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**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria).**

**AGENDA ITEM 7**

**Development and international economic co-operation  
(continued)**

1. Mr. CHATTI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is in keeping with our common efforts that the seventh special session of the General Assembly, devoted to development and international economic co-operation, follows closely on the sixth special session, in the convening of which your country, Algeria, played a prominent part. The foundations laid at that session with a view to the establishment of a new and more just international economic order have been strengthened by the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], which our Assembly adopted under your dynamic presidency. We are pleased to be in a position today to pursue this long-term task under your presidency, in the hope of achieving concrete results at the end of this session for the implementation of such an order.

2. In this connexion it is encouraging to note that most, if not all, of our countries, by agreeing to limit the number of subjects to be dealt with at the present session have opted for both effectiveness and realism without losing sight of the common aspiration for a more just economic order, since the subjects we shall be discussing are fully within the framework of the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 2302 (S-VI)] and the terms of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

3. These texts were not, of course, adopted with the hoped-for unanimity. Nevertheless, their content as a whole reflects the concerns and hopes of a very large number of States Members of our Organization; and they thus have a particular importance in the economic relations among countries and groups of countries which it would be dangerous to underestimate or ignore. I say "dangerous" because the legitimate claims which are embodied in these documents are the minimum without which the economic injustices which we hope are things of the past may be perpetuated and the gap between developed and developing countries may increase, with the resulting upheavals which the world community has witnessed in recent years.

4. The fact that for practical and realistic reasons the number of questions submitted to our session is limited should not therefore cause us to forget on the one hand the need for an integrated approach to the problems of development and international economic co-operation and on the other the concern for the continuity which must guide our efforts. These are precisely the essential characteristics of the documents that we have enumerated, as well as of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade which, adopted five years ago [resolution 2626 (XXV)], could, once it is implemented and adapted to the new international conditions, preserve its full value.

5. The consultations which have taken place in preparing this session have strengthened our conviction that, with a minimum of political will, misunderstanding and even confrontation, which have affected and still affect in some cases economic and consequently political relations between developed and developing nations, can give way to understanding on the goals pursued and to loyal co-operation. This will enable us to find the most practical means of achieving these goals, taking into account the interests of each and every one of us. This will be all the more feasible since the present-day economic situation constantly reminds us that interdependence is not a slogan; it is a fact we must face and it requires the readaptation and revision of certain customs and procedures which we have inherited from an era we hope belongs to the past. Such a readaptation and revision should not necessarily be carried out at the expense of the standards of living achieved by developed nations, but rather by eliminating the causes of inequalities in the distribution of future wealth and consequently by redistributing economic power throughout the world so as to ensure for each country the conditions for its autonomous and continued fulfilment, which is the only guarantee of permanent social peace.

6. Tunisia, for its part, has never lost hope that in both the economic and the political spheres reason will prevail over emotion and selfishness. It is thus that the conclusion of contracts on development between industrialized and developing countries proposed by President Bourguiba constitutes, in our opinion, a new framework of co-operation capable of speeding up the economic development of all countries which are parties to them. This new framework involves in particular the technological and financial means of the industrialized world, or of any other countries with financial surpluses, being used for the achievement in certain less fortunate countries of productive economic projects, thus creating the conditions for healthy co-operation in the interest of all the parties concerned.

7. We are pleased to note that this new type of co-operation, called triangular co-operation, is daily gaining

new support and becoming increasingly, particularly at the regional level, a model which among others could best govern the relations among the countries concerned. It is at the same time an effective tool permitting a relative distribution of economic power in the interests of all.

8. The questions before us at this session have certain things in common which makes them likely to gain the general support of our Assembly. These are rightly considered to be priority questions. Rapid progress in this context must be the first sign of the awareness we all have of our interdependence. These questions are sufficiently broad for all countries, whether developed or developing, to find their own needs and concerns reflected therein. It is clear, however, that the needs and concerns of developing countries, without being exclusive, should, because of their urgent nature, be given appropriate priority.

9. May I be permitted to say in this context that Tunisia understands the particularly difficult situation of certain developing countries. My country has always supported the implementation, for the benefit of these countries and within the framework of relevant United Nations resolutions, of special measures aimed at remedying the geo-structural insufficiencies from which they suffer.

10. We understand fully that the efforts of the world community must be adapted to the level of development reached by the various third-world countries, but we must not abandon to their fate certain countries which we feel have reached the stage of self-sufficiency. Those countries, to reach that stage, have made many efforts and sacrifices. The trend that we are at present witnessing in certain countries and international bodies towards restricting or eliminating the assistance granted to some developing countries can be viewed as a penalty for their efforts and dedication.

11. We feel, on the contrary, that those countries are now in a crucial phase prior to take-off, which necessitates a sustained effort, even an intensification of the assistance provided by the world community.

12. Whether this concerns international trade or the transfer of resources and technology, whether it concerns industrialization or food, these countries, like all others, expect of this session political commitments on concrete measures to be taken by the world community, measures which could, if necessary, be spelled out either by the specialized agencies or during subsequent negotiations within the United Nations, as well as in other international bodies, with the effective participation of all the countries concerned. We should thus have strengthened the central role of our Organization, and in particular that of the General Assembly, as a universal body, by the definition of the general rules governing international co-operation.

13. The United Nations and its organs have taken and continue to take initiatives that could have a decisive influence on economic relations among nations.

14. The most recent of these initiatives has come from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], which has for many months been studying proposals on an integrated programme for commodities,

with the various elements involved therein, in particular the creation of international stocks, the setting up of a common fund, the establishment of a system of multilateral commitments and mechanisms of compensatory financing and, lastly, the adoption of measures on the transformation of basic commodities and food-stuffs. It goes without saying that the establishment of arrangements for the indexation of the prices of the exports of developing countries with relation to their imports from developed countries should be an integral part of this programme. It would also be natural for the implementation of the programme to cover the products that represent a high percentage of the export earnings of all developing countries. For its part, Tunisia is concerned with, among other things, the regulation of the phosphate and olive-oil markets, a regulation of which, as in the case of all other products, should guarantee remunerative prices and secure markets. We hope negotiations on the identification of products to be covered by this integrated programme will result in a list in which the needs of all developing countries will be reflected.

15. In my opinion, the studies on the question of indexation and, in general, work on this integrated programme, must be completed as expeditiously as possible. Meanwhile, it is not impossible for us at this session to agree on the broad outline of such a programme so that UNCTAD may be able to approve it in its definitive form at its fourth session. We must avoid endless discussions and the proliferation of studies on such an urgent and acute problem if we are to avoid an increase in the anarchy which prevails in commodity markets and which threatens the economies of all countries without distinction.

16. The same risks exist because of the maintenance and, in some cases, the worsening of the obstacles to access to the markets of developed countries of raw materials, industrial products and, particularly, agricultural products coming from the developing nations. It is particularly regrettable in this context to note that the obstacles imposed on the agricultural exports of certain developing countries to certain developed countries and groups of developed countries continue to increase despite the many appeals launched by the United Nations and even the elementary rules of co-operation and friendship dictated by common interests, good-neighbourliness and the bonds created by history.

17. Such an attitude could perpetuate the economic independence of developing countries. To make matters worse, the hoped-for results of multilateral trade negotiations are not yet apparent because of the slow pace of those negotiations. The generalized system of preferences remains imperfect in many respects. My country has always supported requests to improve the system so that it may better respond to the needs of developing countries. However, we would stress that the process of improvement should not ignore the idiosyncracies of certain developing countries in their special trade relations with certain developed countries. In my opinion it is, moreover, time to give concrete expression to the appeal launched by UNCTAD and taken up at the Assembly's sixth special session to grant the necessary trade compensations to countries benefiting from special preferences. However, this should not be construed as a renunciation, in the trade and

economic fields, of the principle of respect for present and future agreements and arrangements among countries and groups of countries which necessarily differentiate between the advantages given to the various developing countries.

18. The reforms we seek in the field of trade should be accompanied by adequate reforms in the concept of financial and economic co-operation between developed and developing nations and by a reinforcement of scientific and industrial co-operation on sound and equitable bases.

19. If the transfer of real resources to finance the development of third-world countries is viewed by most of those countries as an asset, a supplement to their national resources and their own efforts, it is none the less an important element of their development plan and represents a factor of rapprochement among peoples that should be strengthened. It is particularly important that this session should recognize the need for a substantial increase in financial assistance to developing countries on favourable terms. These terms must be more flexible. In particular, aid must be without strings and free of all constraints, and the necessity for the donor countries to participate substantially in the cost of the projects in local currency must be recognized. Assistance should be given for a longer period than one year according to the periodicity of the national plans of the recipient countries. Lastly, we feel that the fixing of a target date for achievement of the goal of 0.7 of gross national product for assistance must be accepted and respected by all the developed countries. My country also attaches great importance to the general goal of 1 per cent of gross national product, including an element of private transfers, which, in certain circumstances, can play a considerable role in the financing of the development of third-world countries.

20. The adoption of automatic mechanisms for the transfer of real resources suggested by the Group of 77 would be a major innovation which should be studied and applied as quickly as possible. It is already clear that the establishment of a link between special drawing rights and assistance provided for development is technically possible. We can only hope that the remaining hesitations which persist in certain circles on this question will be rapidly dissipated. Other automatic mechanisms have been suggested, and it would be wise for this session to give the necessary mandates to the appropriate organs in this context so that all aspects may be studied. Today, more than ever, the developing countries need reliable external financing, free of all constraints and corresponding to their short-, medium-, and long-term needs.

21. Meanwhile, the developing countries see their indebtedness increase to the point where their export potential and reserves are heavily burdened. Has the time not come for us to think seriously of adopting, perhaps at a special international conference, decisions on a series of measures aimed at reducing that indebtedness? All countries concerned with this problem should have the possibility of participating in this urgent task, on which the economic balance of such a large number of developing countries depends.

22. We know that these measures would perhaps be more easily achieved in economic conditions different from those

which persist in certain developed countries. The difficulties encountered by those countries, which, like inflation, necessarily have an impact on developing countries, should none the less stimulate them to attack the roots of the problem rather than aggravate the situation in developing countries by unilateral decisions, restrictive measures and limitations of all kinds.

23. Thus, the reform of the international monetary system must be speeded up in view of the major needs of development. The setting up of a new order in the monetary and financial field also makes it indispensable for us to improve the present representation of developing countries in the executive organs of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the strengthening of their active and responsible participation in the decision-making process within these two bodies. At the same time all financial decisions affecting a great part of the world community must be returned to the deliberative organs of IMF. Meetings limited to a few countries and to unilateral decisions, no matter how necessary they may be in certain cases, must take account of the competence in this regard of an international body with a democratic structure.

24. Adequate transfers of resources, including those achieved through monetary reform, must be supplemented by appropriate technological transfers. These transfers, unfortunately, continue to be governed, to a large extent, by traditional trade practices that do not take into account the specific development needs of the recipient countries. Because of this an international code of conduct on the transfer of technology from developed to developing countries as well as a revision of the international conventions on patents have been rendered necessary. We hope that the work of UNCTAD and other competent international bodies undertaken in this regard can be completed as expeditiously as possible. It is also time, in my opinion, to fulfil and indeed surpass the objectives laid down in the relevant paragraphs of the International Development Strategy to assist developing countries to create their own development capacity so that they may develop and apply technology that is adapted to their own needs. Lastly, we feel that the recommendation of the Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization [UNIDO]<sup>1</sup> for a study of the possibility of creating an industrial and technological information bank [see A/10112, chap. IV, para. 61 (k)] deserves the full attention of our Assembly. Such a bank would obviate the need for proceeding by trial and error and would speed up the process of industrialization, which is justly viewed by many developing countries as a key factor in economic and social progress.

25. The Second General Conference of UNIDO laid down the principles for industrial co-operation for modernizing the economies of the developing countries and increasing their share in world industrial production. In accordance with the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation [ibid., chap. IV], the world community should also take measures to ensure that the industrial growth thus achieved is distributed as equitably as possible among the developing countries as a whole.

<sup>1</sup> Held at Lima from 12 to 26 March 1975.

26. It would be, in our opinion, indispensable for the General Assembly at this special session to adopt concrete decisions on industrialization so as to speed up the achievement of the aforementioned principles and goals.

27. The question of the relocation of certain industries in developing countries must surely be included among the subjects to be granted priority here, all the more so since several developed countries are becoming aware of the usefulness of encouraging structural adjustments within their own economies that will facilitate this relocation. Several of the developed countries also have a policy of encouraging their enterprises and their investors to participate in the financing of the industrial production projects in developing countries, particularly projects concerned with export production. These trends should be encouraged. Moreover, our session should open the way to the establishment of a system of consultation among developing and developed countries on these questions and others in keeping with paragraph 66 of the Lima Plan of Action. Tunisia is convinced that such a system cannot but strengthen dialogue at the world, regional and sectoral levels among developed and developing countries in their common interest. My country, which opted for accelerated industrialization, relying initially on its own means, has adopted a series of measures aimed at encouraging the dialogue that it has already entered into with certain countries so as to acquire the necessary industrial structure for its economic take-off. Thus, we have adopted a system of favourable regulations to encourage investments in manufactures that is equally applicable to national and non-nationals and have welcomed foreign investment in export industries. Tunisia is thus willing to participate in any system of dialogue aimed at speeding up the industrialization of developing countries on terms that are acceptable for all parties concerned.

28. Allow me to say in this context how much my delegation appreciates the encouraging attitude adopted by certain delegations of developed countries, particularly that of France, which have made concrete proposals on industrialization for this special session. My country also appreciates the intentions behind certain proposals made by several developed countries in other sectors that are of concern to developing countries. We have thus welcomed the proposal of the Government of the United States for the inclusion among the matters submitted to the Assembly at this session of the question of food [*see A/10003/Add.1, annex V*]. That country is undoubtedly best placed to take the initiative in this particular field with a view to the adoption of new practical action.

29. The World Food Conference, held at Rome in November 1974, undoubtedly considered all aspects of agricultural development and the World Food Council has begun to supervise the implementation of the decisions of that Conference. This session could help to guide it in its work towards questions of priority and, in particular, that of increasing food production in developing nations. In this context greater importance should be granted to increasing the production of fertilizers, particularly in developing countries that produce phosphates. We should like, moreover, to repeat that in our opinion an essential factor in the encouragement of food production is the liberalization by developed countries of access to their markets for agricul-

tural products, including processed goods, from developing countries.

30. At the beginning of this statement we referred to the idea of a contract on development which is part of the Tunisian concept of new types of co-operation that should govern economic relations among developed and developing countries. We are convinced that progress in the sectors we mentioned thereafter could be promoted by the application of such a concept, to the extent that all countries recognized their common interest in international development and co-operation. We are convinced that this session should encourage the spread of this new type of co-operation by recommending procedures that would give it the necessary effectiveness.

31. I do not wish to conclude this statement without referring to the praiseworthy work of the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System. The report the experts submitted<sup>2</sup> is rich in recommendations which must be seriously studied so that they can be judged correctly. The ambition of the Group is none the less that of us all, namely, to make of the United Nations a more effective tool for the strengthening of world peace and security and for international economic and social co-operation.

32. In this regard, Tunisia has always favoured the strengthening of the role of the General Assembly and of the Economic and Social Council and the improvement of the effectiveness of Secretariat services. We will actively support all realistic recommendations aimed at the fulfilment of these objectives. My country has always, likewise, favoured the use of procedures that facilitate the achievement of a consensus within the decision-making organs when unanimity is not possible. In this, faithful to the philosophy of President Bourguiba, we have always opted for reason and moderation in defining means while maintaining a firm stand as to basic goals and principles. We cannot, however, confuse the determination to proceed by means of dialogue, which has always been a constant feature of Tunisian policy, as witnessed in the Group of 77, with a renunciation pure and simple of the right to resort to democratic procedures when it comes to nations whose sole strength on the international plane lies perhaps in their being able to count on the moral support of the Organization in defence of their legitimate claims.

33. It is, moreover, regrettable to see with what lack of understanding some of the positions advocated by those countries have been viewed in certain circles and by world public opinion. We acknowledge, for our part, the need to make public opinion more aware of the aims of the United Nations, thus facilitating the elaboration of new governmental policies in international co-operation. We acknowledge, at the same time, the need for world public opinion to be duly and correctly informed as to the problems of development, and we stress the role that Governments should play, particularly those of the developed nations, in providing this information.

34. It is undoubtedly time, in this context, for each country to tell its own public the full truth about the new

<sup>2</sup> *A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.7).



state of affairs in today's world, explaining in particular that there are no longer any countries that are economically invulnerable; that we should not seek for the reasons for this change by accusing some or by making others responsible; that it is absolutely essential to control the selfishness of some and to overcome the bitterness of others; that it is politically wiser through dialogue and consultations to accept inevitable structural changes within the present economic system, so that the poor of the world may truly accede to a better life and to economic and social progress. It is only by so doing that the richer countries will remain secure in a state of prosperity that is not envied them because it is shared by all.

35. This is the historical responsibility that is ours and that we cannot brush aside without sooner or later endangering the future of all mankind.

36. Mr. HILAL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Arab Republic of Egypt would like to offer you its congratulations, coupled with feelings of pride and satisfaction, on your chairmanship of this extremely important session. We all hope that the results of this session will enable us to implement the pledges we made in the early days of May last year for the establishment of a new world economic order based on equality and justice in trade and economic relations between the industrial and the developing countries, to their mutual benefit. The leading role played by the sister State of Algeria in this context deserves our deep appreciation. Your chairmanship of this session is a tribute paid by the United Nations to Algeria, its people and its great leader, President Houari Boumediène, as well as to you personally.

37. Last year was a year of historic change in the economic relations between the industrial States and the countries of the third world, producers of raw materials. The experience gained in the field of development on a world-wide scale proved the impossibility of realizing the aspirations of the third world within the present framework of the traditional world economy. As a result the non-aligned countries took a firm decision to change current economic relations, rendering them more equitable in order to provide equal opportunities for all, to put an end to the exploitation of the weak by the strong, and to bridge the growing gap between levels of living in the developing and the advanced States.

38. The first special economic session in the history of the United Nations was held to examine the problems of the developing countries after those countries had succeeded in convincing the countries of the industrial States of the necessity of considering their just demands in a new light while recognizing the innate strength of the developing countries and their unlimited potentialities.

39. As a result of the events stemming from the 1973 October War, the peoples of the world have come to realize the extent to which the advanced economies of the industrial countries depend on the co-operation of the developing countries, producers of raw materials, and on the emergence of these developing countries as an effective economic power with every right to receive a just share of the fruits of world economic co-operation.

40. Just as Egypt's victory in the battle to restore its national control of the Suez Canal in 1956 was the signal of a stronger wave of national liberation and of access to political independence for the colonized peoples, so the 1973 October War led to the strengthening of the economic independence of the third-world countries and enabled the developing countries to occupy their lawful place within the international economic community. These historic events, which made interdependence between nations into a concrete reality and a matter of common interest where before it had been a meaningless motto, led the international community to believe in the need for a redistribution of the fruits of world trade and technological progress on the basis of equity and common interest and for the translation of this international belief into a genuine and concrete change in the trade and economic policies practised by the industrialized countries. This change is inspired by mutual respect and equal sovereignty, without confrontation, threats or pressure.

41. In the course of the sixth special session of the General Assembly and in the discussions relating to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the non-aligned countries were able to adopt a common stand and to maintain their solidarity through a series of continued and difficult negotiations. Despite the reservations expressed by some advanced countries on a number of principles and provisions contained in the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session, and despite the negative vote of some countries on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the recognition of the principles embodied in this historic Charter has constantly become more widespread throughout the world, whether at the level of the Governments of some developed countries or at the level of social institutions and clubs in both the cultural and the academic field, as illustrated by the continued discussions in support of the new economic order that have taken place in a large number of industrial countries.

42. All this constitutes an increasing pressure exercised by world public opinion for positive attitudes to be taken towards the demands of the developing countries. Thus we see the new economic order growing stronger every day and becoming the basis of our development as an international community having interdependent economic interests, a community within which no minority any longer continues to make progress alone, to the detriment of the majority. The march of the world cannot be stopped or turned back. The more this inevitable reality becomes clear to each and every one, and the more the world is convinced of the uselessness of opposing the establishment of a more equitable economic order, the shorter will be the transition between the old and the new order and the less its inherent difficulties and dangers.

43. During this seventh special session, it will be our duty as Members of the United Nations to live up to our historic responsibilities, which make it incumbent upon us to achieve the transition to the new economic order in the shortest possible period and in a spirit of co-operation unhampered by confrontation, conflict or mutual accusations. To enable the United Nations to assume its role, it is necessary to reconsider and recognize the economic and social sections of its structure.

44. Today we are faced with a very difficult situation in the history of the modern world, and the future will depend on the approach we take at this session. It is high time for the developed countries to join in a determination for real co-operation, for development based on common interests, otherwise events will lead us to a struggle which will turn out in the long run to be political, and it will be impossible for the countries of the world, any country or group of countries, however powerful, to avoid its results.

45. The non-aligned countries were the first to understand the philosophy of "international interdependence". However, some industrial countries commit a serious mistake by giving international interdependence another foundation than that of justice, equal opportunities and sovereignty. Such countries should also beware of trying to impose their will upon the countries that produce raw materials and commodities and considering interdependence as an argument making it possible for them to obtain at low and decreasing prices the resources of developing countries and the products of their toiling peoples. Real interdependence means that the international community as a whole is responsible for ensuring a better life and guaranteeing human dignity to all. The fulfilment of this humane objective provided for in the United Nations Charter at the time of its drafting 30 years ago is a prerequisite for the achievement of a higher rate of growth and the raising of the level of living in both developing and developed countries.

46. The mission to outer space that took place two months ago reveals the unlimited possibilities offered by modern technological progress and proves that interdependence requires the utilization of the enormous potential available to mankind to eradicate hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease in third-world countries, instead of preserving those problems and their victims as a sign of shame for all mankind.

47. We have learned from experience gained in the field of development during the First United Nations Development Decade that half-solutions keep us moving in a vicious circle and always bring us back to our starting point exhausted and disappointed after so many vain efforts. Experience has also shown us that efforts aimed at development should be exerted jointly and at the international level, and given priority; otherwise, how can the developing countries create new industries and promote agriculture, when they sell their products at low prices on world markets and obtain equipment and advanced technology—if they are ever permitted to obtain them—at inflationary prices that include exorbitant profits? Furthermore, when at the cost of great efforts and privations those poor countries manage to make savings, they are faced with the devaluation of international currencies and those savings melt away before they can be used. Hence, my delegation insists once more on the necessity of implementing the decisions of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers in 1973, which were reaffirmed at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the Dakar Conference<sup>3</sup> and, last week, by the

Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lima. Those decisions are related to the necessity of accelerating the reform of the world trade and monetary systems while taking into account, above all, the interests of the developing countries and the participation of their representatives, with those of the advanced countries, in all negotiations on an equal footing.

48. Similarly, we deem it necessary to ensure the transfer of modern technology to the developing countries, the increase of development investment in these countries and the immediate implementation of the resolutions of the Second General Conference of UNIDO, held in Lima in March last. In bringing our case, in full solidarity with the other developing countries, before the seventh special session of the General Assembly, we are submitting to the United Nations legitimate demands that will serve our common interests and contribute to the achievement of balanced progress and true international interdependence.

49. In discussing these matters, the industrial countries might wish to consider that the economic development of the third world will necessarily lead not only to the expansion of markets for their products but also to the increased productivity and capacity of the developing countries to export their commodities and other materials needed by the industrial countries.

50. We have before us at present a document, the preparation of which has taken a long time. I refer to the document submitted by the Group of 77 to form the basis of our consultations at this current session [*A/10003/Add.1, annex I*]. In preparing that document, the developing countries were inspired by a spirit of co-operation and not one of confrontation. It took us three rounds of serious consultations with the other groups to arrive at the text now presented to the Assembly. We hope that the current and last round will result in agreement among us all. Thus we shall have ensured the success of this important session.

51. In their document, the developing countries have tackled the basic and vital issues related either directly or indirectly to the key points of the world economy and to the economies of both developed and developing countries. They have avoided as much as possible raising any delicate controversial issues. The document of the Group of 77 has, above all, taken into consideration the most important measures likely to bridge the widening gap between the advanced and the developing countries, that is, the reform of the world trade system, including the establishment of an equitable relationship between the prices of developing countries' exports and those of their imports from the industrial countries and granting them a fair share, a share compatible with the final consumption prices of their commodities. This Assembly should give the necessary guidelines to the international trade institutions for them to establish, as soon as possible, an integrated system designed to improve the terms of exports of developing countries, and follow the implementation of such a system in all its aspects.

52. Another important measure to bridge the income gap would be to increase development assistance, particularly official aid and the percentage of assistance in the form of

<sup>3</sup> Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials, held at Dakar from 4 to 8 February 1975.

donations. This increase should be in line with the objectives of the International Development Strategy and of the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session, as well as with the Special Programme of assistance to the more adversely affected countries.

53. In discussing the question of development assistance, it would be proper to bear in mind that arms expenditure by the super-Powers is 30 times the volume of development assistance.

54. From the purely economic point of view, the granting of development aid in a volume and type compatible with the requirements and needs of the developing countries constitutes no real difficulty. Even in this period of inflation and current monetary crisis it is not difficult for economists to set up a system for the exploitation of the idle productive capacity of the industrialized countries which reaches its highest rates in the capital goods sector. They could also partially direct this capacity in the interest of the developing countries, thus providing them with the machinery and equipment requirements parallel with the process of development while their imports from the industrialized countries are increasing.

55. From this same starting-point, development aid and loans should not be restricted to the encouragement of export sectors in the developing countries. They should, in the first instance, encourage agricultural production in these countries, promote industrialization and diversify their productive capacities, as well as ensure their economic, social and technological progress through long-term projects aimed at strengthening the infrastructure.

56. However, the terms prevailing in the international monetary market, especially the high interest rates or difficult repayment terms, in no way help the achievement of this objective. Thus, the Arab Republic of Egypt welcomes any effort directed at setting up a monetary system based on consideration of the circumstances of the debtor country in the first place. For this reason we strongly support the proposal of the developing countries, the Group of 77, calling upon the United Nations to convene a conference in 1976, in which the most important creditor and debtor countries would participate in order to seek means to alleviate this great burden that restricts development efforts in most developing countries and threatens to impede such efforts in the most adversely affected countries. And here I would like to affirm that the reason for convening such a conference is not to ask the advanced countries to change their loans into grants or even to write off previous loans. The object of such a conference would be to co-operate in establishing a monetary system that would preserve the interest of the creditor and increase the repayment capacity of the debtor.

57. The overwhelming technological and scientific progress witnessed in the twentieth century has achieved what can be described as miracles. Unfortunately, the benefit derived from these miracles has remained restricted to a limited number of countries while the majority of third-world countries continue to have the same low and often deteriorating standard of living. This is not due to any shortcomings on their part after having been subjected for decades to the yoke of colonialism, which has impeded any

scientific or technological progress or which, in the best cases, was not interested in achieving such progress in the colonized countries.

58. Fortunately, however, many voices, some of which came from the advanced countries themselves, have called for the end of monopoly over technological and scientific progress, because this would in fact divide the world into two entirely separate parts. And, since our objective on this occasion is to strengthen world solidarity and integration, the advanced countries should assume their responsibilities in this field by facilitating the transfer of technology to the developing countries, which have presented practical proposals in this context that could be carried out.

59. Industrialization is directly linked to the topic of technology. The developing countries have accorded their particular attention to this point, and I should like here to pay a tribute to the role played by UNIDO which should induce us to consolidate it further in every way. However, this effort should be completed by the industrially advanced States, either bilaterally or collectively, within the framework of co-operation with the developing countries.

60. In the past few years, the world, and especially the peoples of the developing countries, has witnessed a great shortage in food-stuffs. The matter did not rest there, but resulted in an overwhelming increase in the prices of food-stuffs. This increase escalates day after day in spite of seasonal fluctuations every now and then. There is no solution to this problem except by increasing the production of food-stuffs in the developing countries themselves so as to decrease their dependence on costly, exorbitant imports from abroad.

61. I should like to say here that the advanced States have great moral responsibilities in this context, for a world in which hunger prevails cannot be a world of peace; it will be a world of problems and complications which in the end will culminate in a conflict affecting all countries, both developing and advanced. Until we reach our objective the advanced countries will have to put an end to the fearful increase in the prices of their food-stuffs. I believe that their acceptance of the commitment to present at least 10 million tons of grain in 1975-1976 constitutes an encouraging sign in that context.

62. For years Egypt has been suffering from many economic problems, basically as a result of the armed aggression to which it was subjected and which led to the occupation of a beloved part of its territory. The Zionist invasion and occupation stopped navigation through the Suez Canal for a full eight years, thus leading to annual losses for Egypt and the world community estimated in UNCTAD studies at thousands of millions of dollars. In addition to the military occupation, the natural wealth of the country has been usurped.

63. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order stipulated the need to eliminate political obstacles to development, including occupation, foreign aggression, colonialism and racial discrimination. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States stipulated that the elimination of such obstacles is the right and duty of all States, to be practised individually

and collectively. Egypt is determined to achieve a just peace based on the need for the evacuation of Israeli forces from all the territories occupied since the 1967 aggression, and on ensuring the legitimate rights of the Palestine people as well as the restoration of all their natural and national resources, including their cultural, religious and artistic heritage, in addition to petroleum and mineral wealth.

64. We believe that there can be no development without peace. The best proof of this desire on Egypt's part is the fact that we reopened the Suez Canal to international navigation in the interest of the world economy, which benefits from this vital waterway. The number of ships passing through the Canal, southwards and northwards, is increasing daily, serving the developing States as well as the advanced countries.

65. In addition to all this, the people of Egypt are working day and night for the reconstruction of the Suez Canal area following the destruction that resulted from the aggression in that region. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the constructive and fruitful co-operation extended by the United Nations and its agencies, in setting up reconstruction projects and plans for this part of Egypt's territory. I should like here to reaffirm that Egypt would be very happy were the world community to participate with it in this humane endeavour, and we express our profound gratitude to those countries which have already done so.

66. In spite of the continuation of the wartime economy imposed on us, Egypt, in application of the principles it believes in, has continued to implement a programme of technical co-operation with developing and friendly States, especially in the form of the thousands of experts and grants furnished to these countries. In conformity with its belief in the importance of co-operation between the advanced and the developing States, Egypt has passed legislation conducive to encouraging foreign investments, thus opening the door for the co-operation of such investors with the public and private sectors.

67. My delegation is pleased to mention the co-operation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with the Arab Republic of Egypt in building its industrial base as well as its High Dam. Furthermore, the European Community has initiated a dialogue with the Arab countries with a view to laying the foundations of mutual co-operation which would open new horizons for wider and more extensive international co-operation.

68. Thus Egypt has adopted an outward-looking economic policy aimed at securing an economic opening for consolidating co-operation with all peoples ready to deal with us on the basis of equality, interdependence and common interest. This policy will not even remotely affect the socialist system we have chosen to achieve development and security for every Egyptian citizen in the future.

69. The seventh special session was one of the most important subjects considered by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at their meeting in Lima right before the current session. The non-aligned group in Lima studied international economic problems thoroughly and seriously, and sought practical solutions to them. In this context, the Conference

reaffirmed that the implementation of a new international economic order requires the equal and efficient participation of developing countries in decisions of interest to the international economic community [*A/10217 and Corr.1, para. 198*], in conformity with the Lima Declaration and with regard to the reform of world trade, monetary and investment systems, as well as in the forthcoming Paris talks, which are to be held on energy, raw materials and development. In this respect, my delegation supports the necessity of expanding the representation of developing countries at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation and its preparatory meetings, as stressed by the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries in the Lima Economic Declaration [*ibid., para. 141*].

70. Our duty as United Nations is to conclude at the current session the dialogue we started during the sixth special session of the General Assembly and resumed in a number of international meetings and conferences, as well as in the numerous consultations lasting for several consecutive months that were held in preparation for this session. All this should take place in a spirit of constructive co-operation between developed and developing countries, with a view to achieving, on the basis of justice and equality, the progress to which aspire all the peoples of the world.

71. Mr. TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland): I take profound pleasure, on behalf of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, in addressing this special session of the General Assembly. Its subject matter, development and international economic co-operation, concerns the vital interests of all States.

72. We are glad to see this important session presided over by a prominent representative of Algeria, with which my country is linked by mutual solidarity, sympathy and friendship. I congratulate you, Mr. President, upon your assumption of that high office.

73. The historic responsibility to secure a better future for present generations and those to come rests with our respective Governments no less than with the United Nations and, likewise, with all of us. In pursuing that objective, the solutions to numerous problems are still pending. It is with reference to some of them that I wish to present the position of my Government.

74. The cravings of the international community are first and foremost on the side of peace, for it is peace that pre-conditions the development and improvement of material well-being. Therefore, development cannot be approached as a purely isolated economic category, as it comprises both economic growth and social transformations and is dependent on favourable political circumstances.

75. Proceeding from such premises, Poland, like many other countries, believes that the establishment of a firm political infrastructure, which is essential both to international economic co-operation and to socio-economic development, is of the greatest importance. A close and integral relationship exists among international security, détente, disarmament and development. The expansion of interna-



tional economic co-operation and the removal of socio-economic disparities help to strengthen peace all over the world. That is why Poland, along with its allies and other interested States, has been actively engaged in working consistently to strengthen peace, to make détente a lasting and fully irreversible process and persistently to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different systems.

76. A positive example of how to build the infrastructure of détente and peace has been offered by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe held just a few weeks ago, which now favourably affects the general international situation and whose example is indeed worth following in other parts of the world.

77. We in Poland are particularly preoccupied with and make our appropriate contribution to activities in the field of disarmament, including those within the United Nations. For armaments exercise an adverse effect not only upon the maintenance of peace but likewise on the capabilities of raising the standards of living of all nations, especially the developing ones. Hence People's Poland lends its full support to the well-known Soviet disarmament initiatives, as their implementation would be of significant political and economic importance. Suffice it to recall that the means released by the reduction of the military budgets of the States permanent members of the Security Council in conformity with the relevant resolution adopted at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly [resolution 3093 (XXVIII)] would represent a concrete source of additional assistance for developing countries.

78. A steadfast and persevering construction of a political infrastructure, as reflected, *inter alia*, in bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements, provides favourable conditions for ensuring for all States steady and rapid socio-economic development and for moulding a new, equitable division of labour in keeping with the aspirations and needs of all countries, including the developing countries.

79. Poland, like other socialist States, has on more than one occasion stressed the structural changes that have taken place in the world over the last decades. They first of all include the emergence of the socialist political and economic system, the downfall of the colonial system and the political emancipation of developing countries. For over half a century now the economy of the socialist States has been developing on principles entirely different from those of the economy of the capitalist States.

80. The world today consists of States different in size—in terms of both area and population—and different in natural conditions and resources; it comprises States on different levels of economic development and those which have taken separate roads of history or chosen different socio-economic systems. Therefore, if we want to introduce new and equitable principles of the comity of nations and of mutually beneficial co-operation among all States, we can hardly afford to apply patterns of a world divided according to simplified criteria—into north and south or rich and poor.

81. The recognition of realities and, above all, of the obvious fact of the existence of States with different

socio-economic systems and levels of economic development is the imperative necessity for the functioning of the United Nations.

82. Aware as we are of the diversity and complexity of the world situation, at least three considerations seem to us to possess special importance in the global strategy of development. First, development and economic co-operation on a world scale should take due account of the interests of all States and groups of States on the basis of equality and mutual benefits, given, in particular, preferential treatment for less developed partners. Secondly, development and economic co-operation on a regional scale and within integrative groupings must not in any case discriminate against States outside them or against those in other groupings. They should in fact favour a rational and growing international division of labour. Finally, development on a national scale ought to be based on a country's sovereign right to choose the strategy of its development and to control its own natural resources.

83. Unless we abide by those principles, we shall not succeed in bringing about in the United Nations an atmosphere facilitating solution of the world's economic problems.

84. Since the early 1970s we have been witnessing symptoms of crises in the world market economy. The amplitude of the economic cycle has grown: inflationary processes have intensified, as have the difficulties in international trade. While in 1974 the developed countries with market economies noted only a slight growth of their industrial production, there has been a decisive decline in production in almost all major developed capitalist States in the first six months of this year. At the same time, there has been a considerable drop in their imports, which has also adversely affected exports from developing countries.

85. Grave difficulties are likewise encountered in raw-materials markets, owing to their instability. The crisis of the Western monetary system, which encourages currency speculation and leads to the export of inflation, aggravates the situation even further.

86. The facts before us once again give ample proof that the market mechanisms of economic co-operation, set up after the Second World War, have ceased to function even to the benefit of the States in whose interest they were originally created; they are in complete defiance of the interests of the developing countries; and they have failed also to take account of the existence of the community of the socialist States and of their growing participation in the international division of labour.

87. We, therefore, fully support efforts to replace them by new, just solutions and concepts of the international division of labour in order to remove world-wide disproportions. We are active in multilateral negotiations concerning population, food, industry and other problems of importance for the international community. Poland stands ready to make its contribution to the implementation of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and other decisions taken within the United Nations system to remodel international economic

relations. It is with interest and sympathy that we have received the position paper of the Group of 77 [A/10003/Add.1, annex I] and the results of the recent Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, in Lima. The relevant provisions contained in those documents can contribute to the promotion of peace and international security, as well as to further global economic co-operation and development.

88. We are persuaded that the solution of the problems of development of many countries is conditional not on international action alone. "Self-reliance" and dependence on one's own forces, as you so rightly pointed out in your opening statement, Mr. President [2326th meeting]—in other words, internal efforts and social and economic transformations—are equally if not even more important. The former shall not replace the latter, for which the socialist States can offer notably valuable experience.

89. The socio-economic accomplishments of the socialist States have been scored over a historically brief span of time, under unfavourable conditions produced by the destruction of war and in circumstances of long-standing discrimination against them in international political and economic relations.

90. May I recall at this point that during the early post-war years Poland started the reconstruction of its economy with a very low level of income, which then amounted to \$US 100 *per capita* at that currency's value at that time. Today, owing to its steady economic growth, Poland finds itself among the medium-developed countries.

91. The socialist States form the only region of the world today possessing considerable economic stability, high rates of growth and dynamically expanding trade turn-over with other countries, accompanied by advanced progress in all fields of social and economic endeavour.

92. The results we have achieved reaffirm the correctness of our conviction that only when a country's own human and material potential is put to full use, when sovereign control is exercised over natural resources, when socio-economic development is planned in accordance with the needs of its people, when the national income is equitably distributed and a mutually beneficial international division of labour takes place, only then can permanent socio-economic development be expected.

93. Poland attaches great importance to the work within the United Nations system for a comprehensive solution of all the problems of international economic relations. Precisely in this context we view the seventh special session as an important stage along the way towards the elaboration of new rules for equitable international economic co-operation.

94. It is our considered view that such co-operation should be in keeping with its new mechanisms. In the field of industry these mechanisms ought to facilitate the expansion of industrial co-operation and international specialization, based on bilateral and multilateral long-term trade and economic agreements, and thus safeguard the highest possible reliability of sales and supplies.

95. In international trade we declare ourselves in favour of the application of the unconditional, most-favoured-nation clause, provided there is further preferential treatment for the developing countries. We are resolutely against discriminatory treatment in trade exchanges and expect full normalization of world trade. We support the idea of further improvement of the generalized system of preferences, which, we submit, ought to be extended beyond 1980.

96. We venture to believe that the new mechanisms of commodity trade should lead to an effective and prompt stabilization of markets. For the developing countries they should open up opportunities to exercise their sovereign rights over their natural resources and take due account of the just interests of consumers and producers. Regular consultations on raw materials, as well as the conclusion of intergovernmental trade agreements under UNCTAD would help to stabilize commodity markets.

97. All-round development of industrial co-operation, which we support, should be based on generally acceptable principles, including mutual respect for the interests of the parties concerned, irrespective of their socio-economic systems and levels of economic development. In fact, we view industrial co-operation as one of the more important channels for the transfer of technology, to which free access ought to be given to all States, based on just and mutually beneficial principles.

98. One of the indispensable pre-conditions for the proper functioning of the new mechanisms of international economic co-operation is the elaboration of appropriate principles for the international monetary system, arrived at after discussions held on an equal footing among all the States concerned. The system cannot be one-sidedly advantageous to some countries or to a group of them. It should aim at the removal from a dominating position of one or several currencies, at stabilization of the currency exchange rates and the prevention of currency speculation.

99. Particularly important, especially for the developing countries, in the process of economic development, are financial resources. Under all circumstances, the financing of development depends decisively on the mobilization of internal resources. The advantages of intensified equitable international economic co-operation and external assistance are only of complementary importance in financing development.

100. The developing countries have every right to financial assistance as compensation for the losses they suffered in the course of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation. Poland has never resorted to exploitation. As a matter of fact, our own economy was thus subdued by foreign capital prior to the Second World War. Nevertheless, means permitting, Poland has been rendering assistance to developing countries in various forms.

101. Indeed the share of particular countries in assistance programmes to developing ones should vary depending on the level of their economic development as well as on their financial, technical and organizational capabilities.

102. Based on its modernized industrial potential, Poland remains consistent in attaching great importance to the

development of its economic relations with all States. The greatest possibilities open up for us within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which represents an important factor in the successful development of my country and exemplifies well the rational and equitable international division of labour. At the same time, we are expanding our economic ties with other partners, including developing countries. Yet we realize there is need for their further intensification, and that objective should be pursued through the mutual efforts of all partners concerned.

103. Poland has been steadfastly applying the principles of international economic co-operation to which I have referred in the conduct of its bilateral relations with developing countries also. During the sixth special session of the General Assembly, Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Stefan Olszowski, submitted concrete proposals for long-term expansion of economic co-operation with developing countries.<sup>4</sup> On this occasion I wish to draw the Assembly's attention once again to the highly complementary nature of Poland's economy to the economies of a number of developing countries, to mention only such fields as mining, chemistry and electro-engineering industries, as well as fishing. A favourable situation like this opens up new possibilities to expand mutually beneficial structural economic relationships.

104. We are also aware of the possibilities of substantially increasing our assistance in the training of technical personnel to meet the needs of the economies of the interested developing countries. Our specialists stand ready to lend their assistance in developing specific branches of industry and the socio-economic infrastructure of the developing countries. The same is true of the services of our design and construction offices and research institutes as well as of the exchange of scientific, technical, industrial and commercial information.

105. We are thus prepared to co-operate with the developing countries in shaping a new, equitable division of labour in the world economy in conformity with the current and future needs and aspirations of all States, including the developing ones.

106. Not only sovereign States but also organizations of the United Nations system have a growing part to play in securing steady socio-economic development. The role of those organizations is in the first place to provide a political infrastructure of international economic co-operation and development.

107. Poland voices its support for the raising of the effectiveness of United Nations activities in the economic field. We firmly believe that such a process should proceed in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It is with interest that we are examining the proposal to set up an intergovernmental committee to prepare guidelines for structural changes in the United Nations economic and social sectors. In the first place we see the necessity of removing duplication of work in a number of United Nations organs and agencies in the economic field. In this context we deem it worth while to strengthen the role of

the Economic and Social Council. We also agree there is need to improve the mechanisms of multilateral assistance channelled through the United Nations, seeing, as we do, in the United Nations Development Programme the most effective form of multilateral assistance within the Organization. We wish to pledge our further active participation in and support for it.

108. Along with other countries, Poland is prepared to contribute its share to the achievement of constructive decisions at this seventh special session of the General Assembly to move mankind closer to the attainment of the purposes set out in the Charter—

“to promote special progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends . . . to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security . . .”.

109. Mr. MANDUNGU (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the Founding President of the People's Revolutionary Movement, President of the Republic of Zaire, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga, and of my delegation, and on my own behalf, I should like to express to you my warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the seventh special session of the General Assembly, devoted to development and international co-operation.

110. Your many qualities, which have made you such an experienced statesman, will enable you, I am sure, successfully to guide the work of this session. Believe me, Sir, I am extremely happy to see you presiding over the seventh special session, which is taking place exactly one year and four months after the sixth special session, which was held here thanks to the efforts of Colonel Boumediène, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, to whom we pay a tribute for all he has done in the interests of our group, known as the third world, and in the interests of active international co-operation.

111. For us, in Zaire, the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly have been the happy fulfilment of the fervent wish expressed on 4 October 1973, from this very rostrum, by citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, Founding President of the People's Revolutionary Movement and President of the Republic of Zaire. Indeed, he concluded his brilliant speech, a charter of peace and international co-operation, by stating:

“We hope that, thanks to it [the United Nations] and through it, we shall be able to do more to promote co-operation among the inhabitants of our planet in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields, for the building of a better, fairer and more just world, in absolute respect for the authenticity of everyone.”<sup>5</sup>

112. In expressing this solemn wish, Citizen President Mobutu Sese Seko was clearly raising the question of the need for a new international economic order based on justice and sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and the co-operation of all States, whatever their economic and social system.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2224th meeting.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2140th meeting, para. 206.

113. Today, after the understandable objections of various parties, the need for establishing a new international economic order is universally accepted. We have seen the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and UNIDO, at the same time as several national institutions throughout the world, attempting new solutions to the urgent problems of food and development which the world crisis has exacerbated in the under-equipped countries. The Group of 77 in Dakar and the non-aligned Group in Lima also undertook a serious study of ways and means to restore the balance in relations between the rich and poor countries.

114. Today it is the United Nations itself which has brought together the industrialized and under-equipped countries to examine together the actual possibility of establishing a new international economic order.

115. This seventh special session of the General Assembly devoted to the problems of development and economic co-operation thus represents a triumph of reason and human generosity on a world scale. And we agree with the United States representative, who said that this special session was a chance for all of us "to improve the condition of mankind" [2327th meeting, para. 35]. This obviously will depend upon the political will of all States Members of the United Nations.

116. The present situation in the world offers us a distressing spectacle, that of the unchallengeable hegemony of a crisis which has shaken the international economic system. The worst kind of poverty is threatening the under-equipped countries. And the wide gap separating them from the industrialized countries that are growing ever richer is getting wider each day.

117. At the fourth regular assembly of the Association of Central African Banks held in Kinshasa last August, the Head of the State of Zaire, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, in his opening address, painted the following picture of the world today: "monetary disorder, energy crisis, disturbing fluctuations in commodity prices, inflation, recession and generalized unemployment". This almost doomsday state of affairs today is one in which the under-equipped countries suffer more than the industrialized countries.

118. The people of Zaire, all mobilized within the People's Revolutionary Movement, is convinced that it is up to the under-equipped peoples themselves to make the first efforts to emerge from their poverty-stricken situation. It is not a matter of trying to identify those responsible for this poverty. We know who they are. What we have to do now is to organize ourselves so that we, ourselves, can first find the solutions to our problems. We must, therefore, count, above all, on our own resources, on our own capacity to transform our natural resources into marketable products. Quality will follow later, perhaps.

119. In Zaire, we define *salongo* as the system of self-reliance. And we apply it in our own way. As it was put by Citizen President Mobutu Sese Seko:

"We have taken our own path in our economic development; we espouse neither the ideas of the left nor the ideas of the right. Because imperialism and exploita-

tion are something we can see on both sides. We have simply decided to be ourselves, that is, authentic, because we are convinced that solutions to the problems of Zaire will not be forthcoming from any other source but from the people of Zaire themselves."

120. So we want to retain our own identity. We want to use our own resources; we are seeking the values of our ancestors in order to try to find those which will contribute to our harmonious natural development. We refuse blindly to espouse imported ideologies.

121. In seeking our own path of development, we have come to the conclusion that our people, which has been subjected to colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, should above all put an end to those phenomena. Because our people through the specific form of colonization which it suffered, saw its soil, its subsoil and their resources become the exclusive property of the colonial Power. And this continued even several years after our country became politically independent. In the same period, many plantations were abandoned by settlers who went back to their home countries without any concern for the agricultural development of our country.

122. In a wish to ensure genuine independence for our people and the rational development of our country, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, Founding President of the People's Revolutionary Movement and President of the Republic of Zaire, on 30 November 1973, took the sovereign decision to Zairianize all the major means of production still in the possession of the former colonial Power in Zaire. From that day forth, all mining concerns and other colonial businesses, as well as abandoned plantations, became the property of the people of Zaire represented by the People's Revolutionary Movement, which is the sole institution of the State of Zaire.

123. The decision to Zairianize all commercial and agricultural businesses of a colonial nature made it possible to normalize a situation which, because of its anomalous nature, was preventing any harmonious development in Zaire, and to create the best possible conditions for positive co-operation between Zaire and foreign investors.

124. Indeed, before the process of Zairianization, any foreigner who wanted to invest or work in partnership in my country had first to go through the former metropolitan country. But with Zairianization, we now have normal conditions of development. Now, any foreign investor who wants to set up in Zaire can do so directly by signing an agreement with the State of Zaire or with businessmen from our country. The Zairianization process makes it possible for the State of Zaire to guarantee foreign investments effectively by appropriate laws which may vary depending upon the size of the investment.

125. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the foreign companies which have placed their faith in us and which have come to our country within the framework of the investment code of Zaire and are contributing to the development of our country.

126. Thanks to Zairianization, we are working today in total harmony with foreign companies from the East and



from the West, thus proving that our determination to remain authentically Zairian "is not narrow nationalism, a blind return to the past, but on the contrary a matter of maintaining our own identity, which constitutes an instrument for peace among nations and a platform for co-operation among States".

127. Zairianization has been operating in our country in total conformity with principles laid down in chapter I of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. It constitutes a

"Remedying of injustices which have been brought about by force and which deprive a nation of the natural means necessary for its normal development".

128. Zairianization has made it possible for the people of Zaire to make the tremendous effort necessary for its own development, and has enabled it to co-operate effectively with foreigners who have brought in their capital and their technology. However, because of its concern to remain authentically Zairian, our people have adapted foreign technology to our own conditions just as the State of Zaire has been directing foreign investments to sectors which are profitable for both the Zairian people and the foreign investor.

129. Control over natural resources by the State of Zaire does not exclude participation of foreigners in the exploitation of these resources. There are in our country mining concerns exploited by the State in close co-operation with foreign companies which earn reasonable and equitable profits from their business. The same applies to foreign companies investing in the agro-industrial sector. The experience of Zaire has shown that when a State effectively controls its natural resources it is possible for it to create the best possible conditions for the best possible co-operation with foreign investors.

130. As you know, trade between industrialized and under-equipped countries goes back, according to available records, as far as the slave trade. From the very beginning these relations were unequal, particularly because they were dictated by the dominating party. The dominated party, after having become a chattel, was obliged, because of the needs of capitalist development, to submit to the will of the dominating party, that is to say, his master.

131. Triangular trade, Europe-Africa-America, which was for so long the basis of the birth and growth of industrial capitalism, made it possible to establish an international division of labour which reduced the under-equipped countries to the thankless role of providers of raw materials necessary for the growth of the industrialized countries. This international division of labour also gave rise to a situation in which the prosperity of the peoples of the industrialized countries depended upon the poverty of the people of the under-equipped countries.

132. Indeed, in order to ensure growth which makes it possible for the economies of the industrialized countries to improve the living conditions of their own people, it is necessary to maintain low prices for primary commodities coming from under-equipped countries. This injustice, which we all condemn in varying degrees, as was stressed

from this very rostrum on 4 October 1973 by Citizen President Mobutu Sese Seko

"stems from the fact that the rich countries are at the same time judges and litigants, because it is they and they alone who set the prices of our primary commodities and the prices of their manufactured products."<sup>6</sup>

133. It is thus to the machinery of price-fixing that we should look for the remedy to the injustice which has persisted in trade between industrialized and under-equipped countries. This presupposes that the under-equipped countries exercise their sovereignty over their natural resources, and if they do not already do so, we hope that they will.

134. The sovereignty of the under-equipped countries over their natural resources is, at the present stage of the history of mankind, a necessity of development. Indeed, it is rather difficult to ask the under-equipped countries to guarantee foreign investments when they do not control their own natural resources. It is obvious that the sovereignty of under-equipped countries over their natural resources puts them in a position of interested partners able to give foreign investments the necessary guarantees.

135. Thanks to that sovereignty over natural resources it will be possible for the producers and consumers to find, by harmonious consultation, appropriate machinery for trade in products which will take account of the interests of all parties concerned. Furthermore, it will facilitate co-operation between producers and consumers of commodities in the process of extraction, processing, management and training. Industrialized countries, which have and will indeed continue to have serious energy problems and high costs of production within their own areas, have an interest in investing their capital in currency, equipment and expertise in the under-equipped countries in order to undertake the processing of commodities into semi-manufactured or manufactured goods, which they will always need but whose production is becoming ever more costly in their own countries.

136. The sovereignty of the under-equipped countries over their natural resources is a historic fact which must be taken into account if we want to see peace in the world and avoid unnecessary tensions between industrialized and under-equipped countries.

137. The example of the oil-producing countries is very eloquent in this regard. The appropriation of oil by the producing countries has made it possible for this product to attain its more or less real market value on the international markets. But the lack of consultation between producer and consumer has created tensions which are sometimes very dangerous for world peace. Furthermore, increases in oil prices have caused critical situations in under-equipped countries which do not produce oil.

138. Indeed, these countries, which are already suffering from the consequences of a world crisis, have to pay very dearly for their oil, while their resources in foreign exchange have appreciably diminished. And they are

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 167.

supposed to pay the oil-producing countries in strong currencies!

139. Obviously, an increase in oil prices, while legitimate for the producing countries, should be something which occurs within the framework of machinery which would prevent its becoming an additional obstacle to the development of the under-equipped countries that do not produce oil. In the present circumstances of the organization of the oil market any increase in the price of this product would obviously have a seriously constricting effect on the under-equipped non-oil-producing countries.

140. We firmly believe—and this is in accordance with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States established by the United Nations—that the sovereignty of the under-equipped countries over their natural resources is an inescapable necessity for healthy and active development and international co-operation.

141. By placing the under-equipped countries in the position of freely deciding the direction of their development and giving foreign investors all the guarantees allowed under the new international procedure, this sovereignty will make possible, first, harmonious and permanent consultation between producers and consumers of commodities; secondly, the establishment of appropriate price-fixing machinery for commodities based on the principle of price stability; thirdly, the establishment of buffer stocks.

142. It is obvious that by improving the situation in the way we have roughly outlined the sovereignty of the under-equipped countries over their natural resources will mean that international trade will no longer be, as described by Citizen President Mobutu Sese Seko, "left in the jungle of primitive liberalism, which profits only the industrialized countries and penalizes the under-equipped countries". The world, which will then be protected from speculation, such as is often indulged in by unscrupulous intermediaries, will finally be able to steer clear of the difficulties which arise from time to time and which can be disastrous for the under-equipped countries; the risks of confrontation between industrialized and under-equipped countries will finally be eliminated; healthy international co-operation will be consolidated; and the prosperity of mankind will be finally ensured by men of all continents.

143. In Zaire our President, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, tirelessly teaches us that the wealth of a country depends on its ability to feed itself. Indeed, the production of food is of vital importance for our countries.

144. The world food situation shows some tragic inequalities. It is in the industrialized countries, which number about a third of the world population, that food production is at its highest, while in the under-equipped countries, whose population numbers two thirds of mankind, food production is largely inadequate; so about two thirds of the world's population do not have enough to eat.

145. We know that the natural disasters which have afflicted a large number of under-equipped countries have made hunger the daily lot of their peoples. We know also that a number of specialized international organizations and national organizations of industrialized and under-equipped

countries have been dealing with this difficult problem of hunger. Thousands of people die every day of hunger, while millions of children affected by malnutrition await their turn to die. In the meantime, millions of tons of food are regularly being dispatched to the regions affected by hunger without, however, producing the necessary solutions.

146. We are firmly convinced that the real solution lies in the determination of those peoples to be in the front line of the struggle against hunger. There is no doubt that we must help them to recover the energy which will enable them to produce the food they need.

147. Therefore, while the industrialized countries and international organizations are sending gifts of food, surely we should provide them with the material means to render their peoples able to produce their own food?

148. In Zaire we have made agriculture the priority of priorities. A few months ago, on the initiative of Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, Founding President of the People's Revolutionary Movement, the Executive Council decreed a policy of "belly first". The people in our rural areas were mobilized into agricultural units to produce on their own the primary food staples. Agricultural leadership teams were formed throughout the country. The return to the land of the surplus population of towns was encouraged. Advantageous material conditions were granted to young agronomists and veterinary surgeons. Their training has been encouraged and intensified. The State has created several kinds of social facilities in rural areas in order to stem the rural exodus. Apart from providing material support in terms of capital, fertilizers and other facilities, the State has undertaken to buy and market the products of the peasants, and that encourages them to produce more.

149. Having decided, thanks to its policy of independent food production, to put an end to its deficit in rice and maize, Zaire is counting above all on the work of its own people in their own fields. Of course, Zaire is benefiting from the technical assistance of certain friendly countries in its efforts to ensure an abundance of food for its people; but this outside intervention is just one contribution. The decisive element in the achievement of food independence is the hard work of our people on our land, which is reputedly very fertile.

150. While very much appreciating the gifts of food from industrialized countries to the under-equipped countries affected by hunger, Zaire firmly favours a form of international solidarity, which would be expressed in offers of the material and other means which would help the countries concerned to produce their own food. Such international solidarity would contribute to the restoration of human dignity in countries affected by hunger. Furthermore, it would avert one other form of enslavement of peoples who are hungry by those who are well fed. At least, with that form of international solidarity the under-equipped countries would not have to face food colonization while seeking to put an end to the spiritual colonization of their peoples in order to recover their own identity.

151. While ensuring the food independence of the countries affected by hunger, international solidarity would

prevent serious social disturbances in whole regions of our planet, disturbances which could lead to a world war.

152. By transforming the countries affected by hunger into producers of their own food, which would be in keeping with the real needs of their peoples, international solidarity would guarantee international peace.

153. The development of the under-equipped countries, while it is above all the major responsibility of those countries themselves, is a matter of concern to the whole of mankind. Even if in the immediate future the positive action of the industrialized countries can be considered as solidarity, in the final analysis solving the problem of the under-development of the so-called third world is tantamount to averting a much more serious world crisis which would be damaging not only to the under-equipped countries but also to the industrialized countries, even if the latter felt the consequences less than the former.

154. Our Assembly should, in the course of this session, define practical ways and means of making international solidarity work for the benefit of the under-equipped countries in order to create conditions for the restoration of world equilibrium.

155. We must, in order to facilitate positive action on the part of the industrialized countries, see to it that the under-equipped countries create new structures which will make it possible to adapt foreign contributions to the real needs of their peoples. The development of our countries should not be the mere transposition of the methods of industrialized countries. The historical conditions of our development, as well as our ecologies, are different; therefore the under-equipped countries should first organize themselves politically so as subsequently to be able to decide freely on the most suitable form of development for themselves.

156. While recognizing the positive aspects of industrial civilization we must, however, realize that this same civilization has short-comings peculiar to it which should not be exported to the under-equipped countries. Without dwelling too long on the short-comings of acculturation, we would mention, for example, those relating to pollution.

157. In Zaire, as a result of the personal intervention of Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, Founding President of the People's Revolutionary Movement and President of the Republic, every new factory is governed by anti-pollution regulations. We accept industrialization without, however, wishing to endanger our natural reserves. In order the better to identify the problem of the protection of nature, Citizen President Mobutu Sese Seko has created a major department for the protection of nature, under the direction of a female citizen of Zaire, a specialist in zoology.

158. The particular importance that Zaire attaches to the protection of nature gives it a very marked interest in problems relating to the sea-bed. We know that the major Powers have certain clear ambitions, for obvious reasons, regarding the sea-bed, which contains minerals useful for their development, but the question arising now is that of whether the principles of the international law of the sea, which date back a long time, to the period when the

European conquerors divided up the oceans and the seas among themselves in order to control them to their own profit are to continue to govern a world which today has placed on the same footing of equality the masters and the servants of yesterday.

159. We honestly believe that in view of the new nature of the relations between States of the World and the acceptance of the need to establish a new international economic order we should now begin to revise completely the principles governing the international law of the sea. For we cannot forget that it was in fact made to measure by and for the industrialized countries. Today, as we recognize the possibility of international solidarity within the framework of a new international economic order, we should redefine the new principles of the international law of the sea. This redefinition, which should take account of the true evolution of the human race and the age-old physical relations between the various continents, should be the task of our Organization.

160. Consequently we venture to hope that our appeal which we issue from this rostrum of the United Nations to the industrialized countries will be heeded and that the next United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will take account of it. In the meantime, we hope, in this spirit of equity and justice which we all defend, that the industrialized countries will not use their technical superiority to exploit arbitrarily the minerals hidden in the sea-bed and that they will comply with decisions that will be taken jointly by all Members of the United Nations participating in the international Conference on the Law of the Sea.

161. Everything I have said relating to the tragic imbalance between industrialized and under-equipped countries is borne out by the current financial difficulties in the world today. Even if a certain currency is accepted by all as a unit of account, and this in spite of certain temporary fluctuations which have provoked panic in various quarters, we all agree that a reform of the international monetary system is indispensable. We believe that, in the interest of mankind and for the purpose of creating the best possible conditions for the establishment of a new economic world order, it is indispensable for our Organization, through its specialized agencies to set up a new international monetary system.

162. Zaire attaches particular importance to this session. While we are in favour of a new international economic order, we are also in favour of a new economic order in each nation. We are convinced that the success of a new international economic order depends on the efforts of each country to establish a new economic order in its own territory. Accordingly, Zaire firmly believes that the development of under-equipped countries is, above all, their own responsibility. These countries should therefore organize themselves to develop trade of all kinds among themselves. For Zaire's part, we have made concrete arrangements to promote and develop trade among African countries.

163. In the face of the grave consequences of the world crisis for the African economies the Founding President of the People's Revolutionary Movement, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, by virtue of the prerogatives accorded him by our

Constitution, has decided that henceforth Zaire, in its trade with other African countries, will agree to accept local African currencies. The financial leaders of Zaire have been given the task of studying with their African partners appropriate machinery for implementing this decision. Furthermore, so that Africa may examine its economic and financial problems in detail, Citizen President Mobutu Sese Seko has asked the current President of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to convene as soon as possible an OAU economic summit meeting.

164. All those concrete arrangements have been contemplated by Zaire with the idea of promoting in the near future continental African co-operation. We think that other continents could follow suit, and this is something that would facilitate practical co-operation among under-equipped countries.

165. Nevertheless, although this co-operation stresses the primary necessity for under-equipped countries to realise that their development is above all their own problem and should first and foremost be resolved by themselves, it is none the less not exclusive. On the contrary. We favour better co-operation between industrialized and under-equipped countries. In other words, international solidarity will be very much facilitated by intercontinental co-operation of the under-equipped countries.

166. If I have often quoted Zaire as an example it is simply to affirm that the new international economic order which we all want to see should have solid foundations in a new national economic order. Each of the under-equipped States should therefore change its own economic structure in order to promote the establishment of a new world economic order.

167. In Zaire, the authentic revolution which we have been pursuing has as its primary purpose the establishment of a new society with a new economic order in the service of the people of Zaire and Africa and the whole of mankind. We firmly believe in international solidarity which will bring to all social justice and world peace.

168. We know that the attainment of international solidarity will be no easy task. But at the same time we are convinced that it is possible, particularly since it would appear that the political will of all States Members of our Organization would be in favour of it. Of course, many countries, particularly the industrialized countries and to some extent the oil-producing countries, will have to undertake to give up a certain selfishness which characterizes them.

169. The whole world has turned its eyes towards our Assembly and in this session lie the hopes of all men for a better life. Certainly our work will consummate the work of consultation between industrialized and under-equipped countries as the basis of our relations.

170. Zaire is in favour of and solemnly proclaims that it favours consultation between industrialized and under-equipped countries. We will actively support all efforts in favour of such consultation. Thus Zaire congratulates France on its initiative in organizing the Paris conference, which will be a token, historically, of consultation among developed and under-equipped countries.

171. We call on all States Members of our Organization to show to each other a certain magnanimity. If they do, we have some hope of saving mankind from the grave, unforeseeable consequences of a continuance of the current imbalance between industrialized and under-equipped countries, if, of course, we do not take effective measures to put an end to this disastrous situation.

172. We should like to make it clear that Zaire, for its part and on the initiative of its President, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, has always committed itself to a course of magnanimity in its relations with other countries afflicted by difficult situations.

173. For example, with regard to Portugal, which is now suffering from a very complicated situation both in the metropolitan country and in Angola, I should like to take this opportunity to announce to this august Assembly that, apart from the many Angolan refugees assessed at more than 1 million, Zaire is ready to welcome and harbour on its territory up to 400,000 Portuguese refugees who can now no longer, for reasons of security, live in Angola. All arrangements are being made to permit all the Portuguese and other refugees from Angola to work and live normally in Zaire until the situation in Angola becomes normal again.

174. We wish every success to this seventh special session of the General Assembly.

175. Mr. NØRGAARD (Denmark): This special session of the General Assembly takes place at a time of world-wide economic recession, unemployment, and uncertainty as to the future. New burdens have been added to the plight of a large number of developing countries. The nations of the world are struggling to adapt themselves to new economic realities. We are in the process of finding a new balance in international economic relations. We are reassessing goals and means for development.

176. The problems which we are discussing at this session are global. Concrete solutions will depend upon our ability to work together. We should prove that we are able to come to grips with the real problems facing our countries. If we manage, we could lay the foundations for true and lasting progress.

177. We should not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead. Our points of departure are not the same, and our basic philosophies may differ. However, in approaching the task of creating new policies, we should not let ourselves be diverted by differences in principles and philosophies.

178. The Danish Government understands the aspirations of the developing countries to a new international economic order. We recognize the need for changes in the distribution of wealth among nations. We want to co-operate in endeavours towards this end. We believe that in our part of the world the growth philosophy of the 1950s and 1960s will have to be adjusted, not only to such realities as scarcity of resources and dangers to our environment, but also to the necessity of accelerated development in the third world. However, our ability to co-operate with the developing countries depends on the continued viability and efficiency of our own economy. This must be borne in mind when working out the measures for the process of change.



179. Commodity exports are vital to the economy of many developing countries. For many years, a large number of developing countries have had unsatisfactory earnings from exports of their raw materials. In addition, short-term fluctuations in prices—as experienced recently—have had a disruptive impact on development plans in the commodity-producing countries.

180. The Danish Government accepts the need for action to remedy this situation. Measures in the commodity field must be given high priority in international co-operation for development. Producers and consumers of commodities may have different views on the measures required, but they have a common interest in stable markets. Producers need outlets for their products, and consumers need security of supplies.

181. In the view of my Government, the dual purpose of a comprehensive commodity policy should be to ensure satisfactory export earnings to producers in developing countries, and adequate supplies to consumers in all countries, developing and developed alike.

182. In order to attain these objectives, a series of measures must be applied. We should attempt to reduce price fluctuations and at the same time stabilize the export earnings of developing countries by working out international commodity agreements for a number of products. In appropriate cases, such agreements could be accompanied by buffer stock arrangements to help to keep prices within an agreed range. In order to make such arrangements effective, consumer countries should carry their share of the cost involved.

183. However, production and market conditions differ considerably from one commodity to another. Many raw materials produced by developing countries do not lend themselves to commodity agreements.

184. In order to ensure adequate export earnings to developing countries, we shall have to go further. We must conceive ways of stabilizing export earnings from commodities produced by developing countries which would not benefit from stabilization measures for individual products. As an imaginative innovation in this field of co-operation at the regional level, I should like to point to the stabilization scheme in the Lomé Convention concluded this year between the European Economic Community and a number of countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific.<sup>7</sup> My country has no preconceived opinion as to the precise modalities of an income stabilization scheme on a global scale. We are ready to enter into negotiations with an open mind.

*Mr Datcu (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

185. In our efforts to make commodity production more profitable to developing countries we should not lose sight of the need to diminish the heavy dependence of these countries on raw material exports. A comprehensive effort to strengthen the position of developing countries must aim

at a diversification of their economies. Their capacity to build industries and process their own raw materials should be improved. In that way developing countries would be assured of a larger share of total value added in the different stages of production. In the end, this should help us to create and maintain employment at a high level in developing as well as developed countries.

186. The diversification and growth of the economies of developing countries are intimately related to an increase in the over-all trade of the third world. The industrialized countries must consider granting preferential treatment in several areas to exports from developing countries. A beginning was made when the generalized scheme of tariff preferences was introduced. The present preferences could and should be improved. We are particularly anxious that the scheme should be applied in such a way as to be of real benefit also to the least developed countries. In the current negotiations of the General Assembly on Tariffs and Trade [GATT] we are discussing ways and means of improving the trade position of developing countries in a number of areas. In his statement [2327th meeting] the President of the Council of the European Communities has already stressed the vigour with which the Community will work towards this end during the negotiations.

187. My Government believes that for a long time to come official development assistance must form an essential part of our over-all efforts to strengthen the position of the developing countries in the world economy. We shall continue to increase the Danish aid programme and we expect to reach the 0.7 per cent target by the end of this decade. We shall pursue our policy of channelling a very large part of our total assistance through multilateral agencies. We recognize the overriding importance of increasing food production in the developing world. We are prepared to contribute to the new international fund for agricultural development, provided that the fund attracts broad and substantial support so as to become a permanent instrument in development co-operation. In our bilateral aid as well as in multilateral institutions, we shall continue to give special attention to the countries which are most in need and which are least likely to benefit from measures in other areas.

188. The total aid effort of industrialized countries so far has not helped the developing countries into the stage of self-sustaining growth which we all hoped for. Maybe the volume of aid was not sufficient. In any case we must recognize that in today's economic situation the prospects for a substantial increase in the transfer of resources along traditional lines are not bright. In addition to our present efforts it is, therefore, absolutely necessary to find new ways to transfer financial resources to developing countries, such as those I have mentioned in the commodity field. In doing so it is, however, important to be realistic with regard to concrete measures as well as to timing. We cannot ignore the fact that, in the present economic situation, Governments of industrialized democracies are subject to particular constraints in their freedom of action.

189. I should like to conclude by emphasizing that my Government does realize the magnitude and the urgency of the problems faced by the developing world. We are deeply conscious of the need of the developing countries to secure

<sup>7</sup> ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé. The text was subsequently circulated as document A/AC.176/7.

for their populations adequate health, nutrition, clothing, housing and education.

190. The Danish Government is committed to international co-operation for a more just and equitable economic world order. The interdependence of our economies is an

inescapable fact. We can only progress together. We shall find no easy solutions. But if we approach the problems without prejudice, this session could mark an important stage on the road towards a better life for all mankind.

*The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.*