



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

AGENDA ITEM 7

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

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

1. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): Mr. President, once more the General Assembly is meeting under your distinguished presidency. Your wisdom, long experience and negotiating skills give us confidence that we shall be properly guided in proceeding towards our goal of a better world for all mankind.

2. For the third time in six years we are meeting in a special session of the General Assembly devoted to development and international economic co-operation. On this occasion I should like to express my profound appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and to the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, Mr. Kenneth Dazie, for their intensive and untiring efforts in the preparation of this session, which, we anticipate, will provide a sound and constructive basis for a better understanding of the major economic issues that confront the international community.

3. Permit me also to avail myself of this opportunity to express our warm welcome to Zimbabwe on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations. We consider this to be a further step towards the true universality of this Organization.

4. The manner in which Mr. Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, has conducted the affairs of his State since the establishment of his country's independence indicates that a great new leader has appeared on the world's political stage. The wise and determined initiatives taken by the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe in reconciling the various elements in his country and his emergence as a factor of stability in southern Africa are already guarantees of his continuing success. Turkey extends to the nation of Zimbabwe, through the person of this most exceptional leader, its warmest wishes for happiness and prosperity.

5. I must concede that I am in a rather advantageous position by being one of the last speakers to address this forum. Indeed, the advantage lies in the fact that I can now take better stock of the deliberations and draw some useful conclusions from previous statements. I should like to take this opportunity to elaborate on some of the outstanding issues facing us as I see them.

6. Our major concern in international relations is the establishment and maintenance of peace, security and stability among nations. Traditionally, peace has been considered as a product of an equilibrium based on the security and political independence of States. Today, there is a growing awareness that this equilibrium has, in fact, economic and social dimensions as well. There can be no stability in an international environment where the disparity between the rich and the poor nations reaches such disquieting proportions as we are now experiencing. As a developing country, Turkey is of the opinion that unless an equitable new economic order is established between the developed and developing countries, the existing disparities between them will dangerously increase and will have adverse social, economic and political effects on the world scale.

7. The speakers who have preceded me have analysed in detail the great economic difficulties and major uncertainties that we all face at this juncture. Many representatives have outlined the options before us and the responsibilities that all countries, both developed and developing, have in solving these problems. I do not wish to repeat them. In the search for solutions to these problems, the correct approach should first be to discern the real causes.

8. There seems to be a clear convergence of views that the world is in a deep crisis, as elaborated in the Brandt Commission's report;¹ that this crisis is of a structural and, therefore, long-term nature, as stated in the Inter-futures² study of the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and that the energy situation greatly compounds this crisis. Indeed, both world stagflation and developments in the world oil market over the past years have posed serious major difficulties for all of us. No country, be it centrally planned or market-oriented, developed or developing, oil-importing or even oil-exporting, has been spared the adverse effects of this situation.

Mr. Piza Escalante (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

But many developing countries, including my own, are unable to afford the costs of their oil bills and of other necessary imports. The deterioration of their terms of trade and the increased burden of their balance-of-payments deficit, coupled with increased borrowing, subject their social and political structures to severe strain. For some of them, the strain induced by such situations is alarming. In our view, it is neither possible nor accurate to classify developing countries according to their varying degrees of vulnerability to the crisis. All of them feel the brunt. None of them can survive without co-operation and assistance. It is therefore important for these countries that, in addition to the well-

¹*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).

²*Interfutures: Facing the Future: Mastering the Probable and Managing the Unpredictable* (Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1979).

unanimously recommended Zimbabwe for membership in the United Nations. It was in light of this that my delegation readily joined the numerous other sponsors of the draft resolution by which the General Assembly admitted Zimbabwe to membership of our Organization [see *General Assembly resolution S-11/1*]. The attainment of independence by the people of Zimbabwe was the culmination of a long and difficult struggle of which we in the United Nations are aware and for which, from the very beginning, the Philippines—as shown by the records of this Organization—expressed encouragement and support. We wish the Prime Minister, Mr. Mugabe, all the best in his future endeavours for the well-being and prosperity of his people.

29. I should like to extend to the General Assembly the best wishes of the President of the Philippines, Mr. Ferdinand E. Marcos, on behalf of the Filipino people. Our President conveys his earnest hopes and urgent appeal for success as we continue in this special session to confront the serious problems of international economic co-operation.

30. The Philippines recognizes the seriousness of this responsibility to participate in this special session of crucial significance for the world community. If we cannot agree on a co-operative global strategy to manage the litany of crises that plagued the decade of the 1970s, the prospects for mankind in the 1980s can only be worse.

31. As the Secretary-General wrote in his recent book, *Building the Future Order*:

“This task, a major priority for the coming years, is a unique challenge to the international community, calling for political determination, co-operation, and creative thinking of an unprecedented order.”³

32. We are all too familiar with the list of problems of the 1970s. The international responses to them have been pathetically *ad hoc* and inadequate. For instance, the collapse of the monetary system at the start of the 1970s was met by an evolutionary reform that has not been conducive to the promotion of financial stability, trade, development and growth. International trade has been hampered by a rising tide of protectionism. Critical resource requirements for development are confronted with declining trends in the share of their gross national product which developed countries allocate for official development assistance. The shocks and jolts of energy supply and prices have aggravated the constraints on growth and development. Even the most elemental of human needs—food—is becoming increasingly scarce for populations in major regions of the developing world. The scale of those and other problems is becoming alarming, sowing seeds of conflict that threaten the peace and security of nations. Ironically, large amounts of limited resources continue to be diverted, as a matter of priority, to armaments for the preservation of the very peace and security that can be better preserved by channelling such resources to the production of basic needs and economic development.

33. It is not my intention to ignore the many positive measures and efforts undertaken during the 1970s to cope with the problems I have referred to. Indeed there were important initiatives taken both at the national levels and at the international levels.

34. Many countries, both developed and developing, have achieved important shifts in energy utilization, made significant gains in food production, raised levels of domestic savings to finance their investment require-

ments and successfully tapped the international stream of savings to supplement their requirements.

35. At the international level, financial institutions have increased their lending operations and mobilized part of their assets to provide concessional assistance to needy countries—for example, the trust fund and oil facility of the IMF. In trade, gains have also been made in concluding agreements on trade liberalization and on the Common Fund as a potential instrument for restructuring world commodity trade.

36. As I have noted earlier, all those measures have not been sufficient to contain the escalating magnitude of problems. It is of the utmost urgency that we get on top of them instead of being overwhelmed by them. That can be done. The basic responsibility resides in each of us to adjust to these problems, but in our interdependent world that is not sufficient. We cannot ignore the consequence on others, nor can any member of the community refrain from doing its share in the global effort to contain the problem. Above all, the global system must be restructured to remove the biases that prevent the developing countries from earning their fair share.

37. Allow me to make some suggestions on the specific subject of the international development strategy and other aspects of the international economic order.

38. The international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade must now come to fruition. After protracted negotiations there is an urgent need to reach agreement on the strategy if it is to be an effective instrument in influencing accelerating world economic development in that decade.

39. The targets must not be overly ambitious, nor too modest. They must reflect an appropriate mixture of our aspirations and reality. They will be manifestations of our serious concern about the current world economic crisis, and will reflect our collective determination and our capability to solve that crisis. Nevertheless, while it may essentially be a crisis-oriented strategy, it must be a strategy for more than survival.

40. The strategy must alleviate the present world problems and thus have a pervasive influence on the nature and pace of our development efforts in the 1980s. We feel that there is mutuality of interest and concern regarding the problems in the areas of trade, monetary reform, development assistance, food and energy. Those problems deserve priority attention.

41. We strongly feel that if they are to be meaningful and effective the solutions prescribed in the strategy must evolve a fair distribution of responsibilities among the members of the international community. In that task we must take into account the different capabilities and endowments of the various countries.

42. On the specific target adopted, we share the view that the average annual growth target for the 1980s seems ambitious for some developing countries in the light of the present global economic difficulties. Nevertheless, whatever target is evolved, those countries that can afford to sustain a much higher economic growth rate should not be constrained by the global objective. Similarly, attainment of the global target should not frustrate the efforts of countries to aspire to and reach higher growth rates. Efforts to achieve that target should not be viewed as a simple prerogative but as a responsibility of the international community. The benefits of higher rates of growth undeniably transcend national boundaries.

43. In the field of money and finance, we have a full agenda ahead of us for the 1980s, both for immediate

³See Kurt Waldheim, *Building the Future Order* (New York, The Free Press, 1980), p. xxiv.

attention and for longer-term negotiation. The non-oil-producing developing countries are increasingly facing payments imbalances of a nature different from those envisioned in the Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944 and experienced during the two decades or so following the coming into force of that Agreement. At that time payments imbalances were often the result of domestic policy deficiencies and could be corrected by domestic policy changes. The system functioned quite efficiently at that time, with countries with surpluses absorbing the surpluses and deficit countries working off their deficits.

44. However, the payments imbalances experienced in the 1970s, which are likely to continue into the 1980s, are largely structural, exogenous in origin, and require much longer periods to correct. Thus the present facilities should be liberalized as to conditionality, lengthened as to repayment periods, and supported with interest subsidy accounts. Moreover, the burden of adjustment cannot be placed solely or even primarily on the countries experiencing the imbalances, which are more likely than not to be the non-oil-producing developing countries. This burden must be shared by the international community as a whole because it is a global problem. This adjustment must be supply-oriented rather than the traditional prescription of demand restriction.

45. The world must also move forward from what were at best interim measures comprehended in the Second Amendment to the Articles of Agreement of the IMF drafted in Jamaica in March 1976. There must be an orderly creation and distribution of international liquidity, and the special drawing rights, improved as to some features, must increasingly become the principal reserve asset of the international monetary system, replacing national currencies rather than suffering a progressively diminishing role, as has been happening to date. A substantial and continuous allocation of special drawing rights should be made to meet the special needs of the developing countries and to counterbalance the maldistribution of international liquidity, which seems to be inherent in the functioning of the present system. The correction of the maldistribution would incidentally result in a transfer of real resources to the less developed countries.

46. Aside from these matters of immediate concern, whose implications are not confined to the short term, long-term reform in the international monetary system requires recognition of the drastically altered economic relations among countries today compared to the origins of the Bretton Woods Agreement at the end of the Second World War. Equitable participation and representation in the decision-making process governing the international monetary system implies that the developing countries as a whole should have a greater voice than at present. I recognize that in a world of sovereign nations with different degrees of economic power the major role would still have to be played by the developed market economies as a group. But certainly the change in relative economic power between that group and developing countries must be reflected in a bigger role for the latter. That could be manifested in a revision of the formula for calculating the quotas of the IMF.

47. There must also be an equitable and effective symmetrical adjustment process with a progressively diminished dependence on national currencies as reserve assets. There must be a progressively increasing role for an internationally created and managed reserve asset which would have to partake of some of the attributes of a world currency. The maintenance of the real value

of financial assets, in which national-currency-denominated reserve assets have conspicuously failed, should be incorporated in such management.

48. The present régime of unstable exchange rates among the major trading currencies, which has been brought about by widespread floating, has ironically led to an increased need for reserves instead of the theoretically expected result of lessening dependence on reserves. Thus there should be a stable exchange-rate régime, with provision for adequate flexibility.

49. The new world monetary system cannot confine itself to merely facilitating trade and promoting currency stability. It must be designed to support positively the objective of economic development of the less developed countries.

50. The present international monetary and financial organizations are universal in the sense that membership is open to all. But there are a few countries that, for one reason or another, have not felt it possible to join or that have withdrawn from them. While those countries are few, their role in world trade cannot be ignored and we should work towards some kind of associative relationship between the international monetary and financial organizations and the regional arrangements to which those countries may belong. In facilitating that association, the United Nations, and especially UNCTAD, could play a useful role. It is our hope that that could lead eventually to full membership for all.

51. Given the factors I have already mentioned, there should be, specifically, an increase in programme lending especially for structural adjustment purposes and, generally, greater provision for the transfer of real resources. While it is commendable to have special regard for the requirements of the neediest countries, that concern should not lead to a diminution of resource transfers to the developing countries as a whole but, on the contrary, should lead to their increase.

52. There is also increasing mention of constraints on private international lending from developed-country institutions owing to country exposure limits, capital-to-asset ratios and other prudential guidelines. Modalities must therefore be found to rechannel capital surpluses from developing countries directly to other developing countries in need of external credit. Such rechanneling should recognize the mutual interests of both lending and borrowing countries.

53. On energy, the overwhelming fact is the need for an orderly transition from oil-based energy systems to the increasing use of new and renewable resources. Great uncertainties now beset this period of transition; they arise from wasteful trends in consumption, the low level of investments in the energy field, and even the unstable world political situation.

54. Yet the discussions and studies of the past few years already indicate significant areas of agreement.

55. Every shortage in developing countries results in dire consequences for the bulk of the world's poor. Beyond difficulties with their balance of payments, many developing countries have to contend with diminished food production, difficulties of distribution, reduced industrial capacities and the inability to provide the basic services of mass transport and even cooking fuel.

56. The present session must ensure that the most vulnerable oil-importing countries are given priority so that they may meet essential requirements, especially during periods of reduced supply. To achieve that, special arrangements, including financial assistance, should be made for developing countries.

57. Allow me to refer briefly to the energy programme in the Philippines, which may offer some insights on the role of energy in developing countries that are heavily dependent on energy imports.

58. Oil has consistently accounted for more than 90 per cent of our energy consumption. As a result of modest economic growth and industrialization, the *per capita* consumption has nearly doubled in about 10 years. Given a much larger population and price escalations, our country allocated at the end of the 1970s nearly a third of its export proceeds to pay for fuel. That is indeed a heavy burden on our development efforts, as is the case in many other developing countries.

59. Our response to this critical situation points to the crucial role of programmes of self-reliance bolstered by international assistance. We drew up and implemented a bold energy programme of exploration and development of indigenous resources, including oil and coal, and geothermal, hydroelectrical, biomass and solar energy sources. We are happy to announce that our efforts in oil exploration have yielded modest results in off-shore oil drilling under service contracts with well-known oil exploration companies. We are now producing locally about 10 per cent of our oil needs and from our ongoing oil exploration we expect more production next year and in the year to come. In the process we needed support from international institutions, public and private. Although we had achieved modest success by the second half of the 1970s, much remains to be done and we urgently need to tap more development assistance.

60. Our experience shows that the exploration and development of energy and mineral resources require a substantial increase in the transfer of resources and technology.

61. The current situation in the trade sector manifests the strengths and weaknesses, the successes and failures, of global economic co-operation and negotiations. With firm determination and resolve, it will not be unrealistic to expect that we can overcome those weaknesses, and that we cannot but succeed.

62. The recent gains in the global trade liberalization efforts at the Tokyo Round of the GATT multilateral trade negotiations, held between September 1973 and April 1979, and the positive initiatives, notably the conclusion of the negotiations on a Common Fund for Commodities, for the restructuring of the existing world commodity trade system have somewhat assuaged our fears and anxieties. However, there is no reason for us to be complacent or to build castles in the air. The fundamental problems remain to be resolved. North-South trade is still asymmetrical. World commodity trade is highly unstable and the resurgence of protectionism constitutes a stumbling-block to world trade liberalization and negates our efforts to achieve a more efficient international division of labour.

63. We believe that this session should address itself to those basic problems. Consequently, the strategy must pursue the following principal thrusts. First, a stable and equitable world commodity trading system must be established. We maintain that there is a substantial mutuality of interests in stable and remunerative prices for commodities, as the benefits would undeniably accrue to both the producing and consuming countries. Thus the potential for global co-operation in this area should be fully tapped. Towards that end, this session must resolve fully to implement the Integrated Pro-

gramme for Commodities⁴ and should consider concrete measures which are supportive of that Programme.

64. The Philippines remains fully committed to that Programme and, as part of the region of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which is highly dependent on commodity exports, it has offered Manila as the site of the Common Fund headquarters. The creation of the Common Fund is recognized as a landmark in international economic co-operation for the particular benefit of developing countries that produce raw materials. We look forward to favourable support for our offer of a site for the Fund headquarters.

65. Secondly, with regard to the improvement of access of the exportation of manufactures and semi-manufactures of developing countries, we note with concern the continuing imposition of barriers to the exportation of the manufactures and semi-manufactures of developing countries, particularly the non-tariff measures imposed by some developed countries. We fully share the view that improved market access for that type of export would not only bring stability in the trade régime of the developing countries but, more importantly, accelerate their industrialization efforts. We believe that this session should support specific measures that are consistent with the industrialization strategy envisaged in the Lima Declaration adopted at the Second General Conference of UNIDO held in March 1975⁵ particularly the 25 per cent target for the share of the developing countries in world manufacturing by the year 2000. We shall extend our support to any initiatives in that direction.

66. Thirdly, in respect of the acceleration of structural changes in the developed countries, we are extremely alarmed by the fact that the developed countries have shown signs of turning away from adjustment towards intensified protectionism. We believe that the resumption of protectionist policies would only worsen the very problems for which a solution is sought. We therefore find it imperative that this session initiate measures to counteract protectionism and work towards the acceleration of the industrial adjustment process in the developed countries.

67. Fourthly, the special programme for the least developed countries, adopted at the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979,⁶ must receive high priority in the strategy for the new decade. The Philippines, in its own modest way, has implemented a technical assistance programme for the least developed. We hope to continue this programme and we look to the international community to do no less.

68. We fully realize that the establishment of the New International Economic Order cannot be accomplished in one stroke. We have charted the right course and we should expect nothing less than a long and difficult journey.

69. We appreciate the positive contributions made by the existing international institutions towards settling some of the global economic problems. Through the

⁴See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

⁵See A/10112, chap. IV.

⁶See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one A, resolution 122 (V).

mechanism of international dialogue and negotiation, international relations between the North and the South are beginning to reflect a consensus. As a result, our faith in multilateral economic co-operation and diplomacy has not been lost in the midst of lingering world economic difficulties. We believe that the existing international constitutions cannot disregard the pressures of change and go on with business as usual. To resist the present reform initiatives is to accelerate the obsolescence and decay of these institutions.

70. Our efforts to reform the present international economic order, if they are to be meaningful and durable, should be governed by the principle of universality. It is difficult to visualize any future international economic system with claims to legitimacy and fairness that excludes the full participation of the developing countries in negotiations on global economic issues.

71. The convening of this session at this most opportune time is a clear indication that we have made the right choice. We are gathered here today as one community of mankind to perform a delicate historic task: to initiate a major transformation in economic relations among States in the direction of universal equity, justice and stability. The central focus of this task is to accelerate the economic development of developing countries. This, to us, should be the principal concern of the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade and the global negotiations that we are about to launch.

72. At no other time in history has the existing international economic system been under such tremendous pressure on many fronts: money, trade, investment, aid and energy. In recent years we have witnessed the deterioration of traditional international arrangements to the point where reform has become the only feasible alternative. The magnitude of the global problems should neither overwhelm us nor shock us into inaction and resignation. Indeed, this is the challenge before us: to pursue positive and continuous progress for mankind.

73. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of Qatar is extremely happy to see the Republic of Zimbabwe among us as a fully fledged Member of the United Nations. On this occasion I join my colleagues in conveying my sincere greetings to Zimbabwe and to those who led it in its heroic struggle against colonialism and for the attainment of independence and freedom.

74. The principal goal in convening the sixth special session of the General Assembly in 1974 was to embark on common action to restructure economic relations and to establish a New International Economic Order based on equity, justice and democracy. The task of the present eleventh special session is to assess the progress made in solving international economic problems in order to enable us, on the basis of that assessment, to adopt the appropriate measures for promoting our common aspirations, namely, the development of developing countries, the solution of their existing problems and the achievement of international economic co-operation.

75. The last six years have witnessed an abundance of activities. Some of them have taken place within the framework of the United Nations and its specialized agencies concerned with international economic relations. Others have been undertaken under the aegis of well-known international forums, notably those representing, on the one hand, the developing countries—such as the Group of 77 and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Coun-

tries, held at Havana from 6 to 9 September 1979—and, on the other hand, the developed countries—for example, the so-called North-South dialogue. The one thing the documents resulting from all these activities have in common is their recognition of the deterioration in the world economic situation and the deadlock which has come about in the negotiations between developing and developed countries.

76. The root-cause of the deterioration in the world economic situation—if we may use such an expression in such an extremely complex area—is the failure of developed countries to control their underlying disequilibria and their reluctance too to admit that those disequilibria are the basic cause of the imbalance in their economies and in international economic relations as a whole. However, problems that have faced developing countries for a long time, particularly in the areas of trade, commodities, money, finance and technology, still exist. Far from having been solved, they have become all the more acute and complicated. The heart of the matter is that the developed countries have not been entirely satisfied with their inaction with regard to tackling these questions, which must be an active process. They went so far as to press for the adoption of new concepts such as freedom of access to supplies, gradualism, selectivity, the benefits to be derived from a world strategy in respect of basic necessities and the concept of discrimination. This was considered by the Group of 77 as distorting the concept of co-operation. Furthermore, it was regarded as a design likely to divert the attention of the world community from the more urgent international economic problems and the negotiations for bringing about a New International Economic Order. Hence the rejection by the Group of 77 of such concepts as run counter to the aspirations of developing countries and to their unity of purpose and their solidarity with regard to safeguarding and furthering the interests of their peoples.

77. The call which was voiced during the sixth special session of the General Assembly in 1974—a call which still maintains its force—for the establishment of a New International Economic Order that advocates justice in international economic relations, was not made in a vacuum. It resulted logically from the collapse of the outdated economic system, or at least was a corollary of the bankruptcy of that system, founded on traditional colonialism, following the latter's complete elimination, with the exception of a few pockets of resistance here and there. This bankruptcy was coupled with the emergence of newly independent developing countries which subsequently engaged in new fierce battles to uproot that colonialism that had been usurping their wealth, embodied in what came to be called transnational corporations. These historic developments, both political and economic, reinforced by the triumph of a number of oil-producing developing countries in their protracted and bitter struggle against the gigantic transnational corporations to affirm their sovereignty and their mastery over their natural resources and national riches, have led to the need to reach a New International Economic Order commensurate with the negative as well as the positive variables in political and economic world conditions.

78. It would not be appropriate at this time to define the problems which have so far impeded the achievement of this commonly desired objective. Despite all the sincere and painstaking efforts exerted at the level of international action, it is the task of the committees of this momentous session, which will undoubtedly comprise the *élite* of the world's experts in the various

aspects of trade and the economy, to undertake such an endeavour. However, I wish to tackle in some detail a single question related to a strategic vital commodity that heads the items of discussion and research in all international forums similar to this Assembly, namely, the question of energy. Each country in the world in fact deals with this question from a different perspective, according to how it is affected by the question, as well as its special economic conditions. Yet, there is a trend which is apparent and which was first advocated by the Governments of industrialized States. Recently, the mass media of the Western industrialized States have been persistently seeking to spread and widely instil this trend. It is a trend stemming from the evasion by traditional colonial States of their fundamental responsibility for the deteriorating condition to which the world economy has been reduced. Their attempt to place the responsibility on the oil-producing developing States has been clearly displayed throughout this debate. It is an overt attempt to sow dissension among the third-world countries. But the third world has already manifested its presence on the international scene as a political entity to be reckoned with. This attempt, which is regrettably still being made, soon revealed the political motive behind it, when it began to centre on certain States among the group of oil-producing States. Those States, singled out in irresponsible official statements and by Western commentators as the ones to blame for undermining the world economy, are the Arab oil-producing States. I need not track the course of this unfair campaign, at least as far as its information aspect is concerned, or trace it to its real source, that is, world Zionism. It would be simplistic to accuse Zionism without tracking down the other complex political and economic motives that this campaign strategy involves, regardless of the difference in purpose. Indeed, while the recovery by the Arab oil States of mastery over their natural resources, represented in a single commodity which is oil, their success in managing this vital industry and their use of the earnings accrued to develop and advance their communities set a worthy example to other developing countries which are economically dependent on one or more raw materials, their example prompted attempts on the part of transnational corporations to undermine it by any possible means. Our successful experience startled transnational corporations and shook them to their foundations. We have to imagine the enormous profits reaped by those transnational corporations through exploiting the natural resources of developing countries, in order to realize their savage reaction to what they see as a menace to their interests. It would be most pertinent, in this respect, to bear in mind UNDP statistics which point out that, while consumers in the industrialized world pay an estimated \$350 billion for the purchase of commodities from the developing world, the developing world receives only an estimated \$35 billion to \$40 billion as export earnings. Ninety per cent of the real earnings of commodity exports slips away through intermediary services such as marketing, distribution and transportation. The main reason for this situation is the domination practised by the transnational corporations which are centred in the industrialized countries. It would have been inconceivable to believe that, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, 90 per cent of the sales value of developing countries' commodities went to transnational corporations had this startling and terribly alarming fact not been documented by the United Nations.

79. In the course of this debate, some have attempted directly or indirectly to censure the oil-exporting coun-

tries and attribute to them the responsibility for price rises and monetary inflation in the international market.

80. Before quoting figures to respond to such a groundless allegation, I wish to note a fact of paramount importance: in all the published reports and studies on oil, we never find two significant facts that are unavoidable if we are to explain or understand the behaviour of oil States.

81. The first fact is that transnational corporations abused this national wealth without limit or control for decades, without paying the producing countries fair prices. Even the oil revenues of those countries were insufficient to balance their payments. Most of their Governments were continuously indebted to foreign oil companies. Secondly, oil constitutes the only revenue for most of these countries. Its value as a source of wealth is subject to the rates of production.

82. Despite the harshness of those two facts, the countries members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] in general and the members of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries [OAPEC] in particular, rising above self-interest, have sought to contribute a certain percentage of their oil revenues to assist the most affected third-world countries, notwithstanding their own enormous and urgent development requirements to compensate for long years of exploitation and wastage of their wealth. Let me substantiate that with the following facts.

83. The targeted assistance of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product, as set forth by the United Nations more than a decade ago and as reaffirmed recently by the Brandt Commission as a target to be achieved by 1985 has been exceeded by the OPEC countries as a group. As for the more relevant cases that are called Arab "surplus" countries, they have actually surpassed that target many times, ranging from six to 22 times, depending on the country and the year. Indeed, since 1974 the five leading donor countries in the world—as far as official development assistance as a percentage of the gross national product is concerned—have continually been Arab States members of OPEC. The contributions of some of those countries, even in absolute value, are much in excess of those of the richest industrialized States. It is said that all the countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) contributed 0.34 per cent of their gross national product in 1979. However, their actual contribution is below that percentage, because they include in their assistance figures their aid to southern Europe, to Israel and to their independent principalities. It is noteworthy that the total gross national product of the OPEC countries, according to the most recent statistics of the World Bank for 1979, amounted to 7 per cent of the gross national product of the OECD countries; while the contributions of Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates to assistance at a certain time surpassed, in absolute value, those of France or the Federal Republic of Germany, the total gross national product of all the Arab countries members of OPEC, including Qatar, Iraq and Algeria, represents 36 per cent of France's gross national product and 27 per cent of West Germany's gross national product. OECD statistics indicate that the total development assistance of four "surplus" States on the Arab Gulf surpasses, in absolute value, that given by the United States of America, and their gross national product represented 4.5 per cent of the gross national product of the United States of America. However, an annual study published by the Development Assistance Committee of OECD noted that Qatar's development assistance for the year 1979 repre-

sented 5.6 per cent of its gross national product. Thus it held first place among all the donor countries for that year.

84. Although those statistics authoritatively refute all the calumnies of biased Zionist propaganda, they omit a significant and serious aspect of the situation: the Arab oil-producing countries extend their assistance in circumstances that require the full use of their own resources. I do not believe that, although we are at present debating purely economic issues, we can turn a deaf ear to the reality of the situation in the Middle East. Two thirds of the established international oil reserves lie deep in the soil of the Middle East. In view of the tense situation that prevails, the concerns of the Arab oil-producing countries are divided between implementing the objectives of development for their communities, the achievement of peace and stability vis-à-vis the Israeli enemy, which threatens to ignite the whole region, on the one hand, and coping with the greed of great Powers, on the other. Such greed has been manifested through the feverish super-Power rivalry to encircle the Indian Ocean zone and install military bases—a matter which has been denounced by the Government of Qatar and all the Governments in that area. It is no wonder then that this mood of concern and tension has had its repercussions on the international oil market itself, as we all know. The Government of Qatar believes that as a result of the mounting tensions in the region the international market will always remain unstable, unless stability is restored to the Middle East through Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the Palestinian people attain their legitimate and inalienable right to establish their national homeland in Palestine.

85. In conclusion, I wish, on behalf of the Government of the State of Qatar, to express our confidence that, guided by Mr. Salim's efficiency and wisdom, the work of the special session will be crowned with the success to which the entire international community aspires.

86. Mr. CARIAS (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, may I convey to President Salim and the other officers of this eleventh special session of the General Assembly our respects and warmly express my Government's satisfaction at seeing him preside over our debates aware as we are of his talents and his devotion to the cause of the United Nations and to genuine international co-operation.

87. May I associate myself with the congratulations and words of welcome to the Republic of Zimbabwe, which, in joining our Organization at this session of the General Assembly has successfully crowned 20 years of valiant struggle for the dignity of a people and the affirmation of its sovereignty in its own territory.

88. We are meeting at an historic moment, one of particular importance in which tensions and the resurgence of various conflicts, which largely originate in the prevailing economic disorder and the arms race, are threatening to hold up and even prevent the normal development of global economic negotiations so necessary to facilitate understanding among nations and an improvement in the living standards of our peoples, within an increasingly interdependent world economy.

89. The arms race feeds under-development by diverting vast resources from nobler ends. Poverty and economic difficulties, for their part, drive peoples to the extremes of desperation and war. The hegemonic tendencies and oppression from which the contemporary world is suffering are without a doubt the results of a strategic struggle for control over resources and means

of communication and, hence, of the destiny of billions of people who produce goods and ensure transportation.

90. The Government of Honduras for its part, has always believed and so stated through its highest representatives in various bodies that peace is consolidated through development and that it is thus a task for all members of the international community—an immense task, if you like, but none the less an urgent one, which we are tackling under the auspices of the United Nations in trying to establish a new international economic order that would enable us to overcome historical injustices and economic and technological structural shortcomings through a large joint undertaking producing equitable benefits for the industrialized North and the have-not South.

91. Of course, we do need a greater political will. To that end we have to enter into effective commitments that are not broken once the debate or deliberation is over. The negotiating effort we all make therefore cannot be on one track or in one direction alone, but must be translated into binding agreements and mutual obligations that can effectively be implemented. This is the challenge of the new decade. This is the challenge that we must meet.

92. The developing countries, as was rightly stated in the communiqué of the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 of 22 August 1979, are convinced that

“The aggravation of these negative trends in the world economy [have] a profound asymmetrical impact, since the economies of the developing countries [are] the main victims owing to their vulnerability and lack of capacity to make the requisite adjustments”. [see *A/S-11/19, annex, para. 4.*]

93. Our countries are weighed down by debts, the cost of energy and capital inputs. Their endeavours at agricultural modernization and industrialization frequently come up against trade and tariff barriers and come to grief. Their efforts at planning are rendered less effective as a result of monetary instability and the gradual but inexorable rise in the cost of financial and technological resources in the industrialized countries.

94. For those reasons, our objectives for the international strategy for the third decade must be far-reaching but realistic when we seek to eliminate disparities and to promote sustained growth in the world economy, with particular attention to be given to the structural readjustment that would make it possible for a real growth to take place in the economy of the developing countries. We must at the same time try to give greater emphasis to an equitable distribution of the benefits of growth and, above all, ensure that these benefits can, in the short-term and medium-term, be attained through concerted action, which would be agreed on and carried out in the early years of the decade.

95. The diagnosis of problems, after all, has been fairly thorough and several agencies of the United Nations and groups of eminent persons such as Brandt Commission have helped Governments to make that diagnosis. In the elements that have been analysed, representatives can, of course, differ regarding what emphasis should be given to this or that factor, but not regarding the urgency of the problems involved, their nature and possible solutions that might be brought to bear in various sectors of the world economy. Now we have to negotiate, and negotiate with a view to the future and with universality in mind.

96. Our delegation feels that the essential elements of the strategy fall into four major groups, which could be summed up as follows: international support for food

production and the elimination of rural unemployment and under-employment; change in trade systems, transport systems and the international distribution of commodities; the development of different sources of energy, a guaranteed supply of oil for developing countries and the rational use of the same by the industrialized countries; and a massive international mobilization of financial and technological resources of sufficient quantity to promote development.

97. This is an ambitious programme. It presupposes far-reaching objectives which we possibly will include in a comprehensive strategy for the third United Nations development decade. But they are also general premises which will not satisfy our countries unless accompanied by an emergency short-term programme of action that would effectively usher in a new era of international economic co-operation for development.

98. Honduras is a country of relatively lesser development in Latin America, seriously affected by the energy crisis and chronically suffering from instability of income caused by fluctuations in the prices of exports. Its efforts at development and diversification are frequently hampered by quotas, tariffs and other obstacles thrown up by Northern protectionism.

99. In its internal economic policy, Honduras has chosen change and constant improvement in the living conditions of its population. Its programme of agrarian reform has made it possible to integrate thousands of peasant families into the process and to include them in the benefits of development, increasing food production and generating resources to provide basic social services. Incentives for industrialization are provided to help to supply goods to the population and to combat alienation in urban centres.

100. As for energy, our country has undertaken the hydroelectric project of "El Cajón", a large-scale project that can meet national needs and consolidate energy co-operation in the Central American isthmus. We are also giving high priority to the exploration for mineral deposits and the exploitation of marine resources of the sea-bed and the continental shelf.

101. Furthermore, Honduras is fully aware of the need to supplement national efforts with the activities of the international community and is endeavouring to play an active part in international financial institutions and to broaden its economic relations with countries on different continents and with different economic and social systems.

102. We are a country convinced of the possibilities of co-operation among developing countries and, in this regard, we welcome the presence at our Assembly of the Latin American Economic System, the co-ordinating and support body for our region. We also attach great importance to subregional co-operation in Central America and to the activities carried out in this regard by the Permanent Secretariat of the General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration and the Central American Bank for Economic Integration, which has its head office in Honduras.

103. In the Caribbean, Honduras is pleased to take part in the agreement on oil supplies of 3 August 1980, concluded by several countries with the Governments of Mexico and Venezuela in an action which the acting President of Honduras, General Policarpo Paz García, described as one of solidarity among peoples of a common destiny.

104. None the less our experience in recent years does not allow us to be overly optimistic about possibilities for international co-operation, if we do not manage to

act resolutely and with political will to change the adverse course which has begun with the disappointing results of the round of negotiations of GATT, the fifth session of UNCTAD and the Third General Conference of UNIDO, which failed lamentably on various aspects.

105. In these circumstances, it is clear that, if we wish to make progress towards a new international economic order, we must begin by improving the machinery of the North-South dialogue and its potential for success. We have to ensure universality in the negotiating process and focus our efforts on the structures which will make it possible to attain our objectives of co-operation.

106. The round of global economic negotiations envisaged by the General Assembly must be effectively launched by this special session. We cannot delay its organization any further. Finally, to go off on a tangent and evade our commitments would simply worsen the crisis and, at the cost of we know not what sacrifices both in the industrialized countries and in the developing countries, hamper the implementation of rational solutions to highly topical problems seriously affecting the peoples we represent.

107. No one can have any illusion that we still have time. Structural reforms in international trade, the stabilization of the purchasing power of raw materials and commodities, food security, the transfer of financial and technological resources, the conservation of oil and the development of alternative sources of energy—are all, among others, objectives shared by the international community, which, individually or collectively, cannot evade the responsibility incumbent upon it for finding viable solutions to the problems they pose.

108. The global economic negotiations are an imperative need in the present international economic situation, and the United Nations is the proper forum to carry them through, given its universality and the high degree of technical support that its agencies can make available. Although the lofty tenets of the New International Economic Order were laid down in 1974 and 1975, it has become clear in recent years that their application will be possible only if a highly political worldwide effort is made towards obtaining consistent economic agreements on a series of important questions.

109. Although, in our view, sectoral negotiations are necessary at a certain stage of the global negotiations, they can no longer be isolated from co-ordination and a central drive that would exercise the necessary influence to bring them to a successful conclusion.

110. Of course, some sectoral objectives can be consolidated at the same time as the process of global negotiations is going on, and within that process, but without separating them from the over-all perspective that must prevail in our endeavours. In this regard it goes without saying that Honduras hopes that the agreements on the Common Fund for Commodities will very soon be implemented, together with an appropriate conclusion of the negotiations on the International Enterprise and Authority for the sea-bed, which could then become examples of a renewed political will for international co-operation, which Honduras is fostering.

111. In conclusion, I should like to stress again that we fully concur with the approach calling for a conference leading to the supervising and furthering of the negotiations on each and every one of its separate subjects—a machinery making it possible to launch a long process of negotiation in 1981, with the necessary recesses for instructions and confirmation of partial results, which, benefiting from the support of the agencies of the United Nations system, would at no time lose its charac-

ter of a universal and, hence, genuine and firm commitment, in an increasingly interdependent world. That is becoming increasingly necessary and that is what we believe we must begin to achieve.

112. Mr. THIUUNN THIUOM (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all to extend to the President, on behalf of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, our sincere and warm congratulations on his unanimous election as President of this session. This choice, with which we are particularly pleased, is once again a well-deserved tribute to him and to his country, the United Republic of Tanzania. We hope that, under his wise guidance, the work of this important session will achieve full success.

113. It is also an honour and a privilege for me to welcome, on behalf of Democratic Kampuchea and on my own behalf, the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe to membership in the United Nations and to extend to Mr. Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister and leader of the people of Zimbabwe, our warmest congratulations. The people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea have always supported the heroic struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against colonialism and racism. We are particularly pleased to see today this struggle crowned with a striking victory, which, for all peoples still struggling for their independence, takes on valuable significance, that of the inevitable victory of the inalienable right of peoples to independence and sovereignty and the defeat of the forces of oppression, whatever they may be. The people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea wish the people of Zimbabwe a life of peace, freedom and progress.

114. International economic relations and the world economy are suffering from an illness caused by a state of constant crisis. The economic position of the developing countries is becoming worse and worse. International economic conditions continue to deteriorate. Partial solutions to marginal problems have been tried. But it has been proved that the path of partial settlements leads to failure. The gap between the developing and the developed countries continues to widen, increasing the dependence of the developing countries and making them more vulnerable than ever to negative trends in the world economy.

115. If international economic relations and the world economy are to escape from this state of constant crisis—which, if allowed to continue, will have unpredictable consequences for the world—there is no other course than to settle the problem as a whole, in the context of a restructuring of international economic relations and the global development of everyone. It is only in that context that we can reconcile the differing interests and reach points of convergence and agreement, ensuring that the interests of a global development benefiting everyone prevail.

116. That is why the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea wholeheartedly calls for the opening of global negotiations to define a new international development strategy and establish a new international economic order that will be just and bring prosperity to everyone. My delegation considers that a decision must be taken at the end of the present session to start these negotiations at last. Once that decision has been taken, the road remaining to be traversed will of course still be long. The problem is complex, but there is no other choice.

117. However, the success of such an undertaking cannot be conceived of or ensured without respect for what constitutes the very foundation of the New International Economic Order—that is, the right of peoples to

development and security, a right which in turn is linked to and transcended by another right: the inalienable and sacred right of peoples to independence and sovereignty and to determine their own fate freely without any outside interference; in a word, the right of peoples to live in peace, with their independence and sovereignty respected in accordance with the United Nations Charter. It is common knowledge that today all those rights at the basis of the New International Economic Order are being cynically trampled under foot by the expansionist forces, which, behind the curtain of détente, are frantically expanding everywhere in the world, seriously threatening world peace. Those forces always have recourse to the same means: armed aggression followed by a deceptive call for détente and peace, in order to gain the respite necessary to strengthen their acquired position. Their well-known justification is also always the same: an “appeal” by the peoples for liberation by a foreign armed force, in an attempt to camouflage and justify the aggression as an act of international solidarity. The intervention of foreign forces in the internal affairs of a State, under whatever pretext, is totally incompatible with the basis of the New International Economic Order and with its great objectives. As the preamble to the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade rightly emphasizes:

“Full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of every country, abstention from the threat or use of force against any State, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the settlement by peaceful means of disputes among States are of the utmost importance for the success of the International Development Strategy.” [A/S-11/2 (part III), annex, para. 13.]

118. For its part, Democratic Kampuchea is undergoing a bitter experience that proves the truth of that provision. More than 250,000 Vietnamese troops of aggression, strongly backed by the expansionist great Power are occupying Democratic Kampuchea's territory today, having invaded the country on 25 December 1978, in flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Democratic Kampuchea's many economic and social achievements from 1975 to 1978 have all been wiped out. A people in full health, self-sufficient in all kinds of foodstuffs, a people that since 1977 had even been exporting a part of its agricultural production and industrial crops such as rice and rubber, is today dying of hunger, reduced to fleeing the homeland by the hundreds of thousands. The crime perpetrated by the Vietnamese aggressors against the people of Kampuchea is indescribable; it is the most abominable kind of crime—especially since massacres, famine, destruction and chemical weapons are being used to exterminate an entire race and civilization. So far, more than 2 million Kampuchean men, women and children have become victims of this crime.

119. Millions of other persons have become refugees in their own country. Those millions of displaced persons, both inside and outside the country, have created a financial burden for the international community unprecedented in the history of mankind. These sums could have been better used for economic purposes; to promote the development of the least-favoured countries and peoples.

120. How, given those conditions, can we talk about the right of peoples to development and security, and how can it be imagined that we can establish a new international economic order if the expansionist forces thus

continue with impunity to apply the law of the jungle and to show the most cynical contempt for the United Nations Charter, the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and the principles that govern international relations? If the expansionist forces are not contained and if their plans are not halted in time, any attempt to establish a new international economic order will be doomed to failure.

121. In this regard, it is common knowledge that the present struggle of the Kampuchean people against the Vietnamese expansionists, who are supported by their master the great expansionist Power, is not only a struggle for the survival of the people and nation of Kampuchea but even more a struggle to safeguard peace in South-East Asia and in the world, and it thus serves the common cause of establishing a new international economic order.

122. Initially the world did not realize the significance and scope of the Vietnamese aggression and this struggle. It was only after the invasion of Afghanistan that people began to perceive the magnitude of the danger. The Vietnamese aggression against Democratic Kampuchea is aimed at more than the setting up of an "Indo-chinese Federation"; it is aimed at the whole of South-East Asia and the strategic Strait of Malacca. The invasion of Afghanistan is aimed at more than Afghanistan itself; it is aimed at the rich sources of oil in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East.

123. The invaders of Kampuchea and Afghanistan support one another, for the two expansionist thrusts are part and parcel of a single global plan for regional and world domination, a plan aimed at placing under the control of those expansionists points that are vitally strategic for the world economy. If those objectives were to be achieved, it would be pointless to continue to speak about the right of peoples to development and security or about the establishment of a just and prosperous new international economic order for all, because that order would then be an order of subordination under the total domination of the expansionists, who care not at all about the right of peoples to free development and justice.

124. It is certain that, if the Hanoi authorities were able to seize control of Kampuchea, they would not limit their ambition to what is called Indochina and that once that ambition was gratified they would continue their thrust in the region. Indeed, the facts have always shown that Viet-Nam has harboured the ambition of playing the role of a great Power in South-East Asia under cover of an alleged internationalist mission it must fulfil as an outpost of a so-called socialism, fighting against the forces that cherish peace, independence and justice, which for the needs of its cause it calls "imperialist" and "reactionary", namely, those representing other South-East Asian countries.

125. This ambition does not date from yesterday; it goes back several decades, to when the Indochinese communist party was created, a party that has become the Hanoi regional expansionist party. Its design is to create an "Indochina Federation" that would in fact be nothing more than a greater Viet-Nam, like a snake absorbing its prey, swallowing up the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea with the aim of wiping them off the map of the world, in a fashion similar to what happened in the 17th century to the Islamic Kingdom of Champa and more recently, to our Kampuchea Krom, which is known as the southern part of South Viet-Nam. The countries of the region are aware that the Hanoi authorities are seeking is a second

Munich in South-East Asia and recognition of the fait accompli in Kampuchea, which would give them the necessary respite to consolidate their forces for a new thrust in the region when the time is ripe.

127. In order to carry out that dream of regional domination the Hanoi authorities are determined to pay any price. They have not hesitated to betray the profound aspirations of Vietnamese people to live in peace and independence and in a democratic and prosperous society. Now that the Hanoi authorities have supplied their master with the military bases of Danang and Cam Ranh Bay, there is no longer any room for doubt. Viet-Nam has very definitely become the spring-board for the global strategy of the great expansionist Power in that critical part of the world.

128. But in their thrust into South-East Asia the expansionists are finding a rock-like obstacle barring their path: the resolute struggle of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which are determined to defend the survival of the nation and people of Kampuchea, their national entity, their right to existence as an independent, sovereign and neutral State, their right to development and their right freely to determine their own destiny.

129. Because of this resolute struggle, the 250,000 Vietnamese troops are today bogged down in Kampuchea, and the Hanoi authorities have been driven militarily into a total impasse, which will ineluctably lead them to final defeat. In order to escape from that impasse they are now undertaking all sorts of manoeuvres and attempts to dupe world public opinion in order to achieve diplomatically what they have been unable to achieve on the battlefield: that is to say, the legalization of their aggression in Kampuchea and acceptance by the world of that aggression as a fait accompli.

130. The diplomatic manoeuvres are all aimed at one way or another to ensure, as a first step, that the seat of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations is left vacant, that Democratic Kampuchea is deprived of its legitimate rights in the United Nations as the sole legal and legitimate representative of the Kampuchea people. The manoeuvres of the Hanoi authorities to depict their recent aggression against Thailand as a conflict between Viet-Nam and Thailand are also aimed at achieving that objective and thus making the world community forget their aggression against and armed occupation of Kampuchea.

131. In the face of these diplomatic manoeuvres of the Hanoi authorities as well as of their aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and the South-East Asian countries, my delegation calls upon the world community to consider the Kampuchean issue in all its aspects, in order to preserve peace in the common interest and in the interest of establishing a New International Economic Order, to which we are all committed. If in their manoeuvres of diplomatic deception the expansionists succeeded, through one expedient or another, in legalizing their aggression in Kampuchea, they would be in such a position of strength that nothing could either check or stop them in their drive into South-East Asia, towards the Strait of Malacca, towards a total grip on the region—the southern part of the Pacific Ocean and the eastern part of the Indian Ocean. By that time it will be too late. With the occupation of Afghanistan, the expansionists would be in such a strategic position that nothing could be done to preserve the peace, security and independence of any of the countries in those regions, which accord with the profound aspirations of

their peoples freely to decide their own destiny and to develop in close co-operation with each other, on the basis of equality, mutual respect and reciprocal advantage.

132. The war which is ravaging Kampuchea, like that raging in Afghanistan, is a threat to world peace and thereby to the establishment of the New International Economic Order. With a view to preserving peace and guaranteeing the right of peoples to development and progress, there is no solution for all nations that cherish peace and justice other than to support the struggle of those two peoples. Firm and resolute support of the struggle of the Kampuchean people, like that of the Afghan people, constitutes the most certain guarantee of peace and security in the world. Supporting the struggle of the Kampuchean people means for all peoples that love peace and justice increasing their political, diplomatic and economic pressure upon the Hanoi authorities so that the latter are compelled to withdraw all their troops of aggression from Kampuchea, in compliance with General Assembly resolution 34/22. Thus the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people freely to decide their own future, without outside interference, would be restored. Only an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea can constitute an effective barrier against the expansionist thrust and contribute to preserving peace in South-East Asia and in the world and only the forces of Democratic Kampuchea can contribute to the achievement of that objective. The restoration of peace in Kampuchea after the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops will ensure an era of genuine peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and will have a considerable impact on the process of establishing the New International Economic Order.

133. Mr. CROS (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to begin by performing a pleasant duty, namely expressing the great happiness of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea at seeing Mr. Salim presiding with wisdom and competence at this special session of the General Assembly, the exceptional importance of which is well known to all. He has earned the admiration of all, both for the political action of his country and for his personal role in the service of Africa in all the activities of the United Nations. It is a happy coincidence that while a representative of a brotherly and friendly country, the United Republic of Tanzania, is presiding over this Assembly, the international community is welcoming the admission of the heroic people of Zimbabwe as the 153rd Member of our Organization.

134. We hail with all the more pride the admission of Zimbabwe in that it coincides with the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, of which Guinea was one of the sponsors.

135. It is timely too to pay a tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has worked tirelessly, increasing his efforts every day, to give our Organization the direction required to expand its influence. We should like to assure him of our profound admiration and the friendly feelings towards him of the people of Guinea and of his personal friend, President Ahmed Sékou Touré.

136. We are meeting here in order together to evaluate the progress achieved in the establishment of a more just and equitable New International Economic Order, so as to give to international economic co-operation a form that will enable it to satisfy the aspirations of our peoples and thus give to international economic relations a new and more dynamic impetus.

137. Given the exceptional nature of this task in the present, extremely difficult economic circumstances, the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea considers that the time has come to put aside the details which divide us in order to embark upon a thorough consideration of the crux of the problems, the close scrutiny of which will doubtless simultaneously be in the interests of the peoples of the rich world and those of the poor world. To that end it is indispensable that we take a close look at the results of the close relationships between developed and developing countries which were obtained in the discussions of the problem of international economic development.

138. Indeed, since immediately after the independence of our countries, the United Nations, under the stimulus of the poor countries united in the Group of 77, has attempted to make a new place for our nations in the international economic field. Most of our then colonial and neocolonial countries were and still are simply adjuncts to the industrialized metropolises rather than being part of the system of international economic relations. That is why we took part in the implementation of two Development Decades which successively attempted to find *ad hoc* solutions to the innumerable problems which characterize the international economic reality. Unfortunately, those *ad hoc* solutions were unable satisfactorily to respond to the pressing needs presented by the world economic situation.

139. It was necessary to find a more appropriate methodology for tackling the substance of the question; in a word, it was necessary to revise the structural bases of the world economy. The idea of such a restructuring of international economic relations was to lead us, through a meeting of minds, to the formulation of a New International Economic Order and to the North-South dialogue.

140. These efforts, however salutary they may have been, have thus far led only to a better common understanding of the problems, a greater awareness and some cogitation at the level of the international community. Apart from this progress in attitudes and outlook, the reality of North-South relations continues to be characterized by lethargy due to the real lack of political will to tackle with conviction and wisdom a recasting of structures likely to lead us on to the path of new progress.

141. Thus, each day, millions of people wait in anguish for our discussions to yield solutions which will satisfy their most basic needs.

142. To evaluate the progress made in the establishment of the new economic order we must first of all take stock of that anguish and try to find the most adequate solutions for it, and to do so as soon as possible while excluding the traditional quarrels. It is also—and precisely—the task of this Assembly to arrive at a concrete and realistic approach which will take into account our mutual positions while recalling that no nation, however rich, can consider itself happy if surrounded by the most abject poverty.

143. This is why the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea shares the view of those who consider that the developed countries bear a particular responsibility for world economic restructuring because, occupying a privileged position in the international system, they can, with a little political will, give a new impetus to the pace of our negotiations thus permitting us to formulate a vigorous and dynamic strategy capable of ensuring to the developing countries the growth which will enable them not only to face their

present problems, but also to revitalize the whole world economy.

144. During our various debates it has been generally accepted that in our negotiations we should take into account principally five major areas: those relating to monetary and financial questions, to raw materials, to energy, to trade and to development. Our country thinks that it is of decisive importance to revise the structures of those areas.

145. On monetary issues, we must note that the present international monetary system is a mere adjunct of a few groups of privileged nations which control this essential mechanism of the international economy for their own narrow interests. The mass of debts in foreign exchange and galloping inflation are beyond our control. This is the place for us to support the proposal of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity with regard to regionalizing the functions of the IMF through the formation of a number of specific regional branches and to decentralizing the operations of the World Bank, whose loans, as has been rightly noted, should be reviewed as regards their procedures and their principles. This was the idea put forward by President Ahmed Sékou Touré in a work recently published for the benefit of the African masses, entitled *The United States of Africa*. The Guinean leader affirmed that:

“With the creation of a bank of issue, and of banks of deposit and financing, operating under the authority and in the name of our continent and assisted by other African financing banks, we will have truly achieved an improvement in the means at our disposal.

“For example, there are countries willing to assist Africa. If there was a single and unique institution speaking on Africa's behalf, our efforts would be facilitated and it would be this bank which would undertake all commitments on behalf of our countries. Procedures would be rationalized.

“Further, if it were possible to make our continental bank a bank for the deposit of our reserves, Africa could then have each year at its disposal tens of billions of dollars, which would officially establish the credibility of that African bank and would create conditions favourable for the issuing of a strong African currency, which is an essential element in the promotion of intra-African trade. We would thus have provided the conditions for the establishment of a production structure directed towards the production of manufactured goods which would greatly reduce our dependence on other countries for the satisfaction of our various material needs.”⁷

146. Thus, it is necessary to remember that the idea of recasting structures is fundamental in any international strategy which is to be taken seriously. Therefore regionalization takes on a fundamental character; this regionalization should aim at continental economic integration, indeed at African unity. African unity is a necessary undertaking, for it cannot consist merely of extolling the African personality; it must also aim at achieving integration in the vital sectors of the African economy. It is no accident that a few months before the convening of this special session of the General

Assembly, an aware Africa decided to hold at Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, its first session devoted exclusively to economic integration.⁸ Our continent thus demonstrated its determination to contribute in its way to the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

147. During this important summit meeting our Heads of State drew up a programme which in its broad outlines covers the other four major areas mentioned above and defined in the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy [see *A/S-11/14, annex I*] is essentially based on an integrated approach comprising the various economic and social activities, taking into account the interdependence of those activities. The establishment of the New International Economic Order should thus, in our view, propel the African countries towards a gradual and consistent economic integration. The objectives defined at Lagos should be firmly supported by the international community.

148. With regard to raw materials, in Guinea we believe that the study of the problems of exploitation and processing of raw materials requires that two fundamentally conflicting attitudes be taken into account: first, the attitude of the proletarian peoples, the working masses of the countries which produce raw materials, who now see the attainment of one of their legitimate, profound aspirations, namely the establishment of a relationship of equality or equivalence in trade between raw materials and manufactured goods; and, secondly, the attitude of the developed world which possesses the industrial enterprises for the exploitation and utilization of the raw materials and their byproducts and which feels a certain anxiety at seeing the countries which own the raw materials and which it exploits, jointly deciding to revise their sales prices, as is currently the case with OPEC.

149. The opposition between the two attitudes reflects the conflict of interests which exists, on the one hand, between the countries which supply raw materials and, on the other, the industrialized countries which supply capital goods and manufactured goods.

150. This conflict is indeed a fundamental characteristic of the trade relationships between one part of the world and the other, and it contributes to polarizing attitudes in the negotiation process in which we are engaged. Africa, which is aware of the fact that no industrial production is possible without raw materials, which require prospecting, evaluating and processing, stressed in the Lagos Plan of Action the necessity of exercising greater control over its own natural resources in order to prevent further wastage.

151. The energy policy becomes more and more important every day. While the world economic growth is marking time in a most disturbing manner and while we are witnessing the inflationary rise of prices, Africa must once again confront the problem of the steady rise in the cost of energy. Confronted with this situation, people endeavour to explain to us that we should require the oil-producing countries to increase their development assistance. While this solution should not be ruled out, the industrialized countries of the North, which give us so much advice, should first of all shoulder their

⁷Ahmed Sékou Touré, *Des Etats-Unis d'Afrique* (Conakry, Imprimerie Nationale "Patrice Lumumba", 1980), vol. XXV, pp. 75 and 76.

⁸Second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Lagos, from 28-29 April 1980.

international duties. The oil-producing countries, however rich they may be, are part of an international economic system which holds them in a vice generally speaking. In a word, they are the richest among the poor, because they lack the "know-how" for the invention and mastery of techniques and technology, which is the key to all true development.

152. This leads me to note the importance of technology in the modern economy. It seems to us more and more that the acquisition and mastery of technology is one of the essential pillars of true national prosperity and development. Energy resources lead to monetary resources, while technology and scientific knowledge lead to know-how, which in turn engenders development.

153. Consequently, the establishment of a new international economic order should devote particular attention to the problems of training, culture and scientific research because it has now been established, after many difficulties connected with the nature of the link between scientific research and development, that development, not only economic development but also socio-cultural and human development which our peoples are actively seeking, depends essentially upon scientific and technical knowledge.

154. Scientific research can be defined as all of the work directed towards the discovery of new knowledge. That knowledge brings about new techniques or means whereby man attempts to modify his environment. We can see from this fact that there is a difference between basic research and applied research. But if scientific research is to be valid, it must aim at a concrete objective, one which will transform the conditions governing our lives in a positive way along the lines of social progress.

155. The reform of the structures and institutions which serve as the framework for the transfer or acquisition of technology, as advocated by the General Assembly, in these circumstances assumes primary importance. The People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea encourages any progress which can be noted in the UNCTAD negotiations for an international code of conduct for the transfer of technology. The revision of the system of industrial patents and licences by WIPO should also be encouraged. Another question of importance is how to reduce or even stop the brain-drain.

156. Furthermore, the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea salutes the intervention of our brother Ahmadou Matar M'Bow, who brought out in his masterly statement the true vocation of UNESCO, which is to define the cultural bases required for the New International Economic Order.

157. We shall now consider a situation which is of great concern, at this very moment as I am speaking to this Assembly, to hundreds of millions of people in Africa and elsewhere in the world—I am speaking about hunger, drought and food assistance.

158. The delegation of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea has studied the report of the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes with great attention. The main points of that report were set forth in a masterly manner in the statement made by Mr. Edward Saouma, the Director-General of FAO.

159. In our African countries where the *per capita* food production has been dropping from year to year, drought has become an overwhelming reality. Food imports are increasing despite the large amount we have to pay for oil, and the number of people who are starving to death or suffering from malnutrition continues to

grow. Until now, drought has been limited to the Sahel and the desert areas of the African continent. The People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, which was known as the "water tower" of West Africa and where ecological conditions have always been normal, is experiencing at the present time a drought characterized by an exceptionally sparse rainfall, which is affecting more than half of its national territory. The World Food Council has already expressed its concern at the chronic food shortage in Africa at the present time. It has also called upon all States and international organizations to give increased food assistance to the affected countries. That appeal, we should recall, becomes more urgent every day. We therefore feel that this special session should take up this important and urgent question in order to find the proper solutions. The conference of donor countries convened by FAO in Rome on 19 September 1980 to examine the critical food situation in Africa is one of the urgent measures to alleviate the situation. We also feel that the recommendations of the World Food Council calling for structural changes in the world food economy should essentially be directed towards assisting our countries to increase their capacity for food production and marketing in order to enable them to become relatively self-sufficient.

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

160. The establishment of the New International Economic Order becomes daily more pressing. Without wanting to deal here with all the problems, we still must state that beyond speeches and remonstrances there is a real international situation which we must face. President Ahmed Sékou Touré has said:

"It is not a crime that some countries have greater financial and technical means at their disposal than others, nor is it a crime that some countries have more raw materials than others. But what certainly is a crime is that peoples with conscience and reason do not succeed in harmonizing their relations in keeping with the interests of all and of their common aspirations for justice and solidarity."

161. The challenge is thus no longer one of evaluating the economic constraints imposed upon certain States by history, but rather one of working responsibly to set up a system capable of promoting the establishment of a more just international economic co-operation leading to loyal and equitable interdependence among nations.

162. Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is my great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, our sincere congratulations, as we see you presiding over the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. We take this opportunity to renew our confidence that the wise leadership that you have given during previous sessions will undoubtedly provide this session with every chance of success. It also gives us pleasure to renew, on behalf of the peoples and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, our warm congratulations to the sister Republic of Zimbabwe upon its admission to the United Nations. In renewing our warm congratulations to that country, we wish that the victory of the heroic people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, in their struggle for independence will be repeated in their struggle for reconstruction and development. Now that Zimbabwe is an independent, sovereign State, my country pledges its friendship and co-operation in the context of bilateral relations, within the framework of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement and this Organization. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe is undoubtedly a victory for those

three international forums. It is a victory that reaffirms our unshakable belief that the will of a people for freedom is indomitable and that peoples bent on achieving freedom will certainly do so. It also confirms our belief that we will surely see in this hall in the near future, side by side with the delegation of Zimbabwe, the delegations of independent Namibia, Azania and Palestine—after they have broken their fetters and thrown off all restrictions—because they are peoples which aspire to dignity and are determined to overcome all forms of terrorism.

163. We have been following attentively the statements made by previous speakers during the past few days. In spite of the different social and political systems and the level of development achieved by their countries, all speakers have asserted that the world is overwhelmed by an unparalleled economic crisis. They all agree that the world is now heading towards an imminent catastrophe that can be avoided only through urgent and concerted action by the international community as a whole, with the aim of finding urgent and effective solutions for the root causes of the current economic crisis. I should also like to reaffirm that, in our view, this special session will be the test of our seriousness. There is no room for inaction, because we cannot afford to bear the consequences of failure.

164. For the majority of developing countries, the present international economic crisis is not the type of reality that could be discovered through statistics on growth rates, inflation, trade and productivity of various economic sectors; rather, it is a crisis reflected in the daily sufferings of the peoples of those countries as they go about seeking to meet their daily needs for shelter, food, medicine and education, and as they strive for a better life for future generations, free from poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. The present international economic crisis, as most previous speakers have affirmed, affects the entire world—the North and South, developed and developing, rich and poor. But it certainly strikes the economies of developing countries harder and affects them more since they are unable, owing to their fragile economic base, to deal with these successive crises in the same manner as the developed countries are able to overcome them.

165. Paradoxically, although the developing countries are approaching the third development decade, their fight is still to ensure their very survival rather than their development.

166. We do not need to illustrate the causes, aspects and dimensions of the present international economic crisis. They are now abundantly clear. Various studies by Governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations have analysed the causes, aspects and dimensions, and pointed out the serious repercussions for the future of the world economy. A quick glance at the reports of the World Bank, on world development in 1980,⁹ of the Brandt Commission¹⁰ and of the Commonwealth experts,¹¹ the analytical report of the Secretary-General [*A/S-11/5 and Corr.1*] and the reports of United Nations specialized agencies and others [*A/S-11/6 and Add.1 and 2*] is sufficient to

reflect the seriousness of the present international crisis and its grave implications for the economies of the developing countries in particular.

167. Since the General Assembly is devoting a special session to international economic issues, we thought and hoped that the utmost priority would be accorded to the problems and sufferings of the weakest members of the international community and to the most vulnerable in the face of the economic crisis, namely the African countries in general and the least developed countries in Africa and other continents of the South in particular.

168. At present, the majority of African countries two decades after their accession to independence still stand on the periphery of the world economy, with a wide gap separating their economies from those of other developing countries, not to mention those of the industrialized nations of the North—a gap which is widening every day. In the world economy, Africa is nothing but a mine, a farm, a flourishing market, while its people, the owners of this wealth, continue to remain the victims of hunger, disease and illiteracy. For the majority of the African peoples, the debate on a New International Economic Order, access to markets of the industrialized countries, the transfer of technology, the liberalization of trade and the reform of the international monetary system, important as these matters are, is but an academic luxury that brings no satisfaction, especially when the continent is sliding towards the brink of an economic catastrophe with the accumulation of such forces of nature as drought, pests and desertification expediting its occurrence.

169. In these circumstances, the first African economic summit convened at Lagos in April this year is an important landmark in the history of the African continent. The peoples of Africa, represented by their heads of State and Government at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of the Organization of African Unity, reaffirmed in the Lagos Plan of Action and the Summit's Final Act [*see A/S-11/14, annexes I and II*], that the development of Africa is the prime responsibility of the African peoples themselves, that self-reliance for the African countries, individually and collectively, is the only way to achieve that development, and that the ultimate objective is to achieve African economic integration by the year 2000 through national development, in the first place, and the promotion of co-operation among and between the different regions of Africa. Only by that course of action could Africa contribute to the economic co-operation among the developing countries that is based on collective self-reliance, the promotion of international economic co-operation and the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

170. The Lagos Plan of Action [*ibid, annex I*] emphasizes the importance of self-sufficiency in food for Africa by the year 2000. It also affirms the importance of the acceleration of industrial development, the development of infrastructural networks in transport and communication, the promotion of economic and technical co-operation among African countries, the integration of African regions through existing and new regional economic communities and the development of African capacities to acquire and utilize science and technology for development. There is no doubt that Africa, in spite of its declared commitment to rely on its own capabilities and resources, expects the international community to contribute effectively in assisting the African countries to implement the Lagos Plan of Action, especially through supporting the implementa-

⁹World Development Report, 1980.

¹⁰North-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).

¹¹The World Economic Crisis: A Commonwealth Perspective, published by the Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, London, July 1980.

tion of the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa and the Industrial Development Decade for Africa, as well as other programmes. Africans and their leaders are convinced that the economic development and integration of their continent is not only in the interests of the African countries but is, indeed, a way for effective African participation in the international economy and the promotion of international economic co-operation for the benefit of all countries and peoples of the world.

171. The Sudan, represented by President Gaafar Mohammed Nimeiri, declared at the Economic Summit of Lagos its full commitment to the implementation of the African strategy for economic, social and cultural development through the Lagos Plan of Action. We have also affirmed our full commitment to playing our full role towards establishing an African economic community by the year 2000. In declaring our commitment to the African development strategy, which is based on individual and collective self-reliance in the context of regional co-operation and integration, the Sudan reaffirms its unwavering belief in achieving maximum co-operation and integration with neighbouring Arab and African countries with the hope of contributing towards the promotion of economic and technical co-operation among all developing countries. It is well known that the Sudan, in drawing up its principles and programmes of development in the Sudan and determining its priorities, has consistently taken into consideration not only Sudan's own needs and requirements but also those of the neighbouring countries and regions. It is our hope that such an approach will pave the way for the achievement of the aspirations of Africa and the Arab world and help to create regional economic groups that will be able to advance development and progress in those regions, which for a long time have suffered from under-development in all its forms. The Sudan, in drawing up its development plans and objectives which depend mainly on further agricultural development and industrialization, is concerned with the production of food as an urgent priority in order to meet its own requirements as well as those of others. Such efforts cannot yield their full results unless the Sudan has available the necessary financial and technological assistance. In this context, my delegation would like to express its gratitude for the assistance and co-operation extended to our country by sisterly Arab nations and friendly developed and developing countries.

172. The least developed countries, two thirds of which are in Africa, including the Sudan, face an extremely critical economic situation and a bleak future, as was rightly pointed out by the Secretary-General in his analytical report. The majority of these countries, the weakest in the international community, are in a precarious position on the brink of economic collapse owing to their inability to face the international economic crisis and to bear the growing burden of import bills for food, production inputs and manufactured goods. Most of these countries are unable to provide their people with the basic necessities, let alone continue the arduous process of social and economic development.

173. The least developed countries suffer from serious structural problems related to the lack of all essential elements required by a healthy economy. Moreover, because of infrastructural weakness and a limited economic base, these countries are unable to increase their productivity and export earnings. This situation is compounded by the fact that the least developed countries depend exclusively on the export earnings of a single primary commodity and at a time when prices of primary

commodities are falling far short of the prices these countries are paying for their essential imports of food, manufactured goods and other essential products. Alarmed by the deteriorating situation in the least developed countries, my delegation expresses its deep concern at the fact that, in spite of international recognition of their problems and the numerous resolutions and measures adopted in their favour, no significant improvement in their economies has occurred, mainly because the international community has failed so far to implement the resolutions and measures already adopted, the latest of which was the Immediate Action Programme for 1979-1981 on behalf of the least developed countries contained in UNCTAD Resolution 122 (V) of 3 June 1979¹². Although more than one year has elapsed since the adoption of that resolution, the implementation of the programme has not yet started. We urge the international community, and in particular the developed countries, to accord priority to the implementation of the Immediate Action Programme in favour of the least developed countries. This is because it is the prelude to the substantive action programme for the 1980s that is to be elaborated and adopted at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries to be held in 1981. The General Assembly is therefore called upon at this session to adopt the measures necessary to ensure the success of that conference and to enable it to look seriously at the problems of the least developed countries and adopt urgent measures for the short, medium and long term to enable those countries to resolve their problems; through this approach and the full utilization of their human and material resources, they will be able to lay down the necessary basic infrastructure for the achievement of social and economic development, to participate effectively in international activities and to terminate their dependency on international assistance.

174. Together with all of Africa the Sudan strongly believes that the responsibility for finding a solution to the problems facing the least developed countries is primarily that of those countries themselves through a firm commitment to the mobilization of their capabilities and resources for economic development and the involvement of their entire populations—both men and women—in that process. Nevertheless, owing to the particular circumstances now facing the least developed countries, now and in the near future, the international community is called upon to continue supporting the efforts of those countries by increasing the flow of financial resources on a continuous, assured and predictable basis in order to enable them to plan the future. In this context, donor countries should increase the flow of resources to the least developed countries, so that their official development assistance to those countries is doubled by 1981 and at least quadrupled by 1990. Moreover, we urge those creditors who have not yet implemented resolution 122 (V) of UNCTAD on debt cancellation to the least developed countries immediately to meet their obligations. We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to those countries that have speedily cancelled debts in accordance with that resolution.

175. The developing countries are paying particular attention to the present economic session of the General Assembly, as it may be the starting-point for international economic co-operation and efforts to accelerate

¹²See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. 1, *Report and Annexes*, (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II:D.14), part one, sect. A.

the development of the developing countries through the establishment of the New International Economic Order. In our view, the present session provides a necessary pause to review and evaluate the past in order to formulate directives aimed at the establishment of a just and equitable New International Economic Order. This special session should assess the progress achieved since the sixth special session towards the establishment of the New International Economic Order, in particular, the progress made in the past two years in preparations for the new international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade and the new round of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development. On the other hand, such an assessment should be utilized to reorient the future path of international economic co-operation and provide the necessary political impetus and support for the North-South dialogue to ensure the speedy implementation of the New International Economic Order. That can be attained only by the adoption, particularly by the developed countries, of concrete policies and measures necessary for restructuring international economic relations to accelerate the development of developing countries and consolidate international economic co-operation on a more just and equitable basis. In recognizing the importance of this special session, my delegation reaffirms that the United Nations General Assembly, as a universal democratic institution with political and moral authority, is the only suitable forum for pursuing the North-South dialogue and for conducting any global economic negotiations. Therefore, the General Assembly at this special session should bring about the necessary positive change in the international economic situation—which is headed for a crisis if matters continue as they are—by ensuring a unanimous commitment to take urgent measures aimed at accelerating the development of developing countries and promoting international economic co-operation. Those measures should include the adoption of the new international development strategy and the completion of the preparatory work for the global negotiations to be launched early in 1981.

176. The convening of the sixth special session and the adoption of the Declaration and Plan of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order were due to the sincere belief of the international community and, in particular, of the developing countries that the existing system of international economic relations could no longer respond to the changes on the international scene since the end of the Second World War. That outdated system could not respond to the demands and aspirations of the developing countries for economic and social development, economic independence and effective involvement in world economic relations. That system was tailored to serve the interests of the centre of the world economy—that is, the developed countries—and to ensure that the economies of those countries would reap maximum benefits at the expense of the interests of the developing countries. The result has been the ever-widening gap in living conditions between the developed and developing countries. The newly independent developing countries have come to recognize that political independence was not coupled with the economic independence that would enable them to achieve the aspirations of their peoples for economic and social development and secure decent living conditions for them. They have also recognized that the only way to achieve development is through the restructuring of the world economy and the establishment of a just and equitable order enabling them to participate, on an equal footing, in the management of the

world economy in a manner serving their own interests as well as that of others and, at the same time, to take part in the decision-making process of the system's institutions and to ensure full and permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. The developing countries are convinced that the establishment of such a new order is in the interests of all countries and that it will promote international economic co-operation and the maintenance of world peace and security.

177. Those just and urgent demands were embodied in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted at the sixth special session. In adopting its resolutions 3201 (S-VI), 3202 (S-VI) and 3281 (XXIX), the General Assembly confirmed the commitment of the international community to establish the new order. However, a quick review of the progress achieved thus far in the establishment of the New International Economic Order, as reflected in the analytical report of the Secretary-General [*A/S-11/5 and Corr.1*] and the statements of previous speakers, indicates, regrettably, the limited headway that has been made towards the achievement of that goal. What has been achieved is merely minor reform on the periphery of the existing economic system, rather than basic structural changes in the system and its institutions. Although there have been some welcome achievements in the past few years, including the establishment of the IFAD in November 1977, the agreement on the Common Fund for Commodities,¹³ modest progress in the field of science and technology for development and limited progress in the operations of the IMF and the World Bank, those developments are far from constituting the structural changes sought in the system of international economic relations. The features and institutions of the existing system are still intact, particularly with regard to the international, financial and monetary system, international trade, unequal relations in science and technology, industrial production and development. For instance, the international monetary system, despite basic changes since its inception at Bretton Woods, where the majority of nations were not represented, and despite the recognition of both the North and the South that the system does not respond to present realities, has not been reformed. Following the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, it was felt, even by developed countries, that there was an urgent need for the establishment of a new system of international financial and monetary co-operation more responsive to the interests and needs of developing countries in which decision-making became the mutual responsibility of developing and developed countries alike.

178. The existing international trade system is basically geared to serving the trade interests of the developed countries. Those countries dominate the international markets by controlling the prices and supply of manufactured goods and primary commodities. As a result of that situation, the developing countries are dealt a dual blow: they pay inflationary prices for their essential imports, and they receive unremunerative prices for their exports of raw materials. Urgent measures are still needed to redress the imbalance in the link between the value of the exports of developing countries and the value of the exports of the developed countries. Without such measures, the terms of international trade will consistently be in favour of the developed countries, which will hamper the role of international trade in accelerating the development process in the developing countries.

¹³See document TD/IPC/CF/CONF/26.

179. The initiative of the developing countries regarding a new round of global negotiations on international co-operation for development was the result mainly of the limited achievements in the establishment of the New International Economic Order. General Assembly resolution 34/138 of 14 December 1979 outlined the framework and objectives of those negotiations and entrusted the Committee of the Whole with the task of preparing the agenda, procedures and time-frame so that this special session could launch the negotiations. Needless to say, the Sudan and indeed all the developing countries place great hopes in those negotiations, as they are the first ones of this nature to be conducted under the direct responsibility of the General Assembly. Those negotiations go beyond sectoral negotiations, to a new phase where sectoral problems can be negotiated in a simultaneous, integrated and consistent manner reflecting their close links and mutual relationship. That approach would assist the international community to arrive at solutions to short-, medium- and long-term problems affecting the international economy. Moreover, it would support efforts towards the restructuring of international economic relations and the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

180. We regret that the Committee of the Whole has failed to reach an agreement on the agenda and procedures for the global negotiations that would have enabled this special session of the General Assembly to launch those negotiations.

181. That failure, in the light of the current critical circumstances, should prompt all of us to exert additional efforts to overcome and eliminate existing differences and reach an agreement on the global negotiations. We hope that the references made in the statements by delegations of developed countries at this special session to the seriousness of the present world economic crisis and the need for urgent action to defuse it is a positive indication of their willingness to continue the dialogue towards reaching a common understanding. We hope also that such a willingness is coupled with the political will that is indispensable to reaching an agreement on the agenda and procedures for the global negotiations.

182. The only way to overcome the existing differences on global negotiations is through understanding and a creative outlook regarding the substance and the final objectives of the negotiations, and the manner in which they should be conducted. We feel that this understanding is lacking among developed countries, which prefer the negotiations to concentrate on the present economic difficulties besetting their economies in particular and those of the developing countries in general. The position taken by most developed countries so far indicates a lack of enthusiasm for tackling the main economic issues in the fields of trade, raw materials, development, energy, money and finance in an integrated, consistent and simultaneous way that will ensure an integrated approach to those issues. We fear that that attitude by the developed countries may reflect a repetition of their position regarding the required changes in the present economic order and their insistence on partial reforms rather than basic changes in the system as a whole. Therefore, the difference between the developing and the developed countries on the agenda and the procedures for the global round of negotiations is a difference not on formulations or narrow interests, but on the basic approach to and the conception and definition of the world economic problems and the methods to find solutions to them. This clearly indicates the developed countries' unwillingness to go all the way towards estab-

lishing the New International Economic Order, despite their recognition of the need to establish it.

183. The undeniable interrelationship of the international economic problems in different sectors leads us to insist on treating those problems in an integrated manner. It is therefore inconceivable to discuss energy problems in isolation from the interrelated problems of trade and money and finance. The integrated approach would, we believe, greatly facilitate the international efforts directed towards devising solutions to those problems.

184. The other task before this special session is the adoption of the new international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade, by a consensus which would entail a firm commitment to implement the strategy's objectives. The new strategy, if implemented, would promote international economic co-operation and accelerate the development of the developing countries, the restructuring of international economic relations and the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

185. The disappointments with the International Development Strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade, and the failure to implement it, were an inevitable result of the unjust economic order in the context of which the strategy was to be implemented. That failure, however, should not lead to the adoption of a new strategy that does not include the objectives and policy measures necessary for the acceleration of the economic and social development of developing countries, to ensure their effective participation in international economic interaction and in the international decision-making processes. The proposals of the Group of 77 for the goals and objectives of the new international development strategy, regarding growth rates in the gross national product and other indicators, sectoral targets or official development assistance targets, are the minimum elements necessary for the attainment of the final objectives of the strategy.

186. Despite the failure of the Preparatory Committee on the New International Development Strategy to reach agreement on major issues connected with the drafting of the strategy, the progress made in the Working Group during this session is an indication of possible agreement on the final draft, reconciling the points of difference. Although we keenly desire the special session to adopt the new strategy, we are particularly concerned that the strategy as adopted should meet the aspirations and demands of developing countries for development and the restructuring of the world economy, in order that the New International Economic Order may be established.

187. On numerous occasions, and in their proposals for the international development strategy, the developing countries have affirmed that the responsibility for the attainment of development is primarily theirs. However, the international community, and in particular the developed countries, are called upon to support the efforts of the developing countries by providing the financial and technological assistance necessary for the achievement of high growth rates and development objectives. Hence the importance of the flow of financial resources to the developing countries on a continuous and predictable basis that will enable them to plan for the future. The strategy should specify a concrete target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product for official development assistance by 1984 at the latest, and 1 per cent by the year 1990. Donor countries should commit themselves to those two targets in the specified time-frame. In this connexion, my delegation would like

to express appreciation for the commendable performance of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), whose official development assistance has exceeded 3 per cent of their gross national product. We also commend the performance of the developed countries, and in particular the Scandinavian countries, which have achieved, or almost achieved, the target of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product.

188. In this connexion we should like to emphasize the close link between disarmament and development, which is mentioned in the draft of the strategy. The huge resources squandered annually on the arms race could be directed towards financing the social and economic development of the different parts of the world. We repeat our appeal to the developed world to work seriously for total disarmament, thereby releasing the \$US 450 billion they spend annually on armaments for the worthy cause of feeding the 500 million persons who are starving throughout the world.

189. The struggle for the establishment of the New International Economic Order through global negotiations or the third development decade should not be pursued in an atmosphere of North-South confrontation. Only through constructive co-operation based on sovereign equality can a just economic order capable of serving the interests of both developed and developing countries be established.

190. Confrontation can only breed bitterness and intransigence and lead to a further deterioration of the present situation. The Group of 77, cognizant of that reality, continues to extend the hand of co-operation in the hope that the North will reciprocate. The South is still willing to pursue the dialogue that would certainly further the common interest and benefit all humanity. If the ultimate objective of establishing the new order is in the common interest of all nations, then it is imperative for all to make a genuine effort and to accept the sacrifices necessary to realize that objective. The significance of this special session is that it is a rare chance to embark immediately on such endeavours to ensure the continuity and success of genuine dialogue between the North and the South.

191. As we stand on the threshold of the 1980s, leaving behind the 1970s with all their failures, crises and conflicts and heading into a gloomy future bearing the prognosis of more crises and catastrophes, we feel bound to repeat what has become the slogan of this session: we cannot afford to face the consequences of failure. May God guide us to success.

192. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation is very pleased to see you serving as President of our Assembly and guiding the proceedings of the eleventh special session.

193. There can be no doubt that this is a proper tribute to you for the distinguished way in which you have always discharged your responsibilities in the United Nations and your qualities as a person and as a diplomat and a tribute to your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, which is bound to my country, Cameroon, by fraternal and productive co-operation within the context of the great family of the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned movement.

194. Similarly, it is a pleasure for me to avail myself of this opportunity to express the deep appreciation and gratitude of my delegation to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts to put our Organization in a position to meet the many challenges that confront our world.

195. The world economic crisis that is currently affecting all activities in all countries, resolution of which can in our view be found only through the establishment of a more just and equitable New International Economic Order, constitutes one of the major challenges of the past 25 years.

196. This is an historic session if ever there was one. We have welcomed Zimbabwe, whose people have finally become masters of their own destiny after having waged one of the bitterest struggles against domination and racism in the history of decolonization under the aegis of the Patriotic Front, with the support of the international community.

197. It is a pleasure for us to pay a tribute to the brother people of Zimbabwe through its Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe. In the Organization of African Unity we have already had an opportunity to celebrate Zimbabwe's achievement of freedom and independence.

198. That brilliant victory constitutes a very important milestone, and it encourages the strengthening of faith in the just struggle being waged by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa to attain liberation and to wrest their dignity from the inhuman *apartheid* régime. We again assure them of our solidarity with them.

199. A decade ago, describing the world situation before this Assembly, Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the United Republic of Cameroon, stated:

“Contemporary civilization is not only faced with contradictions between an increasing mastery of nature and relative impotence to guarantee man's freedom and between the ideal of peace and human brotherhood and continuing efforts to secure power and domination. Over and above these there is another, greater, contradiction, in a world of increasing interdependence, between our present possibilities of transforming the human condition and the persistent inequality of the conditions in which men live.

“This inequality, due to historical causes, of which colonialism and racial discrimination are not the least, is daily becoming more pronounced with the constant deterioration in the terms of trade which, by depriving the developing countries of major resources in their struggle for progress, is helping to widen the gulf separating the prosperous from the underprivileged peoples.

“While we can congratulate ourselves on the international community's increasing awareness of the importance of this problem for the future of mankind, the fact remains that the efforts so far made to solve it have not yielded the expected results, either at the level of bilateral co-operation or at the multilateral level. National interests and egoism continue to act as powerful brakes on expansion of the flow of aid, although there is general agreement that what is needed is a concerted global strategy inspired by a real determination to achieve realistically predetermined objectives.”¹⁴

200. This is perhaps a decisive moment on the long and difficult road that we have taken since the Charter of Algiers,¹⁵ by way of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, for instance, up to the establishment of the Committee of the Whole Estab-

¹⁴See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1780th meeting, paras. 22-24.

¹⁵Charter adopted by the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Algiers from 10 to 25 October 1967.

lished under Resolution 32/174 of the General Assembly, so as to make a reality of the New International Economic Order, the elements of which were outlined by us all in the Declaration and Programme of Action of the sixth special session. [*General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]

201. In fact, the state of the international scene, where the fabric of the world economy is undergoing significant alteration through inflation, recession and unemployment, is more and more disturbing and is having a serious effect on the economies of the poorest developing countries, whose frail structures are threatened with collapse.

202. Within the framework of the Second Development Decade, which is just ending, the economic matrix which had been established did not permit the attainment of the desired results.

203. With regard to the steps that had been recommended for the establishment of the New International Economic Order, we agree with the Secretary-General in recognizing that in the course of the six years that have elapsed since the sixth special session, the progress achieved has not been substantial enough to allow us to approach the goals initially set.

204. As a developing country which is for the most part agricultural and has an economy dependent largely on the production and marketing of primary commodities, Cameroon welcomes the setting up of the Integrated Programme for Commodities and the IFAD, although it has experienced difficulties as a result of fluctuations in the price of raw materials, economic disturbances and the resultant inflation. The operating procedures of those funds not only represent a great innovation in the effective participation they provide for developing countries, but will also strengthen the whole range of international machinery for the monitoring of commodity markets with a view to protecting the purchasing power of producers.

205. We are equally gratified to note the establishment, within the framework of the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development,¹⁶ of a United Nations Financing System for Science and Technology for Development, designed to increase the scientific and technical capacity of developing countries.

206. It is to be hoped that all those funds will receive substantial increases in financial resources thereby making it possible for them to make a meaningful contribution in their respective spheres of activity.

207. With regard to monetary and financial matters, we note with interest that improvements have been made in the system of compensatory financing and the granting of loans by the IMF and the World Bank.

208. However interesting those measures may be, they remain, *inter alia*, timid and transitory and are far from meeting the requirement of a global, integrated structural reform that would ensure the promotion of the New International Economic Order, in accordance with the principles and objectives embodied in the Declaration, the Programme of Action [*ibid.*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

209. How can it be that after almost two decades of negotiations, no decisive steps have been taken towards the establishment of a more just and equitable New

International Economic Order? On the contrary, the effects of recession and inflation have been aggravated, even in the countries for which the current international economic system was essentially conceived, while the developing countries, already marginal in that system, are experiencing a crisis of catastrophic proportions.

210. This already sombre situation has been further aggravated by the increasing militarization of the Powers that are prey to hegemonistic rivalries, which have been played out in the third world since the Second World War. As a result there has been stagnation and squandering of significant resources, to the detriment of the process of economic and social development which we strive to bring about for the benefit of the disinherited of the earth, who constitute three quarters of mankind. In that regard, it is particularly enlightening to note the scandalous disproportion, which has been deplored here on numerous occasions, between the funds devoted to military expenditure—more than \$450 billion—and the amount of development aid—\$20 billion.

211. This development is so worrying that we permit ourselves, at this stage, to be drawn into the labyrinth of the controversy about who is responsible for it. The important thing is that together we become aware of the world-wide dimension of the catastrophe and of its possible evolution, if the action and appropriate measures we have agreed upon are not rapidly taken to check its progress.

212. In that connexion, global negotiations provide us with a golden opportunity to define the machinery that would make it possible to achieve the objectives of the new strategy, in accordance with the Declaration and Plan of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

213. In that regard, it is deplorable that the Committee of the Whole, as its report attests [*A/S-11/1 (Part V)*], and despite the initiatives and the readiness of the developing countries to participate, was unable to agree on the agenda, or the procedure and still less on the time-frame for the negotiations.

214. This situation, which is seriously detrimental to the world economy, is essentially due to the fact that the countries which enjoy a position of dominance in the current economic system are not ready to take the least risk or to accept the uncertainty that is intrinsic in any fundamental change. That is why their approach is fragmentary and sectoral and the measures they advocate are for the most part directed only at solving conjunctural difficulties.

215. It is quite obvious that some aspects of the current economic crisis require prompt intervention. This is the case with regard to the catastrophic situation in the developing countries most seriously affected by the crisis, the great majority of which are in Africa. We should like to support the measures for supplementary assistance advocated by the Secretary-General [*see A/S-11/5, and Corr.1 annex*].

216. Whatever the amount of this aid, it should be emphasized that it can serve only to enhance those countries' own efforts to promote their own development, for it is true that the only true development is endogenous and self-generating, that is to say, a development of the people and for the people.

217. It is in the same spirit that we are working for strengthening co-operation among developing countries especially through the establishment of regional economic groups within the framework of our geographic and historical solidarity, groups such as the Economic Com-

¹⁶See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

munity of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Central African Customs and Economic Union which will soon be celebrating its twentieth anniversary.

218. In the final analysis, all these stop-gap measures are only emergency remedies intended to halt the tragic development of the acute crisis in the most seriously affected countries, the deep-seated causes of which can be eliminated only by a structural reversal of the economic trends which have prevailed up to now.

219. It is fortunate that the Lagos Plan of Action, adopted in April 1980 by the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, particularly emphasizes the need for this and includes a set of short-, medium- and long-term measures aimed at achieving national and collective self-sufficiency for Africa. This plan, therefore, should have the active support of the international community with a view to its immediate implementation.

220. With regard to the procedures for the global negotiations, we consider that a thorough examination of all the problems affecting the world economy, as well as a study of the questions of raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance should be carried out with a global approach in view of the effects of the links and interaction between those areas.

221. These negotiations should be carried on simultaneously in a central body and should be open to high-level participation by all delegations; the negotiations, which should call upon the technical assistance of the specialized agencies of the United Nations system as necessary—it being understood that the primary and ultimate responsibility for the negotiations rests with the central body—could lead to a global agreement covering all the questions under examination.

222. With regard to the new international development strategy which we are called upon to adopt in principle during this session and some of whose aims have yet to be agreed by consensus, although these are minimal proposals, we appeal to everyone to ensure that a spirit of interdependence and solidarity shall prevail.

223. The adoption of the new strategy implies the need to initiate global negotiations without delay and to ensure their success; indeed, those negotiations must lead to the establishment of all the mechanisms that will set the objectives of the strategy in motion and make them a reality. In this perspective, we must prevent these negotiations from degenerating for each country or group of countries, into a struggle to gain the greatest advantages for themselves, for the fact is that balanced benefits are the touchstone of any successful negotiation.

224. It is, in fact, a new contract for international development which is involved. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country stated before this Assembly at the twenty-fifth meeting of its thirty-fourth regular session, it is a contract for development involving a profound sense of justice and equity and which “betokens a real will to go beyond national self-interest for the benefit of the strengthening of the common good, which is supranational and of which peace, collective security and the welfare of all peoples are the governing elements”.¹⁷ Finally, it must be aimed at concrete measures which will foster an increased and accelerated transformation into reality of decisions adopted in solidarity with a view to promoting the advent of the New International Economic Order.

225. Mr. DLAMINI (Swaziland): Although it is, so to speak, rather late in the day, Mr. President, I should like to associate my delegation with all the compliments addressed to you on your election to the presidency of this important special session of the United Nations General Assembly. I believe that, with your remarkable experience and wisdom, you will be able to guide this session to a successful conclusion.

226. I should also like, on behalf of my country, Swaziland, and my delegation, to convey through you, Sir, our very cordial welcome and warm greetings to the people of Zimbabwe on its entry into the United Nations. The historic struggle for liberation of our brothers and sisters of Zimbabwe has demonstrated once again that justice will always triumph. In the years ahead, the people of Zimbabwe will require material and moral support from the international community in its national reconstruction efforts, and we hope that this will be forthcoming in sufficient amounts. We pledge our full support to this new nation.

227. Although the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 was unable to agree at its sixth session on proposals for the agenda, procedures and time-frame of the global negotiations in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 34/138 and 34/139, I wish nevertheless to congratulate the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and all those who were involved in the preparatory work for this special session, for having made it possible for us to have at our disposal all the working documents now before us.

228. This session is convened at a time when the world economy is experiencing the most serious crisis since the great depression of the early 1930s. We are expected to come up with some possible solutions. However, in order to get or bring solutions, we need first to review and apprise ourselves of the progress and problems of the International Development Strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade. This will enable us to assess our successes and failures. It is in this context that my delegation noted with appreciation the statement of the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy in his address to this body that the review and appraisal will be carried out at national, regional, sectoral and global levels.

229. The economic development of the past decade has been characterized by several factors which include the high rate of inflation and recession, the rapid rise of unemployment, the instability of the international monetary system, the energy crisis, the stagnating trade flows and, of course, in developing countries the low food production, accompanied by poverty, malnutrition and illiteracy. Unfortunately, the trend has not improved despite numerous conferences, declarations and resolutions calling for the restructuring of world economic relations and placing emphasis on the needs of the developing countries.

230. Now we are gathered here again to launch a new round of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development and to adopt a new development strategy for the third United Nations development decade. Unfortunately, this is taking place when there is turmoil on the international economic scene. However, because of the lessons we have learnt from the past decade, I am confident that the international community will be able to formulate and agree on a strategy for remedying the problems that we are confronted with today.

¹⁷See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 25th meeting, para. 176.*

231. One of the cornerstones of the United Nations is the principle of the equality of nations. In political terms one could say that this equality exists to a certain degree. But the equality of nations in the fullest sense of the word cannot be achieved as long as economic inequalities persist as they do today. The problems of the widening gap between industrialized countries and developing countries have been the subject of concern and discussion in various United Nations forums. It is, however, disappointing to note that despite all the sympathy that has often been expressed towards developing nations, so little has been achieved. In my delegation's view, the reason for this failure has been insufficient political will to implement decisions taken collectively. As a result, the little that has been achieved has been done half-heartedly.

232. The economic problems facing the international community vary in nature but all weigh heavily on the economies of developing nations. While the areas of concern are of equal significance, I shall address my remarks to a few which I feel require urgent attention.

233. One of the most serious problems facing developing economies has been the unpredictable fluctuations in primary commodity prices on international markets. These price fluctuations have played a destructive role in the economies of developing nations, especially in their terms of trade. The sixth special session called for an equitable relationship between prices of raw materials, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported by developing countries and the prices of raw materials, manufactures and capital goods imported by them, with the aim of bringing about an improvement in their terms of trade and the expansion of the world economy. However, the progress towards accomplishing this arrangement and ensuring remunerative prices in real terms to producers of raw materials has been very slow. The decision to establish a common stabilization fund is a positive step for producers of primary commodities. We would plead that the effective entry into operation of this fund be expedited.

234. Another problem which is faced by developing countries and which is linked to fluctuating prices of raw materials is protectionism. Protectionist policies take the form of high tariffs, quota restrictions, domestic pricing policies, controls and numerous other measures which have constituted effective barriers to products from developing countries. Free and unrestricted access of all products from developing nations to markets of industrialized nations should be an integral basis of the new economic order. Only in this way can we hope to induce an accelerated rate of development of the economies of developing nations by implementing the principle of comparative advantage in our international trade practices.

235. In my view, preferential or equal treatment of products from developing countries should be extended unconditionally and on a non-reciprocal basis.

236. Unless trade barriers are totally eliminated, markets for products from developing nations will be limited and sustained growth of the developing nations cannot be assured.

237. The decision by major strong-currency countries to discontinue gold payments against the dollar in the early 1970s indicates that international financial relations based on the Bretton Woods Agreements of 1944 were no longer suitable for the present times. Since the 1970s, no suitable stable international financial agreement has been formulated. There is an urgent need to strengthen financial institutional arrangements which

will respond to the liquidity requirements of developing countries.

238. My delegation recommends that a more democratic mechanism be devised with the participation of developing countries. The floating and fluctuating exchange rates seriously reduce the export earnings of commodities from developing countries. In this regard, my delegation further recommends that the reinstatement of special drawing rights for exchange purposes be re-examined.

239. Financial assistance for development has not been forthcoming in sufficient amounts, as has been pointed out by previous speakers. The 0.7 per cent of gross national product as official development assistance to developing countries was not achieved during the past decade. The modest capital assistance provided has been directed at capital-intensive industries in economies where unemployment is very high.

240. I wish to reiterate the observations already brought to the attention of the present session on the crucial issue of energy. The Chairman of the Group of 77 has succinctly highlighted the fact that the problem of energy is intimately intertwined with the economies of the energy-exporting and energy-importing countries [2nd meeting, para. 87]; further, that the inflation exported by the developed market economies has left the developing countries with a major problem of meeting the demands not only of their economic development but even of sustaining their daily life.

241. I need hardly emphasize the crippling effect that the energy crisis has had on my country, Swaziland. Rapidly rising transport costs in particular have tended to stifle development in all sectors of the economy. It is in this vein that I associate my delegation with the call to undertake massive perspective plans for the exploration and development of conventional and new and renewable sources of energy and the drawing up of comprehensive and fixed-term programmes for immediate implementation in the interests of us all. To that end, my country is eagerly looking forward to the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, to be held at Nairobi, Kenya, in August 1981.

242. My delegation associates itself with the call for a rational use of energy, as was more ably expressed by the representative of Kuwait in this forum last week. He said: "... we want to conserve, not to converse about conservation, which so far has been the case". [2nd meeting, para. 284.] We likewise encourage all attempts aimed at cutting down oil consumption. We have also noted with keen interest the progress made by the Federal Republic of Germany in this regard. Mr. Genscher has informed the Assembly that Germany has managed to cut down energy consumption, in spite of the 15 per cent increase in industrial production [5th meeting, para. 60]. My delegation cannot but urge the sharing of proved prescriptions such as these.

243. Food and agriculture, as has been pointed out by numerous representatives, constitute a critical area where progress should be made in the global negotiations. The fact that developing countries should increase their food production, intensify agricultural development, reduce their dependence on imports and improve nutritional standards cannot be overemphasized.

244. In most developing countries food production is not keeping pace with the increase in population growth. While food aid from the international community is welcomed in times of drought and other natural disasters, what is really needed is capital assistance to improve production methods in developing countries.

Food production in most developing countries is adversely affected by the tendency of those countries to channel the greater part of the available resources to the production of cash crops to enable them to pay for their imports. It should be noted here that 80 per cent of imports by developing countries are financed from export earnings—of course at the expense of local food supplies.

245. The Rural Development Area Programme of my country—a multidonor financed programme—aims at increased food production, reduced urban migration, increased rural employment, as well as reduced dependence on imports, with the long-term objective of improving the well-being of our people.

246. I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the problems of particularly disadvantaged countries. The international community has recognized that there is a large number of developing countries characterized by low levels of income, excessive dependence on international market forces beyond their control, ecological constraints, and in most cases geographical location. Those factors constitute serious obstacles in the way of their transition to sustained development. It is in recognition of those development constraints that my delegation wholeheartedly supports a proposal for immediate measures in favour of the most seriously affected countries contained in the Secretary-General's report in document [A/S-11/5 and Corr.1 and Add.1], of 11 August 1980.

247. While appreciating efforts towards target assistance to those countries which belong to that category, I should like to appeal to the United Nations to pay special attention to the problems of those nations whose peculiar circumstances—be it their size, geographical or political situation—place them in a disadvantageous position vis-à-vis other trading nations.

248. I am putting before this session the plight of small countries like mine whose land areas are small and land-locked, the population too small to form a home market, and the health condition of the population too poor.

249. Naturally, the economies of small countries are export-oriented and, therefore, most vulnerable to international monetary instability and inflation. While for larger countries those factors can and do have serious repercussions, for the small countries the international economic instability may mean absolute disaster.

250. The United Nations has officially acknowledged the fact that land-locked countries are among the poorest of the developing countries. The difficulties imposed by lack of access to the sea coupled with isolation from world markets and the high cost of international transport services act as some of the most serious constraints on their economic advancement. It was in recognition of those difficulties that the United Nations, through UNCTAD resolutions 63 (II), of 19 May 1972, 98 (IV), of 31 May 1976, and 123 (V), of 3 June 1979, urged the international community to give assistance to these countries. My delegation cannot but appeal for more generous contributions.

251. In conclusion, I should like to appeal to this body for immediate action that will enable the developing nations to accelerate their development programmes. It is my delegation's sincere hope that the deliberations of this session will result in the finding of concrete and workable solutions for the economic problems facing us all.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.