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

AGENDA ITEM 7

Assessment of the progress made in the establishment of the new international economic order and appropriate action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation (continued):

- (a) New international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade;
- (b) Global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development;
- (c) Other matters

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decision S-11/22, taken by the General Assembly at its 1st plenary meeting, I now call on the Secretary-General of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, Mrs. Lucille Mair.

2. Mrs. MAIR (World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women): I should like first to take this opportunity to join those speakers who have congratulated the Government and people of free sovereign Zimbabwe on its admission to the United Nations. It gives me special pleasure to do so as just over a month ago the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace which took place from 14 to 30 July 1980 in Copenhagen, welcomed the delegation of Zimbabwe headed by the distinguished leader and freedom fighter Mrs. Mugabe, the wife of the Honourable Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe. That delegation carried with it to our Conference its history of heroic and victorious struggle by the women and men of Zimbabwe. Its presence enhanced the Conference, embodying, as it did, the challenges as well as the inspiring possibilities of the Decade's objectives—equality, development and peace.

3. Mr. President, through you I wish also to convey to this Assembly my appreciation of the opportunity that has so graciously been extended to me to introduce the relevant conclusions and recommendations of that World Conference. The Conference had before it a mandate to review the situation of more than half of the world's population in mid-1980, a period of acute international crisis both political and economic. The deliberations of the 145 Member States that participated might well have been judged irrelevant, if not irresponsible, had they failed to address issues relating to that crisis.

4. The Conference did not fail in its responsibilities in that respect. In the course of its work, it considered many of those same grave concerns which now inform the work of this special session of the General Assembly. These include the phenomena of global poverty and underdevelopment, the implications of the present imbalanced structure of the world economy, and the

urgent need to devise strategies for correcting those inequalities.

5. The Conference reaffirmed the thesis that, whereas the condition of women in any region at any time is to an important extent conditioned by their unique reproductive function, women's disturbingly disadvantaged situation, especially in developed countries, is also a major consequence of global underdevelopment and of unjust global economic structures. The elaboration, therefore, of an international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade—and here I quote from paragraph 213 of the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women that the Conference adopted—

“... formulated within the framework of the new international economic order and directed towards the achievement of its objectives, is thus of fundamental importance for the achievement of the goals of the United Nations Decade for Women”.¹

6. That is not a new thesis. It was articulated in 1975, when the World Conference of the International Women's Year was held from 19 June to 2 July in Mexico City, when the United Nations Decade for Women was proclaimed, a Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1975 and a World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year adopted, and a decision taken to review the progress of the implementation of that plan in 1980 at a mid-Decade conference [see *General Assembly resolution 3520 (XXX)*].

7. The linkage between women's status and an equitable international order was fully elaborated at that time, and it underlay concepts, policies and programmes of the past five years. The Conference last month gave sharper focus and added urgency to that linkage.

8. It was highlighted in the opening statement of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim,² in that of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation,³ as well as in the many policy statements of States Members of the United Nations, and representatives of United Nations organs and agencies and non-governmental organizations.

9. The Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme expressed it graphically in his address to the Conference⁴ when he said that “an existing international economic order that is not working for anyone, anywhere, casts its darkest shadows upon women, South and North”. He continued:

“... although women are absolutely essential to the present operation of the world economy, their inputs

¹See *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14 to 30 July 1980* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum, chap. I, sect. A.

²*Ibid.*, chap. III, sect. D, paras. 32-34.

³*Ibid.*, chap. IV, paras. 128-131.

⁴*Ibid.*, paras. 137 and 138.

are all too frequently taken for granted, and their outputs but faintly recorded. They are at the mercy of, yet have little influence over, the chaotic gyrations and inequities of the existing international economic order”.

10. Against a background of harsh global realities, the participating Governments recorded their deep concern at the present monetary and economic crisis and at the stalemate in the global negotiations. They also underlined the relationship of the Copenhagen Conference to this eleventh special session of the General Assembly.

11. Resolution 47 of the Conference, entitled “Implementation of the goals of the United Nations Decade for Women within the framework of the United Nations efforts to achieve the new international economic order”, specifically addresses those issues. That resolution is contained in the Report of the Conference which is before the Assembly. I quote from its relevant paragraph 2, which

“Urges all Governments, especially those of the developed countries, to conduct in the spirit of constructive co-operation the round of economic negotiations related to the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade and to bring the global negotiations to satisfactory agreements, with the object of restructuring the world economy and eliminating economic causes that threaten world peace, so that the objectives of the United Nations Decade for Women can be achieved.”⁵

12. Consistent with the concern thus expressed, that resolution, in its paragraph 3,

“Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to transmit to the eleventh special session of the General Assembly on development and international economic co-operation the final documents of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, as a component part of the documents for this session and for the strategy for the third United Nations development decade.”⁵

13. Other resolutions adopted by the Conference, and contained in the same report to which I have referred, address specific issues relevant to the new international development strategy. For example, resolution 44 deals with women in agriculture and rural areas, resolution 41 with women and nutritional self-sufficiency, resolution 25 with the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade, and so on.

14. Also contained in the report is the text of the Programme of Action adopted by the Conference. Paragraph 228 of that Programme of Action addresses the request to this body that “The . . . special session of the General Assembly on economic development should take into full account women’s role in economic development . . .”.

15. The issues involved here are synthesized in one of the preambular paragraphs of the Conference’s resolution 47. There the Conference recognized

“ . . . the need to accelerate the over-all development of developing countries, specially in those areas that will strengthen the basic productive capacity of their national economies, i.e., the development of the food and agro-industrial sectors, basic industries, science and technology, indigenous energy sources, fertilizers, agricultural machinery and transport services,

in order to adequately satisfy the nutrition, health and educational needs of all women and men on an equal basis, as well as to provide a high level of employment within the framework of their own national plans and priorities”.

16. Other relevant sections of the documents on the conclusions of the Conference pinpoint and reinforce those issues, in particular those sections of the programme and of the resolutions which deal with employment, health, food and rural women.

17. The analyses and recommendations of the World Conference should be seen as an integral part of that dynamic, ongoing process within the international community for advancing the frontiers of women’s participation in and contribution to national and international development.

18. The inputs of all bodies and agencies of the United Nations system which are engaged in this process are therefore explicit and implicit in the work and findings of the Conference.

19. Those findings reflect the clearer focus and the strengthened commitment of key bodies within the United Nations system with regard to placing women in the mainstream of United Nations activities. In that context, it is appropriate to note the emphasis which was given to the guideline for future action by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in his opening statement to the Conference, as well as by the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation. One should also commend the catalytic role of the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, which, through its Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, under the leadership of Mrs. Helvi Sipilä, has steered the data collection, research, analysis and programming of the United Nations in that direction.

20. Studies undertaken between 1975 and 1980 throughout the United Nations system, and indeed elsewhere, on women’s socio-economic status have served to bring to light disguised and hidden national and international factors which adversely affect development. Those factors are closely interrelated, fundamental roots of underdevelopment and include the inadequate access of developing countries to science and technology, unfair trade policies and the inequitable distribution of financial resources within and between countries. Some of those factors critically affect and are affected by women’s economic roles in the areas of agriculture, industry, trade, science and technology.

21. It is possible, as a result of such studies, to understand today even more clearly than before the interrelationships between key global economic factors such as the international division of labour and the economic roles of women. The status of women, too often one of inferiority and dependence—which implies a vast reservoir of cheap, unskilled labour—is inextricably linked with a chain of economic relationships forged in the international market system. Such relationships have been either undervalued or ignored in the past, to the detriment of past development strategies. That is particularly true of agriculture.

22. In the view of the Conference, it is imperative that the special requirements of rural women, who constitute the majority of the world’s agricultural producers, should be met as a matter of the highest priority. Urgently needed rationalized technology and infrastructural facilities such as housing, safe water, energy, and child care services would have to be provided to create an environment that would permit the equitable and

⁵Ibid., chap. I, sect. B.

effective participation of rural women workers in agricultural production. The need to establish direct linkages between the rural women workers and modern skills of production and management is paramount. Such women should have access, *inter alia*, to upgraded skills, land, credit, financial resources and marketing outlets.

23. Women in the manufacturing and tertiary sectors, particularly in informal occupations, were also perceived by the Conference to be especially vulnerable, both as consumers and as producers, to fluctuations in international monetary and business cycles and to the policies of transnational corporations. They are especially vulnerable, for example, to processes of industrial redeployment, in which they constitute at present a significant component of the labour force involved: processes which bring into serious question the operations of transnational corporations in relation to their investment and labour practices, and the whole fundamental issue of the transfer of technology.

24. Implicit in the priority of the Conference for the rationalization of women's employment is a recognition of the fact that there must not be a dislocation of men's employment. The Programme of Action recognizes that the local premise on which women's full participation in employment can be achieved is an overall growth in employment, and that that in turn can be achieved only in the framework of an equitable international economic order.

25. I should add that a strong note of reality pervaded the Conference's deliberations. There was clear recognition of the stalemate, if not the regression, that existed in global negotiations. Hence, the Conference urged Member States, especially the developed countries, to adopt the positive spirit out of which a satisfactory agreement might be reached at this special session.

26. The Conference was also aware of the challenge that its conclusions posed to the United Nations system, a challenge the Conference expressed in a number of resolutions and recommendations addressed to the relevant bodies within the system to strengthen their mechanisms and to develop innovative approaches to co-ordination and to the whole complex process of integrating women in all phases of international responsibilities, including the responsibility for a peaceful and secure world in which massive investment in instruments of destruction can be diverted to instruments of development.

27. The Programme of Action of the Conference synthesizes the aspirations of women as well as the objectives of accelerated, just and rational world development. Women are intermeshed in the very fabric of their societies and of their economies and are central to the socio-economic functioning of their nations. The world's women have articulated their need to participate equally in the construction of a new world order and their responsibilities in this respect, and it is my privilege to convey that mandate to you, Mr. President, and to this Assembly, so that this aspiration may be transformed into an operational reality.

28. In conclusion, I wish to thank the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy, Ambassador Naik, and his Committee for their full understanding of the issues involved. As a consequence, that Committee agreed at its sixth session that the results of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women would be appropriately reflected in the strategy to be elaborated

at this session of the Assembly [see A/S-11/2 (Part III), annex, para. 49].

29. Mr. SHERIFIS (Cyprus): First and foremost, I should like warmly to welcome the presence in this Assembly of its latest member, Zimbabwe, which, through the gallant struggle of its patriotic people and the support of the world community, emerged victorious from the abhorrent period of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the minority community of their country, and achieved sovereignty, independence and democratic majority rule. We pledge to them our wholehearted co-operation.

30. Secondly, Mr. President, I should like—as I did during the sixth emergency special session and my Foreign Minister did during the thirty-fourth session—to extend our warmest congratulations to you on the exemplary manner in which you are guiding our deliberations. I should like to repeat our satisfaction at the outstanding success of the representative of a country with which my own maintains such very close relations.

31. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly has opened against the grim background of increasing economic tensions and a worsening of the world economic situation, thus making the agenda items before us of exceptional importance and of major concern to the international community.

32. The 1980s will pose challenges and dangers never before witnessed and on a scale beyond our collective experience. To keep order in world trade and finance and to maintain expansion of world economic activity, we shall have to work harder than ever before if we are to cope with the unprecedented crisis the world is faced with today. It is, I believe, common knowledge that those most affected and burdened by this persistent economic crisis are the developing countries, for they suffer the most serious consequences as a result of inflation, higher prices of raw materials, a slowdown in growth rates and the growing protectionist movements in trade, all of which place considerable pressure on external accounts, particularly those of developing countries. This is clearly evidenced by the increase in the international debt of developing countries, which stands at over \$300 billion.

33. One notes with concern that the international debt of developing countries has been continually increasing at an alarming rate while the North-South dialogue was unsuccessfully trying to give effective form to the provisions of the New International Economic Order.

34. The attempts at restructuring the economic order which were made during the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, the fourth and fifth sessions of UNCTAD, the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation and in the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 have regrettably ended in failure. There is no need to expand on the repeated failures of negotiations in the North-South dialogue, failures due largely to a lack of political will on the part of many developed countries, which are always making commitments to progress but which, in reality, never commit themselves to taking effective measures for the creation of a just and equitable economic order. And what we need is not declarations of intent, but effective measures, which alone can solve the array of economic problems which are facing all of us today. It is imperative to have a substantive dialogue between North and South in order to give true form to the provisions of the New International Economic Order.

35. It has also been made clear, *inter alia*, by the Brandt Commission report,⁶ that while the international system has become much more complicated than before—with more independent nations, more institutions and more centres of influence—it has also become much more interdependent. More and more local problems can be solved through international action. Those problems include environmental issues, energy, co-ordination of economic activity, money and trade. Above all, the achievement of economic growth in one country depends increasingly on the performance of other countries. The South cannot grow adequately without the North. The North cannot prosper forever unless there is greater progress in the South. It has been said, and with reason, that no nation or group of nations can thrive in isolation while others live in poverty, need and deprivation.

36. The South, however, is plagued by an existing economic order that is characterized by inequality, domination and dependence: one fifth of the people in the South suffer from hunger and malnutrition; 50 per cent have no chance to become literate; only 12 per cent of the world's manufacturing industry is in the South, where three fourths of the world's population lives on only one fifth of the world's income. In the world, as in nations, economic forces, left entirely to themselves, tend to produce growing inequity. Within nations, public policy has to protect the weaker partners. The time has come to apply this axiom to relations between nations within the world community.

37. The deterioration of the developing countries' terms of trade and a weakening demand for their export products have made it difficult to maintain the modest growth rate attained in 1978 and 1979. The developed countries accounted for 75 per cent of 1978 world exports while developing, non-oil-producing countries accounted for only 13 per cent.

38. This in turn is part of the broader issue of access to markets. Exports are important for the industrialization of developing countries. But the developed countries have been raising obstacles, especially in this recessionary period, and imposing more non-tariff barriers, such as formal and informal quotas. Yet the very protectionism that the recession encourages could itself be one of the greatest enemies of recovery.

39. Above all, the developing countries need finance. Most developed nations have accepted the target of giving 0.7 per cent of their gross national product in the form of official development assistance, but few have complied with it. It is a clear fact that many developing countries will need much more finance over the next decade to sustain satisfactory growth, or at least to achieve any real improvement in health and nutrition and in mineral and industrial development. There must be a substantial increase in the transfer of resources to developing countries in order to finance and expand food production, to expand the domestic processing of commodities, and for the exploration and development of energy and mineral resources.

40. One might rightfully ask about the source of the massive funds required for this purpose. To mention but one source, I might revert to a favourite theme of my own and numerous other delegations, namely, constant and effective progress towards general and com-

plete disarmament, coupled with international security and the implementation of United Nations resolutions, which would release substantial additional resources that could be utilized for social and economic advancement, particularly of developing countries. Suffice it to mention, as an indication, that total military expenditures are approaching \$450 billion a year, while annual spending on official development aid is only \$20 billion.

41. Energy is another major problem that must be seriously tackled. The requirements and problems that face energy-importing countries, especially the developing ones among them, must be recognized and dealt with not only in the short term but also, and more appropriately, in the long term. The exploration and financing of conventional as well as new and renewable sources of energy in developing countries must be undertaken in a spirit of co-operation for the progress of both North and South.

42. The land-locked and island developing countries face additional problems specific to their situations; the problems of the land-locked are centred around the general inadequacy of facilities for transit to seaports and the consequent high cost of delivery to world markets. While island developing countries base their development on international trade, they are often remote from major international markets and sources of supply. Their problems derive in particular from the constraints of a limited domestic market, lack of expertise in marketing, their poor endowment of resources, and heavy dependence on a few commodities for their foreign exchange earnings. The measures agreed upon for alleviating the problems of the island developing countries, the least developed countries, and the land-locked countries should be implemented urgently and immediate action taken on the relevant General Assembly resolutions, and on resolution 122 (V) of UNCTAD,⁷ and in particular that resolution's Immediate Action Programme for the least developed countries.

43. It is our earnest hope that this Assembly will finalize and adopt the new international development strategy, which is of paramount importance for the establishment of the New International Economic Order. To that end, it is imperative that all sides display the necessary political will and approach the negotiations in a meaningful manner leading to agreements that will permit the strategy to be an effective instrument for implementing the new Order.

44. Prospects for the future are alarming. Increased global uncertainties have reduced our expectations of economic growth. Therefore, we have to set a clear priority for our goal in order to solve these dangerous and serious problems. All countries must be able to participate fully in the world economy in a way which assists genuine development. This will come about, in the long run, and in an economic environment which enables all countries to achieve self-sustaining growth.

45. The significance of the aims and scope of the New International Economic Order must be fully understood and comprehended, not only by Governments but also by peoples, which by now have come to realize that current economic relations do little to promote meaningful socio-economic progress and fruitful co-operation among nations and peoples. Furthermore, we should not ignore the contribution to the success of the new Order that can be made by cultural and other related

⁶North-South: A program for survival; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

⁷See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, Report and Annexes (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), Part I, sect. A.

factors, such as scientific and technological advancement, information, education and communication.

46. While recalling and acknowledging in this respect the significant role of UNESCO, I subscribe to the view that the New International Economic Order should be based on relations of equity, justice and mutual respect among equal partners striving jointly and severally for the advancement of humanity as a whole, doing away with patterns of domination, and with increasing reliance on co-operation and solidarity among nations, whether big or small, relations that can really make workable the permanent international order to which all peoples aspire.

47. Mr. CONTEH (Sierra Leone): At the seventeenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held in July 1980 in Sierra Leone, we had the signal honour to welcome the newly independent and sovereign State of Zimbabwe as the fiftieth member of the Organization of African Unity. We are proud once again to join the rest of the international community in welcoming the Republic of Zimbabwe as the 153rd Member of the United Nations.

48. It is particularly gratifying, Sir, to see Zimbabwe taking its place in the General Assembly during your presidency, coming as you do from the United Republic of Tanzania, a country which has given so much to the liberation struggle for the vindication of the rights and dignity of man. Zimbabwe is a living testimonial to man's quest for freedom and dignity, which constitute cardinal principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We wish to express the hope that, with the people of Zimbabwe having just emerged from a period of prolonged war of liberation, which sapped Zimbabwe's human and material resources, the international community will extend the necessary support to them in the next phase of their struggle for national reconstruction, consolidation and survival.

49. Looking at the present state of the world economy, we see what may be appropriately called a new crisis for survival, characterized, as it is, by the abject poverty of the masses of the third world, rising and ravaging inflation in both developed and developing countries, for most developing countries a chronic balance of payments shortfall, and for all a general pattern of slow growth and low output indicative of an unprecedented global recession. This today is the state of the world economy, from most of whose ills no part of our world, developing or developed, seems immune.

50. In our search for solutions to this crisis and to the attendant multiple problems of economic development, we are here in the hope that agreement will be reached on an action-oriented programme that will serve as a manifestation of the commitment and human solidarity of us all in recognition of our communality of interests. Let there be no mistake that failure to reach agreement would portend the social and political dislocation of our world. This special session will make an assessment of the progress made in the establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopt a strategy for the third United Nations development decade and launch a new round of global negotiations, all of which has as its objective the enhancement of a new international economic co-operation for development and the establishment of an equitable economic relationship between the different parts of our one world. Our approach to these issues should therefore be realistic, pragmatic, flexible and accommodating.

51. In paying a tribute to the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assem-

bly Resolution 32/174 for his devoted and untiring efforts in attempting to reach an acceptable and common platform on the issues involved, we note with regret that the negotiations moved at a frustratingly slow pace as the efforts of developing countries met with vacillation and equivocation. The ills of the present international economic system are recognized by all. What is absent is agreement as to the causes and their remedies, and the necessary political will to bring about change. Notwithstanding this, we should all persist in our search for mutually acceptable solutions.

52. The issues on which we are called upon to reach agreement are crucial to both developed and developing countries, if only because they affect the lives and living conditions of us all.

53. The sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] provided a framework for a new world economic order. They highlighted the prevailing global inequities in the international monetary system, the access to, availability and transfer of resources to developing countries, the terms and balance of trade, problems of the industrialization of developing countries, and the depressing world food situation. All these problems justify the call for the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

54. In our quest to bring about structural changes in the world economic system, reforming the international monetary system so as to promote trade and development is of paramount importance. The system is, after all, the currency, as it were, on which the whole system of international economic relations is based.

55. In spite of the call for fundamental reform, the present arrangements have proved inadequate and unsatisfactory in several particulars. IMF should play an increasing role as a financial intermediary in the sphere of resource availability and disbursement for development purposes. In effect, the Fund should have a greater say in the control of international liquidity, all within the framework of our overriding interdependence. What we should also like to see is a stable régime of currency exchange rates, which is indispensable for the growth of world trade and development.

56. As a member of the international community, Sierra Leone appreciates the need for the observance of the rules of lending and borrowing and access to the Fund's resources. The recent relaxation in the rules governing the conditionality of access to the Fund's resources is a welcome step in the right direction, for hitherto they bore little or no relationship to the social and political realities prevailing in the borrowing States. After all, these institutions exist to serve the interests of their member States, and not the other way round.

57. There is a functional relationship between international monetary and financial issues and the transfer of resources in real terms to developing countries. Of all the segments of the New International Economic Order, none expresses more eloquently and urgently the interdependence of our world than the transfer of real resources. Let us state that the issue of transfer of resources to developing countries to meet their capital and developmental requirements should not be seen as an exercise in charity, but rather as an act of enlightened self-interest, buttressing the interdependence of our one world, for without the necessary transfer of resources, which would enhance the income-generating capacity of the developing countries, the extraction, refinement and availability of the resources of our world, in particular those in the developing countries, would be reduced to

the point of extinction and make the whole world the poorer for it.

58. The need for the transfer of resources to developing countries has been the subject of a number of proposals, the most recent of which is contained in the report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues—the Brandt Commission's report.⁸ Although those proposals are essentially very similar in their basic principles as to the aims and time-frame involved, as well as in their thrust, nevertheless the portion of the Brandt Commission's report that advocates the establishment of a world development fund that would accelerate the transfer of resources to third-world countries gives a more realistic impetus and greater dimension to the problem and, in our view, deserves an immediate, more sympathetic and enlightened consideration by the whole international community.

59. Official development assistance is today one of the primary vehicles for the transfer of resources. It is therefore, in our view, a manifestation of a certain paucity of spirit that agreement on the target for official development assistance is still lacking and, what is worse, that even the 0.7 per cent of gross national product agreed to about a decade ago is now proving too much for certain countries as an achievable target. To compound this situation, alas, those same States have no difficulty in more than quadrupling their expenditure on armaments. This, we submit, shows a certain lack of vision, especially when it is now agreed on all sides that there is a close and functional relationship between disarmament and development, for progress made in the former should help greatly in the realization of the latter by the release of resources therefor.

60. In our search for a new system of equitable distribution and availability of the resources of our world, we call for a change in the present pattern of international trade, which today is characterized by a disturbing asymmetry in the prices of manufactured goods and those of primary products.

61. The *raison d'être* for this Assembly's proposing the establishment of a New International Economic Order was an admission of the fact that the International Development Strategy for the 1970s was inadequate even before it was launched. In the hope that the international community has benefited from its experience, I trust that as we stand on the threshold of the 1980s we may be better placed to formulate more responsive and imaginative policies and guidelines that would be more relevant and more likely to succeed.

62. Today we are gathered here to adopt another strategy, for the third United Nations development decade. It is our hope that this great undertaking, whose foundation and success will rest on human solidarity among all peoples of the world and on the political will of Governments, will not for the third time go down in the annals of world development history as having been a game in which the participants just listen very carefully and respectfully to all that the clever men have to say about the process and what is to happen in the next generation—and then do nothing.

63. To be successful, the third international development strategy cannot afford to be a game or an act of politeness, nor can we afford to be latter-day Neros fiddling while the world burns around us. What is needed in the international community today is a revolution in perception of the economic realities of the developing

countries. At the international level, this should aim at the achievement of structural changes in world economic relations, so as to give developing countries a greater share in the fruits of the economic process, and at closer co-operation towards optimal collective self-reliance among the developing countries themselves. At the national level, the shift should be from dependence to effective self-reliance aimed at internalizing the development process in all its aspects.

64. The indispensability of energy to the development process—and I wish to stress this—cannot be over-emphasized, a fact that is increasingly borne out today by the centrality of this issue in any international consideration of economic and development matters. Energy is, as it were, the veritable fuel for development. Indeed, the report of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy [A/S-11/2 (Part III)] attests to the overriding significance the international community should attach to this issue.

65. My delegation notes with some satisfaction that the predominant energy-consuming countries have agreed in principle to rationalize their consumption patterns and encourage better management of energy resources. For us in Africa in particular, and for developing countries in general, especially those that are non-oil-producing, we hope that at this special session we shall be able to achieve the necessary consensus in some of the more sensitive but vital areas of supply, availability and pricing and including the volume and quality of investment in further exploration and exploitation of energy resources. We also note with satisfaction the move to institutionalize a fund for energy exploration and pre-investment for the realization of the energy potential of the developing countries, especially the least developed among them. We hope that by the end of this special session the spectre of dislocation presented to the non-oil-producing developing countries by the energy problem in terms both of availability and of pricing will be restrained, if not banished forever.

66. In this regard we look forward to a successful outcome of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, scheduled for 1981, and the incorporation of the outcome of that Conference in the third development strategy.

67. The necessity of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries based on the principles of collective self-reliance is today being increasingly realized as an important aspect in overall global development prospects. For, while it is commendable to bridge the gaps of deprivation and development between the developing countries and the developed countries, it is important also that we effect horizontal co-operation and development, particularly between and among developing countries themselves. Conscious of this need, the leaders of independent African States met at Lagos in April this year and adopted the seminal Lagos Plan of Action for the implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for Economic Development of Africa.

68. The implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action necessarily calls for the mobilization and deployment of indigenous human, natural and financial resources on a massive scale by the African countries themselves. Africa is now fully aware of the tremendous necessity for a great deal of effective action at the national and regional levels. Nevertheless, we believe that there is still room for the international community to co-operate in the realization of the objectives of this important programme of action, which, after all, is a vital segment of the global development strategy.

⁸See *North-South: A program for survival* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

69. The Lagos Plan of Action stands as a model for co-operation and collective self-reliant development among developing countries. It advocates, *inter alia*, self-reliance in attaining the important goal of self-sufficiency in food; education and training to develop capabilities for wide participation of populations in socio-economic development; regional self-reliance through intra-African trade; self-reliance through the establishment of a sound industrial base; regional integration through transport and communications development; and improved control over natural resources.

70. This is a formidable transformative undertaking and commitment which Africa by itself cannot accomplish within the general framework of the third United Nations development decade. It will necessarily require the massive support of the whole international community.

71. Indeed, not enough attention has been paid to Africa's tremendous reserve of human and material resources, and I believe that the effective implementation of the strategy calls for the development and improvement of skills and technological capabilities and managerial and entrepreneurial training of the human resources of the continent.

72. In this connexion my delegation would like to place special emphasis on moves to enhance the role of women in the development process. That is why we welcome the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women.⁹

73. Today more than ever before, international economic relations have come to acquire a world-wide dimension which, in political terms, should mean free participation by all States in the management of world economic affairs. In the absence of effective political commitment on the part of every State in the international community, international economic relations can deteriorate considerably, and this Organization may not be able to achieve the goals and objectives that have been delineated in the strategy. That is to say that we should give the same importance and urgency within the United Nations system to international economic development as that given to peace and security, for both, after all, are sides of the same coin—mankind's peace, survival and welfare.

74. In the global round of negotiations, which, we expect, will commence early in 1981, my delegation looks for representation at a high political level, as we believe that participation at such a level will provide the necessary political leverage and political commitment for the success of an effective international co-operation. Furthermore, we believe that it would be useful to ensure universal participation in the conference on global negotiations and the active involvement of the agencies of the United Nations system.

75. In conclusion, as we stand on the threshold of the 1980s and are about to take momentous decisions on international economic co-operation and development, let us all realize that we have only one world to share; let us, therefore, approach these negotiations with due flexibility, accommodation and goodwill. We owe it to each and every one of ourselves, for the inadequacies of the two preceding International Development Strategies point to a need for a new kind of human solidarity and

political will for the attainment of a just and equitable world economic system which can and must constitute the basis for a new age of global prosperity for all of us.

76. Mr. GOMEZ VIDES (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, it is indeed an honour for me to express to you, on behalf of the Government of El Salvador, our satisfaction at seeing you presiding over this eleventh special session of the General Assembly, on international economic co-operation for development. Your experience and skills will certainly contribute to the search for success in our deliberations.

77. I should like also to express our gratitude to the Chairmen of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy and the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, whose devoted efforts have ensured that the results of their difficult labours, which they have submitted to this Assembly, will facilitate our deliberations.

78. On behalf of the Republic of El Salvador and on my own behalf, it is an honour and a source of immense satisfaction to extend a brotherly welcome to the heroic people of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

79. The difficult economic problems facing the peoples of the world and the constant, unparalleled deterioration in the trends of international economic relations, with the resulting harmful effects on the developing countries, are a source of legitimate serious concern to the third-world countries. International justice, equity and solidarity seem to be dangerously fading from sight, despite the constant appeals from our peoples. Today, at this historic special session of the General Assembly, the international community may have the last opportunity to demonstrate its belief in justice, equity and solidarity, through the establishment of the new international economic order and the adoption of measures to promote the development of the third-world countries, the adoption of the new international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade, and the reaching of effective agreement on global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

Mr. Alaini (Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

80. My delegation, of course, fully supports the proposals submitted by the Group of 77 and the ideas set forth in the statement made to the Assembly on behalf of our Group by Mr. Narasimha Rao, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India [*see 2nd meeting, paras. 58-92*]. I should like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Government of India, which, as the country holding the presidency of the Group of 77, has intelligently and skilfully supported the positions of the developing countries during the negotiations.

81. My country, as a member of the Latin American Economic System (SELA), has taken an active part in its meetings—most recently in the regional co-ordination meeting held in New York from 11 to 13 August 1980, before the convening of this eleventh special session of the General Assembly. At that meeting our delegation agreed with the joint view of the developing countries that the Group of 77 has demonstrated its political will to reach a compromise in the negotiations with the developed countries. That positive stand on negotiations has not always been met by a willing and flexible stand on the part of our negotiating partners. Indeed, we agree that in the negotiating process the tentative concessions of the Group of 77 have been met, paradoxically, by a demand for new concessions on our

⁹See *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14 to 30 July 1980* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum), chap. I, sect. A.

part, on the pretext that "reciprocity of advantages" must exist.

82. Justice, equity and solidarity in economic relations are wise and solid foundations for common understanding, and they clearly contribute to the achievement of peace, stability and security by our peoples, which are striving to share in the riches and benefits of civilization. These ideas come into their own when the will, the tenacity and the confidence exist to engage in dialogue. Furthermore, they have the virtue of being valid both nationally and internationally.

83. On 15 October 1979 my country initiated an irreversible process of profound change in its economic, social and political structures, in order to create conditions in which everyone in El Salvador will be able to live in peace and in accordance with the principles of human dignity. To that end, the Government of El Salvador is putting into effect a vast, comprehensive programme of political economic measures, the main elements of which are agrarian reform and the nationalization of the banking institutions and foreign trade. The implementation of agrarian reform measures at the national level has made it possible to give effect to the principles agreed upon at the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, held at Rome from 12 to 20 July 1979. The implementation of the law on agrarian reform has brought about a considerable improvement in the standard of living of the farmers in El Salvador and has made it possible to develop their human potential, to redistribute economic power and to ensure that participation by the people will be effectively brought about. At present, approximately 1 million farmers are benefiting economically and socially from the implementation of the first stage of agrarian reform in El Salvador. These measures are being put into effect with tenacity and patriotic devotion, despite the unjust opposition of extremist minority groups, encouraged by foreign efforts alien to the interests and desires of the overwhelming majority of the farmers and workers in El Salvador, who wish only to work in peace. We vigorously seek peace, not only at the national level but also at the international level. That is why we are striving, together with our sister Republic of Honduras, to ensure the signature as soon as possible of a peace treaty that will put an end to our differences.

84. These basic economic policy efforts of our Government are in keeping with the goals and objectives of the new international development strategy, and especially those mentioned in the preparatory texts that refer to the expansion of agricultural production in the developing countries and have, *inter alia*, the following objective:

"... to meet the nutritional needs of the populations, to enlarge the base for industrialization and the diversification of economic structures, and to redress current imbalances in world production... To those ends, developing countries should continue to strengthen the formulation and implementation of food and agricultural development plans within the framework of their national development priorities and programmes." [A/S-11/2 (Part III), annex, para. 27.]

85. Of course, those great and glorious objectives—which the developing countries strive to turn into reality, as does El Salvador—should continue to receive the fullest support of the international community, and

"... should be supported by additional external resource transfers in the context of over-all greater flows of financial resources to developing countries". [Ibid.]

86. Again with the purpose of achieving a new economic order at the domestic level—one based on equity, justice and solidarity—the Government of El Salvador, in addition to agrarian reform at the national level, has implemented other major measures for the benefit of the population of the country: the nationalization of foreign trade and of the nationalization of banking institutions. These are practical measures with enormous historic and social content which have placed our country in the vanguard with an ambitious economic and social plan within the democratic process of serving our people and the community in general.

87. Side by side with those fundamental changes in the economic and social structure, our Government has established a national emergency plan designed to reactivate the agricultural, industrial, trade and financial sectors of the economy, with emphasis on the creation of new jobs and the constant involvement of the people of El Salvador in the process of change.

88. The difficult international economic situation that has aggravated the problems of the developing countries and consideration of the great efforts that are now being made by the Government of El Salvador to enhance human dignity, eliminate poverty and foster constant improvement of the well-being of the population through its full participation in the development process, and a just and equitable distribution of the benefits of the process of change leads us to think of the urgent need to ensure greater and more effective international economic co-operation so that our people may feel the positive effects of international solidarity.

89. The search for and achievement of better conditions of life for our peoples is the fundamental reason for our solidarity. While we recognize that Governments have the primary responsibility for the fostering of the economic and social development of their peoples, we also recognize that international co-operation is indispensable to the achievement of those goals. That is why our Government attaches enormous importance to the present event. We therefore wish to reiterate our recognition of the urgent need to establish a new international economic order that can give proper and equitable support to the development of our countries. The new international economic order is and must be global and multilateral and must involve concrete, effective and constant action that will guarantee to the peoples of the third world the certainty they will have an opportunity to develop, and will ensure them at the international level of equity, sovereignty, equality, interdependence, common interest, and co-operation among States. This special session of the General Assembly is intended to assess the progress achieved in the efforts to establish the new international economic order, to secure agreement on the global negotiations that will render the North-South dialogue effective and to adopt a new international strategy for development. Our peoples place considerable hope in the success of these important meetings.

90. The economic problems that face the world are many and varied. The questions that must be negotiated by this Assembly in a frank, direct and friendly dialogue are all extremely important for our countries; they form a package covering raw materials, trade, development, energy, and monetary and financial matters. Because it is indispensable, we trust that the developed countries that take part in the negotiations will be prepared to recognize that there is now a world-wide economic crisis and to admit not only that it is not easy to escape the crisis, but that it is absolutely indispensable through

dialogue to establish a new system of international economic relations.

91. The Secretary-General's report in document A/S-11/5, entitled "Towards the new international economic order: analytical report on developments in the field of international economic co-operation since the sixth special session of the General Assembly", states that after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 3202 (S-VI) a group of 45 developing countries were recognized as being the most seriously affected developing countries; their low level of development made them particularly vulnerable to the external problems which stem from abrupt changes in international economic relations. That group of developing countries has been facing extremely serious balance of payments problems owing to the enormous increase in the prices of their imports of basic commodities, which has inevitably undermined their capacity to import and has adversely affected their economic growth, which was already recognized to be unsatisfactory. My country, El Salvador, is of the view that in the formulation of the goals, objectives and policy measures of the new international development strategy, and in the context of the specific and comprehensive solutions of the global round of negotiations, special assistance in adequate amounts should be given to the most seriously affected developing countries by means of a programme of substantial financial support on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

92. In order to meet the general financing needs of the developing countries it is imperative for the international community to give urgent attention to the fact that external financial resources, and in particular official development assistance, constitute an indispensable element of support to supplement the efforts of the developing countries themselves. For that reason, achievement of the agreed international objective of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries should be accorded urgent attention so that by 1990 that objective can be raised to 1 per cent.

93. My country is of the view that a restructuring of the international trade system is required, which would provide for better access of our commodities and manufactured goods to the markets of the developed countries and the adoption of a multilateral agreement on safeguards which would take account of the views expressed by the developing countries at the Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations.

94. The reform of the present international monetary and financial system should constitute one of the main tasks and commitments of the international community, with a view to the achievement of an equitable, efficient and stable system. There is an urgent need for reform because today economic factors and circumstances are very different from the conditions that existed in 1945 when the Bretton Woods agreements were adopted. A new international monetary system should adequately reflect the present international economic situation and meet the legitimate needs of the developing countries. In that context, the reform of the international monetary system should recognize, *inter alia*, that the balance of payments deficits of the developing countries are basically development deficits, which require a form of financing under appropriate terms and conditions, particularly when our economies are undergoing internal structural changes designed to build a new basis for social justice. The reform must also provide for the creation of international liquidity independent of the functioning of any individual monetary system and for the distribution of this liquidity to be designed to satisfy the needs and requirements of the developing countries.

The reformed international monetary system must function with a balanced, effective and equitable system of adjustments, consistent with maintaining high levels of employment and rates of growth and the dynamic expansion of world trade. And special attention must be given within the reformed international monetary system, to the least advantaged developing countries, such as the least developed countries, the land-locked or island countries, the most seriously affected countries and all other particularly vulnerable developing countries.

95. The question of energy, and the crucial and acute problems which energy presents particularly for energy-importing developing countries, constitutes an extremely important element in the framework of the new international strategy and of the global negotiations. Thus, the adoption of effective and urgent measures in the field of energy will help to alleviate the difficulties and problems now being experienced in the field of energy. Here I should like to support what has been said in this Assembly by representatives who have spoken before me with regard to the problem of energy, namely, that we must give special attention to the situation of the least developed and most seriously affected developing countries. Furthermore, my country is following with keen attention the preparations for the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy to be held in 1981 and we hope that the results of that Conference will contribute effectively to the solution of general problems in the realm of energy.

96. We the developing countries hope for new and restructured modes of international economic co-operation. A clear framework for international co-operation always leads to positive results. In that regard, I should like to take this opportunity to state that, apart from what may be achieved in the context of North-South relations during this special session of the General Assembly, it is quite clear that we must considerably strengthen and expand economic and technical co-operation among developing countries. By and large, my country supports all subregional, regional and inter-regional efforts designed to lead to the establishment and development of programmes of economic co-operation among developing countries. The schemes for economic integration among developing countries were in the past and continue to be one of the viable and concrete means by which economic and social development can be accelerated, thanks to the co-operative machinery which should characterize South-South relations. That is why my country supports and participates actively in the work of restructuring and improving the Central American Common Market.

97. For the countries of the third world global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development constitute a coherent and well-integrated approach towards the overall solution of the major international economic problems. Thus El Salvador fully supports the proposals put forward on behalf of the Group of 77 with respect to the agenda and the procedures for the global negotiations, as well as the time-frame for them. We believe and trust in a frank and direct dialogue with our colleagues of the North and we are therefore confident that by the end of this special session we shall have proof that political will and a spirit of understanding and co-operation are not lacking.

98. The global negotiations and the new international development strategy are interrelated in many ways. We view the strategy as a properly structured framework composed of related parts, especially among the goals

and objectives and the policy measures. We believe that in the formulation of the strategy for the third development decade it is necessary to take into account past experience, particularly with regard to implementation. The restructuring of the world economy and the measures that are necessary and appropriate for speeding up the development of the developing countries should be the very core of the new international strategy for development.

99. In El Salvador we have adopted and are putting into effect a group of historic and irreversible economic measures to ensure a better and juster distribution of wealth. In the more than one and a half centuries that have elapsed since the foundation of the Republic of El Salvador, economic and social measures of such vast scope have never been adopted. With the moral strength which flows from our revolutionary stance, we should like to call on this Assembly to ensure that the international community adopt effective, adequate and concrete measures to launch our countries securely on the path of development, without the obstacles of the past, by the establishment of effective machinery for international economic co-operation in accordance with the urgent needs of our developing peoples.

100. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): I wish to express my Government's deep satisfaction to know that Ambassador Salim is presiding at this eleventh special session of the General Assembly convened to assess the procedures and attainments in the interrelated fields of global negotiations and a functional international development strategy for the third development decade.

101. It is fitting that he should be President of this historic special session which has witnessed the triumph of freedom over tyranny and humanism over racist bigotry, as exemplified in the admission of the fraternal and freedom-loving people of Zimbabwe to the family of nations. Few have struggled as hard and as long for this memorable moment as have our fraternal brethren of Zimbabwe, and Ambassador Salim deserves pride of place among those who struggled in all international forums for its achievement. The Government and people of Jordan rejoice in extending to the people of Zimbabwe, under the dedicated, outstanding and enlightened leadership of His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, their heartiest congratulations and best wishes.

102. The genesis of a New International Economic Order was that pioneering, visionary and timely sixth special session of the General Assembly of 1974, which recognized universally and forcefully for the first time that political rights, enormously important as they are, would be devoid of any substance if they are not accompanied by economic rights in a world that—we are all agreed—is irretrievably one of increasing interdependence: a shrunken and indivisible world. Hence, the sixth special session drafted both a Declaration and a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and adopted them as General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI). Then at the twenty-ninth session of the same year, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3281 (XXIX), a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, with only a few negative votes, and those based on the interpretation of principles.

103. I feel duty bound at the outset to offer the highest commendations to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for responding and for spurring on the United Nations specialized agencies to meet the colossal challenges inherent in the boldest restructuring of the international economic system since the aftermath of the Second World War. A proliferation of structures

and functions ensued, including the establishment of the post of Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation and the continuing, though relatively meagerly productive, dialogue between the developed and the developing nations under the aegis of United Nations bodies such as UNCTAD on programmes to stabilize commodity prices and promote debt relief for the least developed countries. Technical co-operation among developing countries was given a definite impetus by the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Buenos Aires from 30 August to 12 September 1978 and the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development held at Vienna from 20 to 31 August 1979. An action programme was adopted to help redress the vast imbalance of resources for research and development existing between the industrial and the developing countries, and a fund was established for science and technology.

104. UNDP has substantially augmented its development programmes in view of the chaotic nature of the world economic order. It has likewise modified its programmes to cater more equitably to the desperate needs of the least developed. UNIDO is making brave efforts, although it is hampered by very limited resources.

105. UNICEF has greatly expanded its noble mission of providing assistance to helpless and desperately needy children worldwide. There are literally hundreds of millions of children who live lives of abject and unconscionable squalour. Twenty million such innocent children die every year from malnutrition-related causes in an age of abundance and, sometimes, of unseemly affluence.

106. At the July meetings of the Economic and Social Council at Geneva, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, recognizing the imperative need for an early action programme to deal with short-term catastrophic crises, particularly in the least developed countries, called for urgent action in three areas: first, adequate balance of payments support for developing countries, some of which are on the verge of collapse; secondly, substantial increases in development assistance from abroad to low-income countries by means of a special operation; and, thirdly, increased resources for exploration and the development and exploitation of conventional and renewable sources of energy in developing countries.¹⁰ It is the earnest hope of my delegation that these urgent steps will be adopted without awaiting the outcome of the global negotiations.

107. Notwithstanding the augmented programmes and actions of the United Nations, these have regrettably done very little to remedy the appalling and ever-widening disparity between the haves and the have-nots, or to change the present situation of islands of affluence amidst a sea of varying degrees of deprivation and poverty.

108. While paying lip-service to the tragedy of the hunger and deprivation of large segments of mankind, the developed world seems to be incapable of visualizing it in practical terms, let alone significantly contributing to the amelioration of the truly intolerable conditions in the third world, which is struggling for survival.

109. Fully 800 million human beings are barely surviving in what the World Bank describes as absolute poverty, on an annual income of \$200 or less. One must count at least half the world's population as being on

¹⁰See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Plenary Meetings, 24th meeting, paras. 7-30.*

varying plateaux of relative poverty. Eighty per cent of the world's population, mostly living in villages, has no system of health care, and this is reflected in infant mortality, lack of education and related ills. These facts, staggering as they may sound, are true and frightening. Quite apart from the moral issues involved in abject acquiescence in such monumental injustice, the world community needs no reminding that the perpetuation of this injustice is inextricably intertwined with issues directly correlated with international peace and security. If large segments of humanity should disintegrate under the weight of deprivation, they will inevitably cast their countervailing weight on the peace and security of the world.

110. If this prognosis is accurate, as I am convinced it is, then it is alarmingly disconcerting that the correlation between viable survival and international security has been ignored so myopically, if not with indifference. It is mind-boggling to watch the spectacle of well-to-do countries spending, willingly and enthusiastically, \$450 billion to \$500 billion on armaments per annum while reluctantly allocating a mere \$20 billion in official aid: a pittance when spread out over three billion members of the human race. Defence is a very legitimate national objective, but the extravagance of wasting \$500 billion on a largely nuclear race, which all sides agree is unthinkable, unwinnable and terminal, is a testimony to the grave task of judgement in choosing counterproductive and largely misguided instruments to achieve the goal of peace.

111. I leave it to the imagination and to the projections and the calculations of discerning decision-makers to judge the far greater impact that would be achieved on the maintenance of peace if a mere 5 per cent of the expenditures on wasteful armaments were to be devoted annually to aid in transforming the world into a place where human beings can at least live tolerable and decent lives, principally in terms of food, shelter and clothing, which is what economics is basically all about.

112. It is unfortunate that the internationally accepted target for official development assistance, namely 0.7 per cent of the gross national product, has hardly reached half that goal. Indeed, it declined from 0.35 per cent in 1975 to 0.31 in 1977; it has now risen to 0.34 per cent of the gross national product—half the original target. What is worse is that most projections do not expect it to rise to 0.35 or 0.36 per cent by the middle of the 1980s.

113. It is in the light of those bleak forecasts that we listened to the message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II [see 2nd meeting, para. 2], who has travelled widely and witnessed deprivation at first hand, which suggests that official development assistance should be at least 1 per cent of gross national product.

114. The Brandt Commission's report¹¹ has made a very salutary contribution in awakening the consciousness of the developed countries to the banal fact that it is to the mutual advantage of developed and developing countries to establish a New International Economic Order. There is a confluence of interests, not an incompatibility, in expanding the contours of global trade, development and co-operation to encompass the world as a whole. This has proved to be the case in raising the standards of the less endowed segments in national soci-

eties; it will undoubtedly be the case in expanding the vast economic, social and cultural potentials of the developing world to enable them to partake significantly, both as producers and consumers, in an expanded world economic order.

115. Indeed, it may well be the long-range and sustained salvation of the developed economies which are at present—and we understand that full well—undergoing very serious malaise and dysfunction: 18 million people are unemployed; machines are idle or under-utilized for lack of adequate demand; inflation and stagnation are rampant; and the orthodox practices of fluctuating precariously in cycles of recession or overheated inflation are now recognized as having grievous shortcomings. But the situation will continue if the major trading partners in the world, the relative few, have to sell to each other the same goods and services, leading to gluts, cut-throat competition, dumping and an increasing clamour for protectionism. The long-range cure is to encompass the bountiful world.

116. If the goal of a mutually beneficial global economy is to be achieved, there must be a dynamic effort to achieve a basic restructuring of the world economy, with a substantial transfer of real resources from the well-endowed world to the developing world as its vehicle and catalyst. I emphasize "catalyst" to underscore the point that a massive transfer of resources is not intended to mean the plundering of the rich or an arbitrary redistribution of income. Such a method would be self-defeating. A massive transfer of resources simply means meaningful investments, aid or loans, at reasonable or, in the case of the least developed, concessional rates, to enable every developing nation to achieve its own salvation.

117. As important as monetary transfers is the transfer and sharing of science and technology, which no one is suggesting should include highly sensitive technology secrets which are crucial in some areas of security, or of discoveries in manufacturing. But these are a tiny portion of science and technology; the bulk is an open book for all to learn, utilize and exchange. Likewise, in talking about technology transfers, it is naturally the intention to include "social engineering", new methods and techniques in the processes of administration, streamlining and high-efficiency performance without the sprawling and stifling bureaucratic practices which impede progress in the developing world as well as in the developed economies themselves.

118. An important factor in the effort to achieve this goal is to deal effectively with a pervasive phenomenon to which His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan has alerted the world community in many international forums, namely, the reverse brain drain. It is only equitable that whatever technological resources are acquired by citizens of third-world countries should be at the service of their own native countries rather than added to the vast pool of the already technologically well-endowed developed countries. Jordan has suggested compensatory measures to avoid infringing upon the freedom of choice of the individuals concerned. But while there is a moral obligation incumbent on developed countries to discourage a reverse brain drain, there is an equal obligation incumbent on developing countries to create a propitious atmosphere in terms of research facilities and just remuneration so as to retain or recover their relatively meagre pool of high-powered "brains".

119. The *World Development Report, 1980*, issued by the World Bank, is to be lauded for stressing in the strongest terms that economic development is contin-

¹¹*North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

gent in the final analysis upon human development, such as education, training, better health, nutrition and family planning.

120. Without quoting the forebodings of Malthus, the time has come to realize that adding 2 billion souls over the next two decades will undoubtedly result in a population explosion which could gravely inhibit an as yet underdeveloped world. Nine tenths of the increase will occur in the countries at present least capable of absorbing them. Like a vicious cycle, education and progress are the remedy which would really create an awareness of the true dimensions of this problem, but these achievements are a consequence of education and progress which are at present compounded by uncontrolled population expansion. One cannot convince a poor farmer to accept family planning if his offspring are not only his co-farmers but also his social security in his old age, where none other exists.

121. It is now universally recognized that the major monetary institutions that were established after the Second World War pursuant to the Bretton Woods agreements are no longer capable of handling either the monetary or the development needs of the world unless they are drastically reoriented to address themselves not only to the needs of the developed countries but also, and more importantly, to a developing world in desperate need of salvation. This requires a basic change in attitude, a democratization of economic decision-making to parallel the largely achieved political democratization of the community of nations. It must also deal more effectively with the disastrous consequences of inflationary exports and with the stabilization of the monetary mechanism.

122. This does not and need not entail any irresponsible laxity in monetary standards of management. But it certainly means a far greater sensitivity and flexibility in helping a third world in urgent need of help, on soft terms, since there is agreement that the whole world will benefit—certainly in the long run, if not necessarily in the short run—if the existing exclusive club of the haves eventually encompasses the wider spectrum of the community of nations.

123. There are some pivotal areas that are interrelated and must be tackled as a matter of highest priority if this session is to be launched meaningfully towards a restructuring of the world economic order. Those areas are finance, trade, aid, and commodities, including energy, which is a primary component of the law of thermodynamics, the second being the entropy law. While the first law states that all matter and energy in the universe are constant and cannot be created or destroyed, entropy is a measure of the extent to which available energy in any subsystem of the universe is transformed into an unavailable form or into decreased available energy. There is a penalty attached to transformation. This inevitably means attrition and requires imperative conservation. One cannot over-emphasize the importance of conserving non-renewable energy resources. I might add here that the developing world consumes a mere 13 per cent of the world's energy production.

124. When we talk of energy, our minds have been attuned to associating it with non-renewable fossil fuels that will surely run out in the not too distant future. Unfortunately, the industrial world has dealt extremely harshly with this precious resource, which developed over millions of years and which has been literally plundered and wasted without any regard to future generations. There are other, renewable, sources of energy that could have been explored much earlier. Apart from

the nuclear, solar, hydroelectric, coal, wind and other sources of energy, I saw, a mere few days ago, a fascinating documentary film on the great potential of energy being produced on sugar plantations by a process of distillation. This process does have its cost in human energy, but it is energy all the same and it can also be mechanized.

125. I feel it necessary to make a few frank remarks on energy because, although Jordan is not an oil-producing country and pays the world market price for its imports from the world petroleum conglomerates—in excess of half a billion dollars last year, and this is rapidly approaching the billion-dollar mark—there is a tendency on the part of some of the most developed countries to depict those Arab countries that produce perishable fuels as villains. There is also a sinister orientation to disparage the Arab world in its entirety and to drive a wedge between it and its fraternal brethren in the third world. The facts and figures show the following.

126. First, the oil-producing countries are not the stereotype of the few Arab countries that are persistently maligned in public utterances and in the mass media. It has become almost disgusting. The Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom, Norway, Canada and China are among the leading producers of oil. In the developing world they comprise Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bolivia, Brunei, Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Gabon, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Oman, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Venezuela, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and others to a lesser degree.

127. Secondly, the Arab oil-producing countries, as a part of a nation of over 150 million people, have an obligation to assist in the development of their less endowed brethren, who are also their fraternal brethren, in the developing world. This they are already doing to the best of their ability even though they have their own countries to develop and defend, for reasons beyond their control and imposed upon them. Their scale of assistance per annum exceeds, in the case of the larger producers, 5 per cent of their gross national product, as against a third of 1 per cent in the case of the developed countries, and even though they have hardly had more than six years of getting a fair remuneration for, in some instances, their sole resource. Over the past 50 years, they had been getting a dollar per precious barrel, while natural gas was allowed to burn itself out irretrievably. Those oil-producing countries contributed fully 43 per cent in 1977 to the \$1 billion International Fund for Agricultural Development established by FAO. Almost the entire Fund has been disbursed or allocated, and I am very hopeful that it will be doubled in 1980. One of the significant and unique features of this Fund is that, unlike in other major international institutions, the developing countries have a two-thirds voting majority in both the legislative and executive organs of the Fund. In the September 1980 issue of the publication *Scientific American* it is estimated that agricultural investment needs in 92 countries members of FAO should be \$107 billion by the year 2000.

128. Thirdly, it is interesting to compare the 1978 *per capita* income of some countries—and I am just giving a random example—which have been stereotyped as sitting on the wealth of the world and causing it to suffer, with the *per capita* income of the developed countries in 1978: Tunisia, \$950; Angola, \$300; Egypt, \$390; Syria, \$930; Algeria, \$1,260; Mexico, \$1,290; Indonesia, \$360; Nigeria, \$560; Iraq, \$1,860, and so on. By comparison, such *per capita* income would be regarded as far below

the poverty level in the United States and the other developed countries. There are only a handful of Arab countries whose *per capita* income exceeds \$6,000, primarily because of a relatively sparse population.

129. When anyone engages in defamation of the Arab nation as thwarting the new economic order, he might first look into the mirror and see himself. He might also understand that, if there is any nation that is qualified and willing to contribute towards a restructuring of the world economic order, it is that of the Arab peoples, who are inseparably an integral part of the third world. But they need a little while, as well as the help and assistance of the third world, to acquire some leverage in contributing to a fundamental restructuring of the world economic order and a massive transfer of resources to carry out the long-awaited objectives of the New International Economic Order.

130. This brings us to the crux and the core of all the previous objectives, namely, a fundamental reform in the monetary and financial institutions that are the principle vehicles for a real transfer of resources for development.

131. It is well known that a number of oil-producing countries—a very few—have accumulated and will be accumulating vast monetary surpluses because of their concern about greasing the wheels of industry, agriculture and trade by over-producing, against their best interests, huge quantities of oil. While those countries are in duty bound to effect a two-way traffic in balance of payments through recycling, they have an even more pressing commitment to plough back cash surpluses into the development of their own countries as well as those of the third world.

132. But the world's financial and monetary system is so anachronistic that those surpluses are piling up ineffectively in international public and private banks and institutions. Let us face it, once they are deposited, they suffer shrinkage because of monetary depreciation; it is the banking institutions which decide the allocations as to when, where and how. It is for that reason that most of the recycling process is going largely to the already rich and developed countries rather than to the poor and developing countries, which bankers judge to be less credit-worthy precisely because they are poor.

133. One of the primary goals which we all hope will emerge from this historic session is a reform of the financial mechanism by an act of enlightened political will, so that the developing world will get a square deal in the allocation of these surplus resources. It is regrettable that, while getting all the blame, the oil capital-surplus countries have a small say in the decision-making process, given the financial framework existing today in the world banking system.

134. How much more rewarding it would be if, instead of invisible bank balances, we could visibly see 200 million acres of arable land in the Sudan and much more in other parts of Africa and in Asia, Latin America and elsewhere producing the bounty of this bountiful planet and achieving a large degree of food security for vast areas of the developing world. After all, are we not told that, by the year 2000, millions, if not billions, will be facing starvation?

135. Global trade and development can be enhanced rationally and without polemics by any number of procedures suggested by the Group of 77 in accommodation with those of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. Those procedures must be put into operation without any delay by task forces, *ad hoc* groups, and experts,

not least of which are the specialized agencies of the United Nations, which are already in the field world wide, and know a great deal about each country's particular problems and potentials. This is a common effort in which all humanity must participate and, ultimately, join in the decision-making process.

136. We wish this session to be one of hope, promise and fulfilment. The issues are too serious to permit delays; goodwill and awareness of the mutuality of interests are not lacking. May our political will overcome the impediments which have thwarted the development objectives of the past two decades.

137. Mr. SHEDOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like first of all to welcome Ambassador Salim to the presidency of the eleventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly and wish him every success in the performance of the important and responsible duties that are thus incumbent upon him.

138. The present session of the General Assembly has to deal with considerable and complex tasks: to assess the progress made in the establishment of the new international economic order and to take appropriate action for the promotion of the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation. The scope of the questions thus raised and the search for appropriate solutions to them requires, as we see it, a retrospective approach and an analytical glance into the past in order to identify the main landmarks and trends in the development of the world economy, of regions and of groups of countries, which, naturally, will give us a clearer picture of the effectiveness of efforts made at various levels to restructure international economic relations and to set them upon a democratic and just basis, and also in order to determine what is hindering that process.

139. The statements made by many representatives at this session of the General Assembly have already given an exhaustive analysis of the state of the world economy, of the trends to be observed in its development and of some global problems that have been circumscribed. However, from whatever angle we approach the world economy, the fact remains that the restructuring of international economic relations in order to set them upon a just and democratic basis is one of the most important problems today; its acuteness and urgency in recent years have by no means decreased but, on the contrary, have continued to grow. As is aptly stated in the report of the Secretary-General which is before this session,

“... the world economy has been operating under increasing strain. . . . The international economic recession is entering its seventh year. Unemployment of men and machines continues unabated and no improvement is in sight”. [A/S-11/5, annex, para. 399.]

140. We have to agree with that assessment of the state of affairs in the capitalist sphere of the world economy. Those and other negative phenomena in the world capitalist economic system, which have been engendered by relationships marked by exploitation, inequality and dependence, have automatically been transferred to the economies of the developing States as part of a “normal” process of economic development; in conditions of crisis, the main brunt of this falls primarily upon the developing countries, which bear the burdens and consequences of the crisis and the policies of monopoly capital. It is not surprising that the gap between the developed capitalist countries and the developing coun-

tries continues to widen. The tenfold gap between them in *per capita* gross national product which was observed at the beginning of the 1950s had become thirteenfold by the middle of the 1970s.

141. The gap in development levels may continue to widen further, since in many developing countries the position of major foreign capital and transnational corporations is particularly strong, especially in the key branches of the economy and in the system for marketing their production on the world market. That has resulted in wasteful utilization of the national resources of the developing countries, an imbalance in their national economies, growth in their external financial indebtedness and a net increase in the outflow of capital from the developing countries. Those typical features of the economies of those countries have been indicated by the representatives of many developing countries who have spoken before me at this session.

142. The material compiled in connexion with its fifth session by UNCTAD in a report entitled "International financial co-operation for development: capital flows to developing countries" and issued as document TD/B/C.3/158, shows quite clearly that from 1970 to 1977 the annual outflow of resources from the developing countries in the form of transfers of profits from direct and private foreign investments has grown practically threefold, and for the entire period amounted to more than \$72 billion. That sum is greatly in excess of the well-known volume of so-called State development aid to the developing countries from the developed capitalist States. Hence, whatever may be the volume of the aid given the developing countries in present circumstances and by whatever name it may be called, the aims of that so-called aid are quite clear and are very, very different from the stated aims.

143. The process of meeting the urgent need to restructure international economic relations has been considerably hampered by the forces of imperialism and reaction and of international monopolies, which are in radical conflict with the provisions of such international documents as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX)] and the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI)]. The implementation of the provisions of those documents is encountering serious difficulties in present conditions; indeed, even at this session constant demands are heard for the creation of a so-called favourable climate for foreign private capital and various concepts are being put forward, such as the so-called idea of mutual independence, in order to undermine and even deny the national sovereignty of the developing countries over their natural resources and economic activities, rights that are fundamental to ensuring those countries' national independence and preserving their national integrity, in accordance with article 2 of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

144. That is why it must again be emphasized that one of the main channels for economic decolonization is the ensuring of the national economic sovereignty of the developing countries. We have been witnessing a constant increase in the efforts made by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to be the masters of their own households and to wrest themselves from the stranglehold of foreign monopolies. As is quite aptly stated in this connexion in a document before this session:

"The role of the public sector has continued to grow in scope and importance in all aspects of

national development in developing countries". [A/S-11/5, annex, para. 352.]

The considerable expansion of State economic functions is, as practice has quite clearly shown, essential to the economic and social restructuring of a country, in order to establish national industries, accelerate economic growth rates, accumulate funds on a country-wide basis, and train national personnel. The restructuring of the economy is very important also to the establishment of progressive and balanced structures for the national economies and the solution of economic and social problems, as well as to the creation of economic self-sufficiency in the developing countries.

145. The restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic and just basis can be seen in its most universal context in conjunction, above all, with the solution of some of the most important political problems on the international scene, problems related to the strengthening of peace, the development of the process of international détente, and the achievement of practical steps in disarmament. In the year marking the thirty-fifth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, it is particularly timely to recall the privations and suffering which that war brought to mankind. Mankind indeed paid dearly for the opportunity to learn what peace and genuine friendship and co-operation really mean. We cannot and should not forget the tragic experience of the preparation for the unleashing of that war. Serious concern and alarm have been aroused in world public opinion by the decisions taken by the NATO military bloc for the further acceleration of the arms race and the spiralling of military expenditures, and the efforts to promote the so-called new United States nuclear strategy. The dangerous actions of the forces of imperialism and hegemony have been clearly demonstrated by the blackmail and threats directed against the developing countries, countries that wish to put an end to the vestiges of colonial dependence and exploitation. As has been correctly emphasized by many speakers, the most important global task at the forefront of world politics is not to ensure that things do not degenerate into a new cold war, but rather to ensure normal and peaceful coexistence among States with differing social structures, an end to the arms race and averting of the threat of nuclear conflict.

146. That aim has been consistently and purposefully pursued by the Soviet Union and other countries belonging to the socialist community. As has been stated by Mr. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the President of the Supreme Presidium of the Soviet Union:

"We are true to the programme of peace put forward at the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth Party Congresses. Hence, now in the 1980s, as previously in the 1970s, we favour the strengthening and not the destruction of détente, a reduction rather than an increase in armaments, and rapprochement and understanding among peoples rather than artificial alienation and hostility".

A broad programme of actions designed to strengthen trust and mutual understanding in international relations was put forward in May this year by the States members of the Warsaw Treaty. In the declaration adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, those States affirmed their attachment to peace and détente and their desire to strengthen trust and mutual understanding in international relations. At the same time, they proposed a programme of specific

steps to defend the most important, most sacred human right: the right to life.

147. One of the focal points in this domain is the effort to put an end to the arms race, which, as has been emphasized by many delegations, is becoming more and more dangerous and is consuming immense resources; according to United Nations figures quoted from this rostrum, approximately \$450 billion is being spent on the arms race each year. Efforts must be made to take disarmament measures, including those enshrined in the Final Document of the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, in 1978 [*General Assembly resolution S-10/2*]. A genuine, specific step in that direction would be the practical implementation of the well-known proposal to reduce, in absolute or percentage terms, the military budgets of the States permanent members of the Security Council and other countries with a major military potential, and to channel part of the funds thus released to the promotion of the development of all countries, including the granting of increased aid to the developing countries.

148. An examination of what has been achieved as a result of United Nations decisions on the establishment of the new international economic order, the work connected with the forthcoming adoption of the international development strategy for the 1980s, and the present discussion in the General Assembly demonstrates once again, very convincingly, that the solution of existing problems does not depend on the way the negotiations are carried out. The position of the developing countries in the field of international economic relations can be strengthened only by the elimination of the consequences of colonialism in the political, social, economic and intellectual life of those countries and by a slackening of the stranglehold exercised by foreign capital through the transnational corporations.

149. We express our readiness to discuss constructively the ways and means to restructure international economic relations on a democratic and just basis. At the same time, we express our firm belief that the foundation for that restructuring must necessarily be the removal of *diktat*, discrimination, inequality and neo-colonialist exploitation, in close combination with specific steps to strengthen peace and international security, to curb the arms race and to promote disarmament.

150. A very substantial contribution to the progressive restructuring of international economic relations is being made by the countries members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). In carrying out economic, scientific and technological co-operation with the developing countries, the countries of CMEA are assisting them in the development of their economies taking realistic account of the possibilities existing in

those countries for such co-operation, and employing ways and means that have been mutually recognized and whose effectiveness has been demonstrated in practice.

151. Participating through all-union and foreign economic organizations in promoting relations with the developing countries, the Byelorussian SSR has made its contribution in providing assistance for the industrialization and agricultural development of developing countries and the training of their personnel. In many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America one can encounter modern industrial equipment and agricultural machinery that has been manufactured in the factories of our Republic. For many years now, in the universities of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, highly qualified teaching staff has been training thousands of students from the developing countries. Specialists from our Republic are transferring their knowledge and their experience to their professional counterparts in a number of countries of Asia and Africa. Such work is also being carried out through UNDP, UNESCO and UNIDO.

152. One of the main results of the creation and expansion within CMEA of international economic relations of a new type has been the extension to the sphere of relations between socialist States and developing countries of the principles of equality, respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. That is a genuine and extremely important contribution of the socialist countries to bringing about the progressive restructuring of international economic relations and the creation of a new international economic order.

153. As the Assembly is aware, the socialist States are not guilty of the colonial plunder of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, or of the exploitation of those countries through the methods of neo-colonialism, or of the exploitation of the detrimental consequences of the critical upheavals in the capitalist sphere of the world economy. The attempts that have been made quite unjustifiably to involve the socialist countries in a conceptual division of the world into the wealthy North and the poor South are simply ways and means of furthering and perpetuating a policy of exploitation. We continue to take the strongest exception to such attempts.

154. In conclusion, I should like once again to emphasize the readiness of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to promote the development of international co-operation in helping to solve the most urgent problems in order to strengthen mutual understanding, progress and peace.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

