essential aim of our agreement, because, in our opinion, the poor, the illiterate and the sick are not the responsibility only of the developing countries where they live; they are the responsibility of the international community also. We are convinced, in fact, that there will not be true civilization in the world until all mankind has decent conditions of life.

180. Development is not limited to establishing or promoting minimum essential and material conditions. In addition, there must be respect for dignity and condi-

tions must be established that will permit a just division of the fruits of growth.

181. With respect to the rate of growth of national income, individual income, international trade, investments and savings, my delegation supports the proposals of the Group of 77. At the same time, we maintain that we must specify the sectoral and regional objectives, taking account of the level of development of the developing and other countries, and must fix an order of priority and establish a precise time-frame to achieve those objectives. We believe that those are essential conditions if we wish to overcome the errors committed during the Second United Nations Development Decade. In this context my delegation notes with satisfaction that most representatives agree that the least developed countries should be given special attention by the international community and should also be given greater participation in the activities of the international community in order to raise their levels of living, since they have large populations and they have suffered most as a result of the economic crisis.

182. We expect a great deal of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, and we hope that it will arrive at practical measures that result in the raising of the level of living of these people. We hope that the first step will be taken, and later other practical steps, to improve the level of living of those populations.

183. There is no doubt that the international development strategy we are now discussing will remain a dead letter unless we manage to agree on a precise document on the global negotiations and on the dialogue that is to follow.

184. We are convinced that the preparation of an agenda and a definite time-table for these negotiations could be a sign that the members of the international community realize they must decide to introduce real changes to implement the New International Economic Order for the benefit of the developing countries.

185. My delegation considers that we should establish an order of priorities and a method to evaluate our work in this field, and that the international community should ensure co-ordination among all the various committees working on these problems so as to achieve satisfactory results.

186. In general, we find that problems we confront are interdependent and complex, and it would be useless to seek to establish a new international economic order through sectoral and fragmentary solutions. Only global vision can enable us to ascertain the effects and repercussions of all the measures and changes which we might introduce in the new order as compared with the existing order.

187. To attain that objective, the international community should agree on the various solutions and on the various results of global negotiations, which leads us to use the only framework which could enable us to arrive at a consensus among ourselves on the objectives, namely, the United Nations General Assembly.

188. The fact that certain countries claim that this means an overlapping of the responsibilities of the different forums which would make the Assembly ineffective—we believe that these are simply manoeuvres to gain time and to defend unjust interests and thus delay solutions for the establishment of a new international economic order based on the principles of justice and equality. Experience has shown that it is difficult to study the reform of a system within the framework of

that same system, and that is the best lesson to be drawn from the failure of preceding conferences.

189. If the economic crisis has aggravated the situation of developing countries, imposing on them serious problems with respect to food, education and housing, the waste in the developed countries must be stopped.

190. When we speak of an economy of waste, we mean waste in all its forms—waste of energy, the disadvantages of which are known; waste of fisheries resources because of the fishing methods used by the developed countries, which are threatening to exhaust those resources, of the sea; waste of food resources, and the destruction of those resources, at times, to obtain higher prices; and, what is worse, waste of human energy in war and famine.

191. Thus there is waste, side by side with absolute poverty, which is a striking example of the injustice and inequity of the present system of international economic relations. It is an affront to the world.

192. It is impossible to establish a new stable order without evaluating the gravity of the problems of the present economic order, which are problems of inequity. A stable economic system can be established only if we prove that we have the goodwill to introduce profound structural changes in international economic relations.

193. If there is one context in which justice has to be guaranteed, it is that of co-operation, because the international economic situation in recent years has clearly shown the inability of the existing organizations to establish genuine co-operation. This situation has become very serious, and it compels us more than ever to adopt measures that go beyond the narrow and selfish interests that we have of co-operation; based on a balance of power, on changing friendships or on haphazard donations. We must therefore go beyond this framework and arrive at a broader co-operation as a means to guarantee prosperity, rather than achieving narrow goals or imposing conditions.

194. We believe that bilateral co-operation is a very successful form of co-operation among developing countries when multilateral co-operation is decreasing in a very disquieting manner. This type of co-operation can in no way contribute to the establishment of relations based on respect and the dignity and independence of peoples.

195. We are witnesses to the fact that the share of developing countries in the official development aid provided by developed countries is decreasing rather than increasing so as to achieve the target we set here. Accordingly, we appeal to the developed countries to

prove their unconditional co-operation by adopting practical measures for the transfer of financial, technological and other resources. There can be no doubt that fruitful co-operation between the North and the South requires above all the strengthening of co-operation among the countries of the South to enable us to make the best possible use of our national resources and to arrive at collective self-sufficiency in most sectors, in accordance with the principles of the Second Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, devoted to economic matters, held at Lagos, 28-29 April 1980.

196. Within the framework of that co-operation, which should take into account the economic interdependence of the countries of the South, His Majesty King Hassan II proposed a new form of regional co-operation in Africa. He invited all countries bordering on the Sahara to intensify their efforts and to place their human and material potential at the service of and for the benefit of all.

197. The solution of the problem of development in the third-world countries, as well as the solution of international economic problems and the problems of international co-operation, cannot be found in a simple reform of the present economic structure, as long as hotbeds of tension persist in clouding the international atmosphere. In particular, we should like to speak of the Palestinian people because the suffering and the tragedy of that people are an affront to the international conscience. The solution to the Palestinian problem is to be found only in the strengthening of the right of the Palestinian people, whose only authentic representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization. We must therefore affirm the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State.

198. In conclusion, may I express the hope that the appeals that we are making from this rostrum will find a favourable response and lead our discussions to a fruitful result. The peoples which are expecting a great deal from our work will never forgive us if we fail.

199. I am profoundly convinced that the work of this session will be crowned with success and that we shall arrive at fruitful results and important decisions which will make of this session a great historic event reflecting humanity's march towards justice, peace and prosperity.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.